NOTICE TO DEPOSITORS

CASH ITEMS—You are hereby notified that you are held responsible for the non-payment of all items deposited by you drawn on New York banks members of the New York Clearing House Association until the close of the business day next succeeding that on which such items are deposited, this bank receiving them only for collection for your account. Checks on it in bank will be credited conditionally; if not found good at the close of business they will be charged back to your account and due notice given thereof. This bank reserves the right to refuse payment of checks on an drawn against uncollected funds.

In receiving checks or drafts for deposit or for collection drawn on banks in New York, not members of the New York Clearing House Association or on Banks located outside of the City of New York, this bank acts only as your agent and assumes no responsibility beyond ordinary diligence and care in the selection of agents and expressly reserves the right to send all items for collection to its regular or special correspondents, or if deemed expedient, direct to the bank upon which the item may be drawn. All items are credited subject to payment in money and we reserve the right to charge back any items pending final settlement of proceeds in money. As agent for the owner this bank will forward such items for collection, but assumes no responsibility for neglect, default or failure of banks nor for losses of checks or items, according to the mails.

COLLECTIONS—This bank, in receiving paper for collection, acts only as your agent and incurs no risk in sending items at other points and forwarding to them, assumes no responsibility.

It is recommended that you write or stamp over your endorsement upon all checks which you send us to be deposited to your credit the words "Pay to The American Exchange National Bank of New York," which will prevent their being used for any other purpose.

THE AMALGAMATED BANK OF NEW YORK

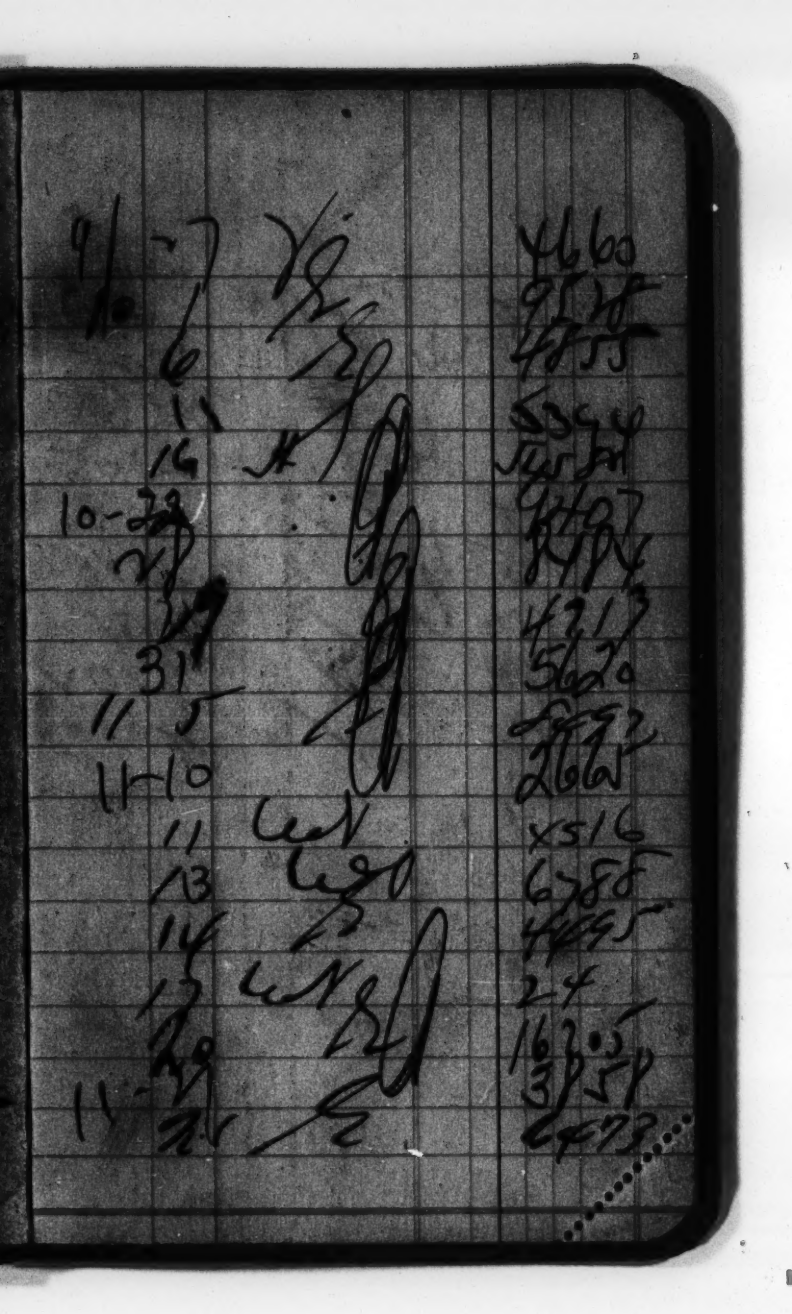
NEW YORK CITY

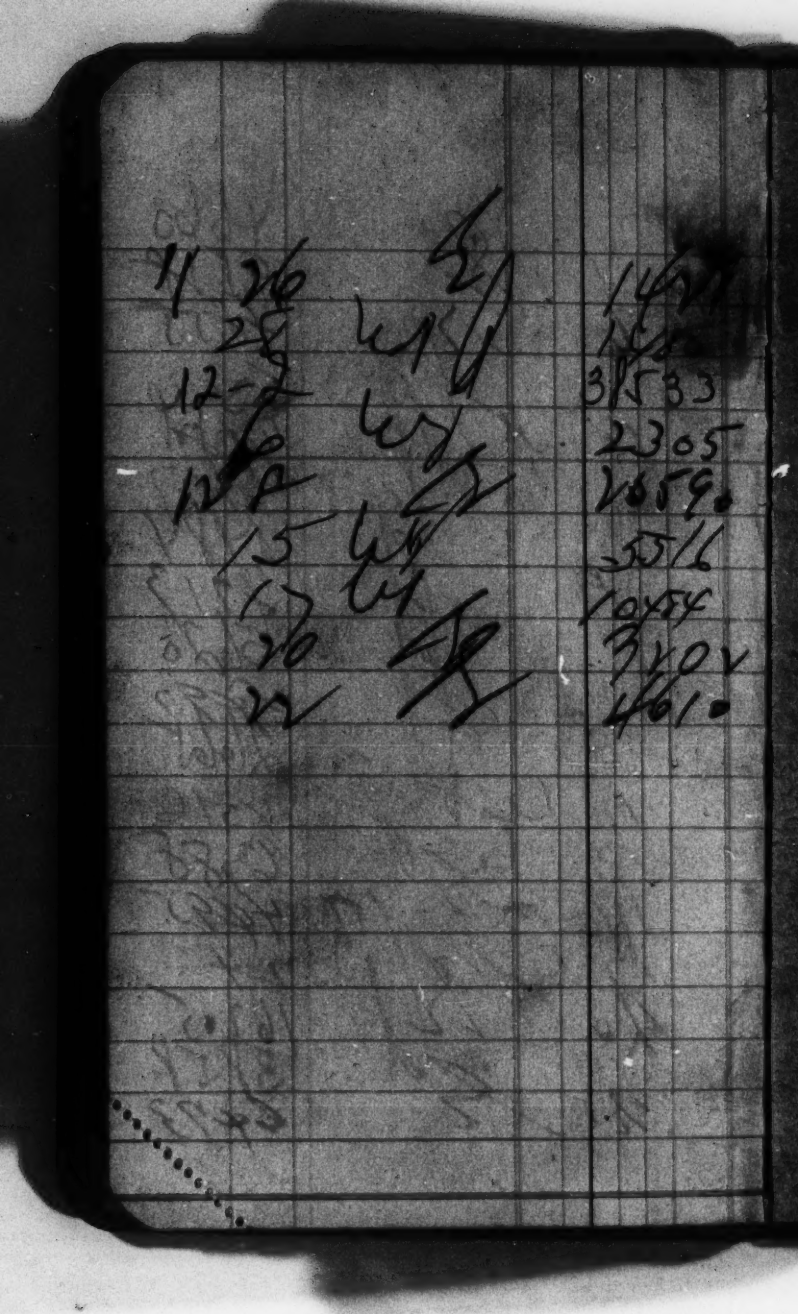
IN ACCOUNT WITH

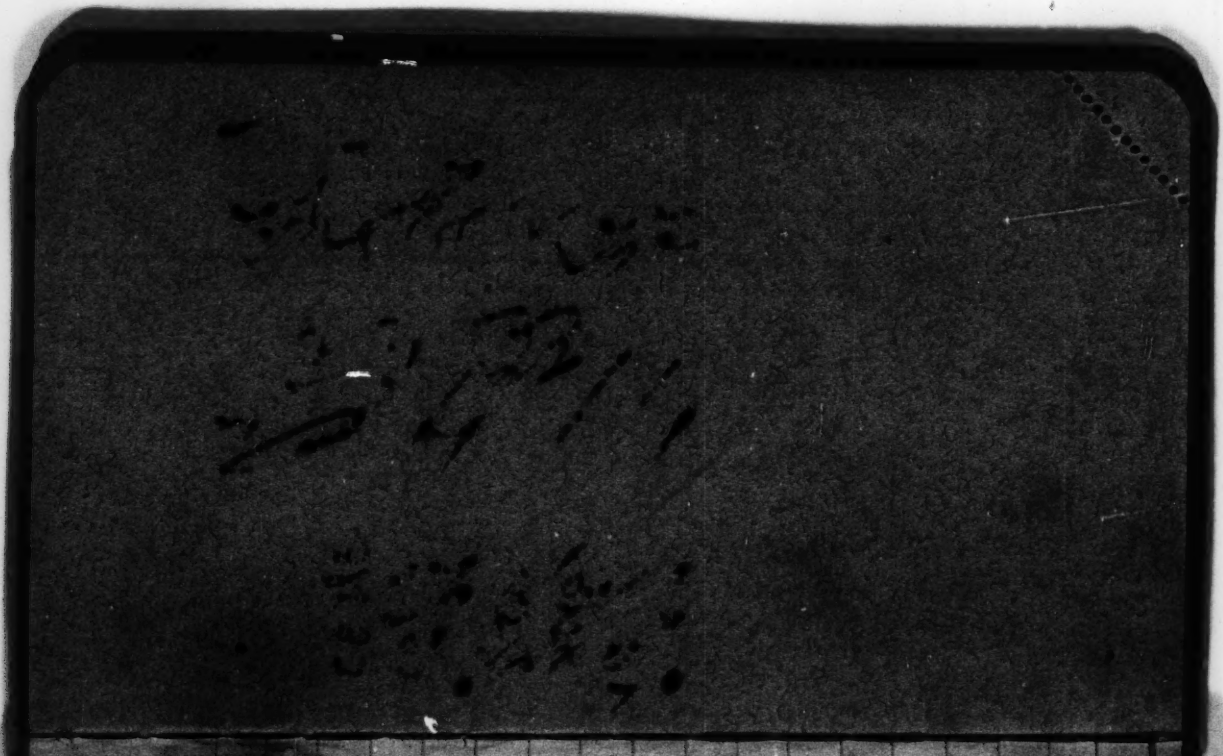
The Messenger Pub. Co. Inc.

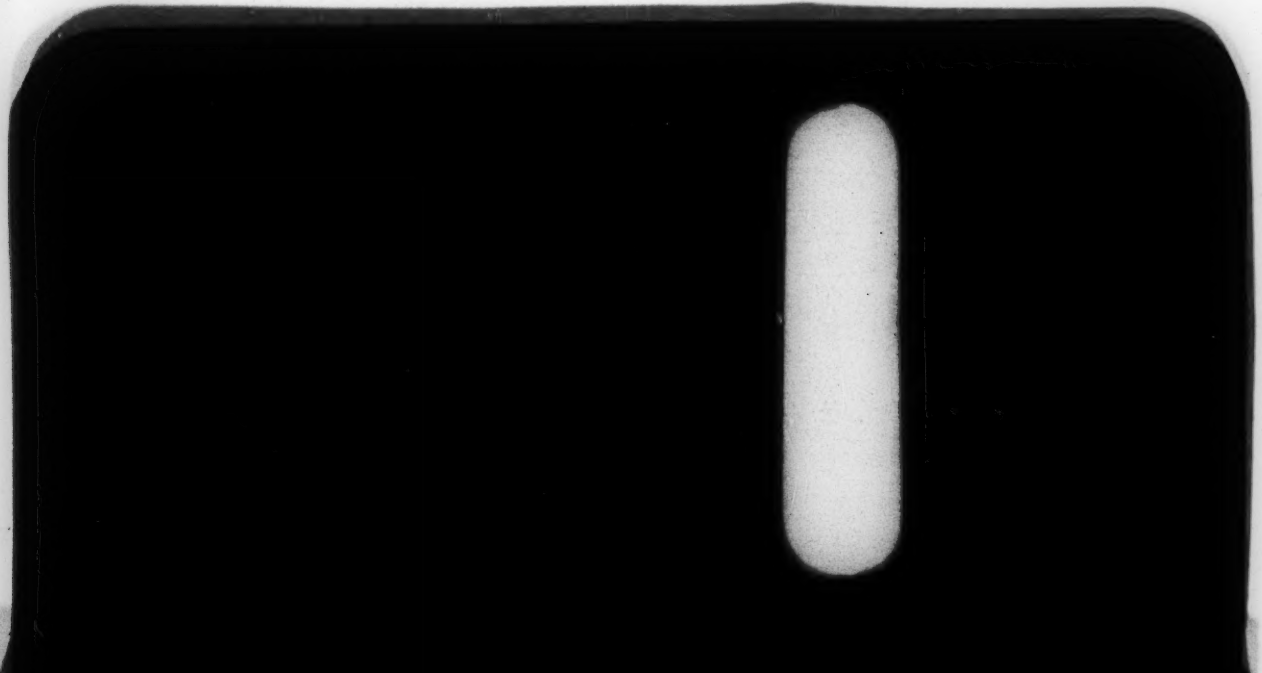
May	3			190
	6			515
	8			2714 91
	13			1290
	14			1430
	16			2446
	17			259
	20			1363
	24			5912
	26			1491 58
	27			5383
	6/2			11660
	5			6321
	6			1460 99
	9			2036
	12			9199

6/20	7	20145
25	6	10820
7 2	1	25 15
9	1	10847
10	6	16291
12	1	16551
7/14	6	26127
17	7	58467
19	6	17556
24	6	101123
27	6	25
7/31	7	11306
8/4	7	11468
5	6	17311
8	1	5155 3
8	6	26940









This account is accepted and continued by The Corn Exchange Bank on condition that checks against it shall be drawn only upon the Branch with which the account is kept, and all checks credited as a deposit to this account, drawn on other offices of The Corn Exchange Bank, or other banks, are received only subject to actual payment by the said other offices or banks.

Messenger Publishing
Company Inc

The Corn Exchange Bank, In account with

1920

Jan 29		23597
31		11683
FEB 3 - 1920		
Not accepted		4907

Messenger Publishing
Company Inc

NOTICE.

It shall be understood and declared as an express condition between the Bank and persons having or opening accounts with it, that no draft or check shall be made beyond the balance of accounts.

Notes, Bills and Drafts for collection must be lodged at least ten days prior to the day when payable, and have the address of each endorser plainly marked thereon.

Books should be left to be written up once a month.

The Bank must be notified of any change in address.

CAUTION.—Be careful about giving checks to strangers, as they are frequently obtained for fraudulent purposes.

Do not Destroy Certified Checks; if you have a check certified and cannot, or do not use it, deposit it to your account.

NOTICE

ALL ACCOUNTS CARRYING LESS THAN $100. MONTHLY AVERAGE BALANCE, WILL BE CHARGED $1.00 PER MONTH FOR BANKING FACILITIES

A CHARGE OF $1.00 WILL BE MADE FOR EACH CHECK RETURNED BY THIS BANK BECAUSE OF INSUFFICIENT FUNDS

TWENTY THIRD WARD BANK, in account with

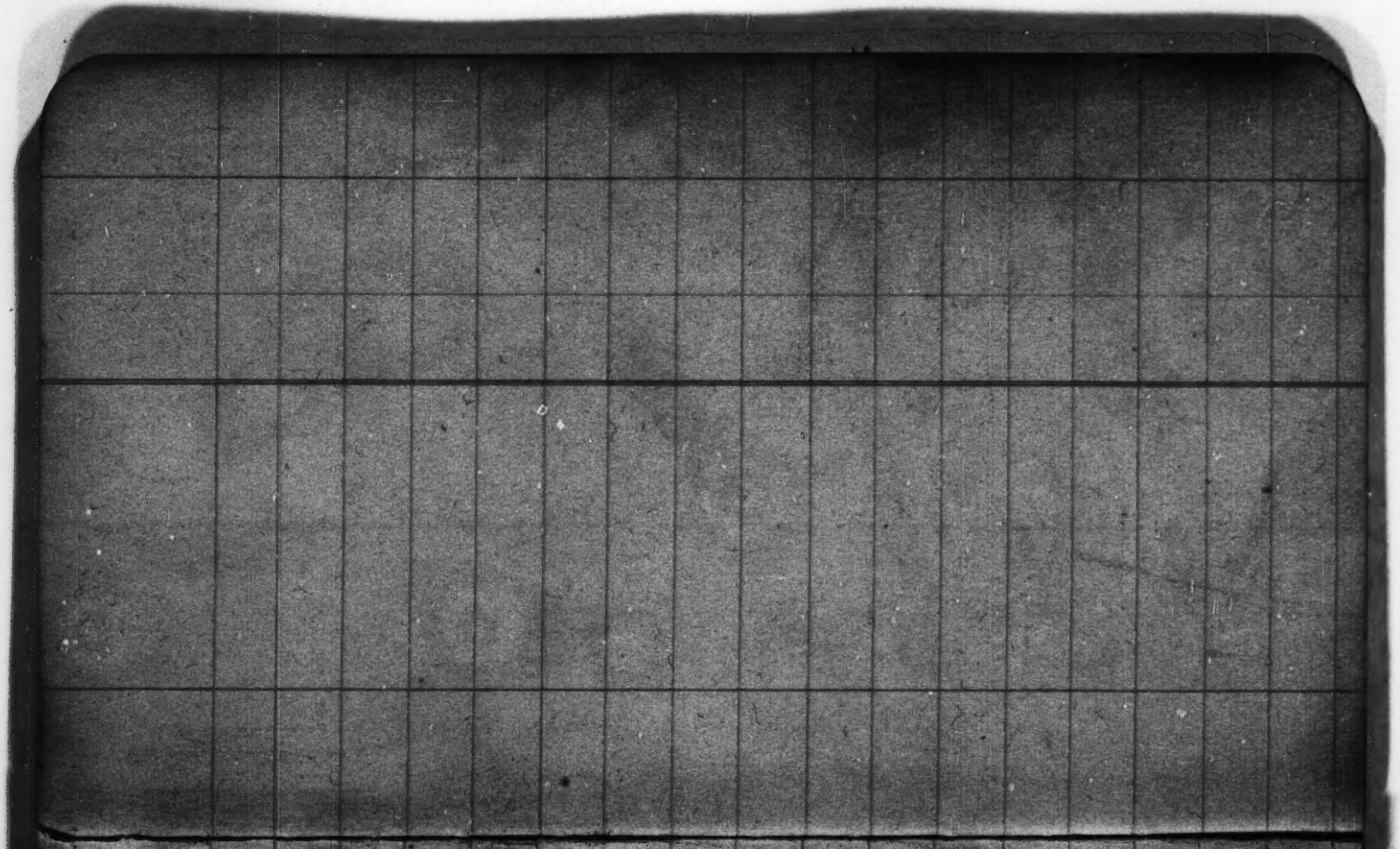
20

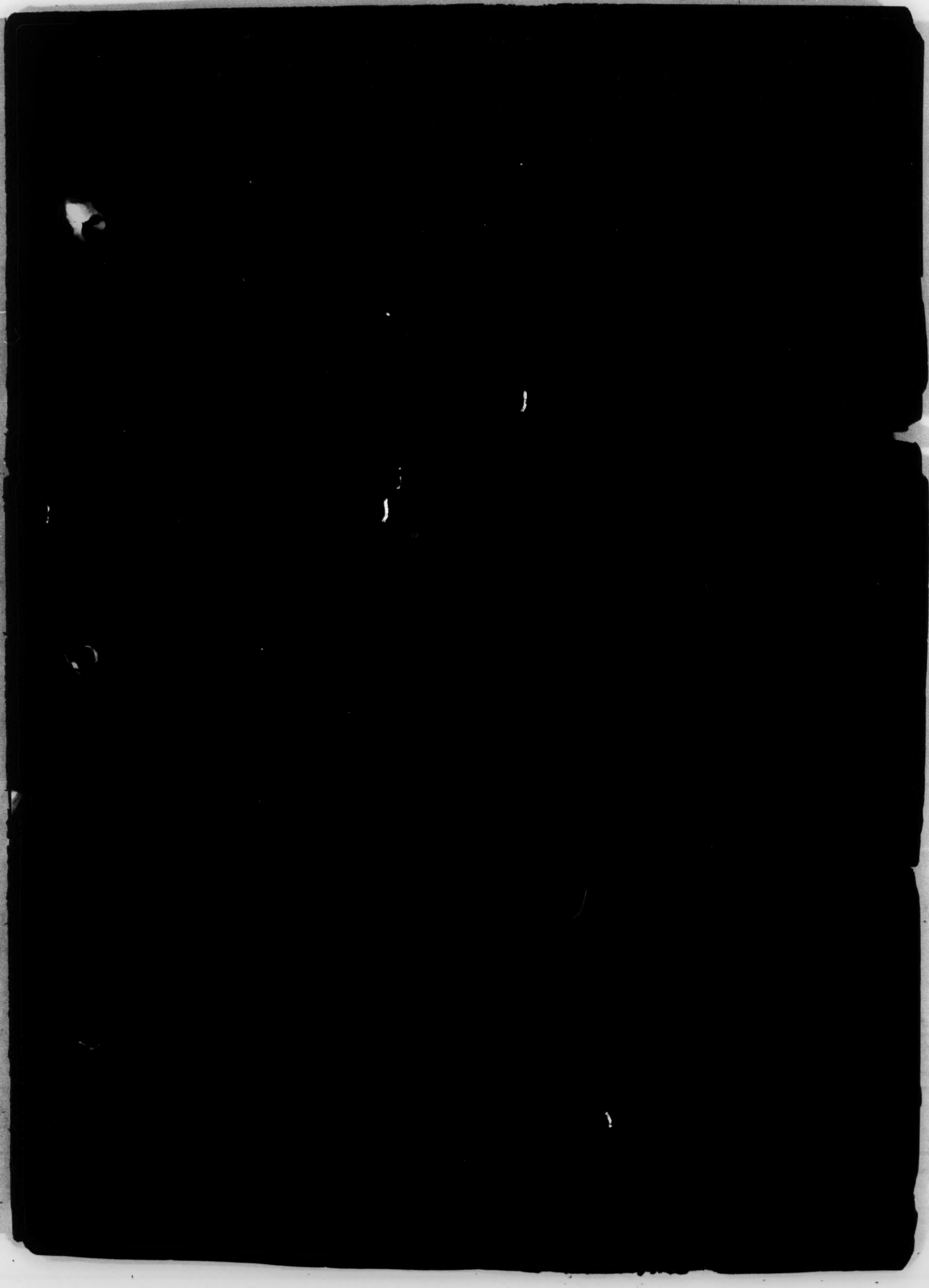
Feb	13		139	69
	16		95	44
	18		13	35
	20		52	70
	20		42	86
	26		35	
	27		32	66
MAR	1 1920		612	65
	4		18	70
	6		528	30
	8		36	5
	13		28	76
	16		13	73
	23		50	80
	25		39	70
			1638	79

The Telegram Publishing Co. Inc.

			Credits.	
27			20	40
30			49	16
4/6			98	40
8			93	75
11			22	60
15			22	05
17			24	85
20			117	75
23			86	10
29			46	30
30			50	
May 10			75	95
12			24	75
20			54	78
29			78	75
19	12		36	45

June 11	R	2900
Total Credits		29 21 33
Less 1% Ret. per List		29 21 33
JUN 11 1920 BALANCE	R	— 0 —





REPORT ON

EXAMINATION OF ACCOUNTS OF

THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

TWELVE MONTHS ENDED

OCTOBER 31, 1922.

Heaton & Worfolk
Accountants and Auditors
December 15, 1922.

WILLIAM C. HEATON, C. P. A. (N. J.)
FREDERIC WORFOLK, C. P. A. (N. Y.)

TELEPHONE VANDERBILT 4765

HEATON & WORFOLK
ACCOUNTANTS AND AUDITORS
9 EAST 46TH. STREET, STRAUS BUILDING
NEW YORK

MEMBERS OF THE
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ACCOUNTANTS

AUDITS
EXAMINATIONS
FACTORY COSTS
SYSTEMS
TAXES

December 15, 1922.

Mr. A. P. Randolph, President,
The Messenger Publishing Co., Inc.,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Pursuant to engagement, we have made an examination of the accounts of

The Messenger Publishing Company, Inc.

for the purpose of verifying its assets and liabilities as of October 31, 1922, of stating the income for the twelve months then ended, and, in collaboration with yourself and Mr. Chandler Owen, of preparing a budget for the ensuing year.

The corporation has several unsatisfied judgments recorded against it, and in order to safeguard its income from distraint, no bank account has been kept. This condition naturally limited the scope of our examination.

The records presented for our inspection were a cash receipts book, cash disbursement book, and a card record of subscriptions. The cash books bear evidence that they are a chronological record of receipts and payments entered currently. It was impossible, however, to make a complete verification on account of the absence of bank records.

The financial position of the corporation as at the close of business October 31, 1922, was as follows:

Liabilities

Judgments and accrued interest	$1,555.14
Notes payable	550.00
Accounts payable	4,499.46
Unexpired subscriptions	396.50
A. Philip Randolph	1,200.00
Chandler Owen	1,200.00
	$9,401.10

Assets

Accounts receivable, agents		$ 25.95	
Inventories:			
Paper	$ 58.10		
Magazines	25.00		
Engravings	10.00		
Stationery and supplies	10.00	103.10	129.05
Excess of Liabilities			$9,272.05

Capital:

Capital Stock (authorized $25,000) issued			$16,350.00
Less:			
Deficit to Oct. 31,1921	$25,369.45		
Loss, year ended Oct.31, 1922	252.60	25,622.05	
Net Deficit			$9,272.05

We comment thereon as follows:

Liabilities: The judgments were disclosed to us by Mr. A. Philip Randolph, and a search of the court records has been made by us to establish that these are all that have been recorded. Accrued interest has been included to October 31, 1922.

All the other liabilities, including notes payable, were certified to us by Mr. Randolph, and verified by independent confirmation from the several creditors. The cash

disbursements for the past fiscal year were scrutinized, and letters of inquiry sent to all vendors disclosed by such scrutiny. Statements of accounts received from creditors during the early part of November were also compared with the amounts scheduled by Mr. Randolph.

The corporation has, according to the record of its cash receipts, been in receipt of donations from various organizations and individuals to aid it in its work. We have relied upon the apparent correctness of these various entries, and, at the request of the editors, made no effort to determine whether such items were loans instead of donations. Some letters, however, which were exhibited to us, showed that donations had been made for the benefit of the publication.

The amount reserved for unexpired subscriptions was determined by an examination of the subscription records.

At October 31, 1922, the corporation was indebted to Messrs. Randolph and Owen, per the records, in the amount of $7,071.70 for loans and back salaries. In view of the special circumstances now obtaining, and in order to help establish the publication on a firm financial basis, both gentlemen made an offer to the directors of the corporation to accept $1500. each in lieu of all other demands to December 12, 1922. This offer has been accepted, and is a matter of record in the minutes of the Board of Directors held on that date. It has been assumed that on this basis

the liability at October 31, 1922 was $1200. each, and those amounts appear in the statement.

Assets - The amount due from agents represents the collections made during November 1922 for October sales.

The quantity of paper on hand was reported to us by the printers, and is valued at cost.

Past issues of "The Messenger" on hand, and also engravings, stationery and supplies have been valued at a nominal amount.

Capital - The authorized capital is $25,000., represented by 5000 shares of a par value of $5.00 each. There are now outstanding 3270 shares of a total par value of $16,350. Of this issue approximately 90% is in the hands of individuals, of both the white and negro races, and of liberal and radical opinions.

The balance of the stock issued, is held principally by labor union and workmen's councils.

Subscriptions for 74 shares were received on which part payments amounting to $120. have been made. As these subscriptions are now lapsed, the transactions are not reflected in the present statement.

The capital invested in the business, as disclosed by the statement of financial position, has been entirely lost, and there still remains a further loss of $9,272.05 to be provided for.

Operations - We understand that the primary purpose of "The Messenger" is to broadcast the message that there is a necessity for white and negro workers to unite

industrially, politically and socially for their mutual advantage, and to secure accurate data on labor unionism among negroes, for the purpose of frank and scientific interpretation.

The periodical is therefore not published for profit, although an earnest effort is made to maintain it on a self-supporting basis.

The above facts should be considered when reviewing the statement submitted below.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
FOR THE TWELVE MONTHS ENDED OCTOBER 31, 1922.

Receipts		
Sales - Subscribers	$ 650.04	
" - Agents	1,121.24	
" - Miscellaneous	27.15	
Donations	1,600.50	
Advertisements	820.18	
Total Receipts		$4,219.11
Disbursements		
Printing	$1,879.88	
Paper	313.05	
Postage and express	234.58	
Traveling and carfare	1,289.80	
Commissions for subscriptions	140.00	
Rent	266.00	
Photo-engraving	113.82	
Stationery and supplies	90.66	
General expense	84.27	
Salaries	59.65	
Total Disbursements		4,471.71
Excess of Disbursements		$ 252.60

During the year now under review Messrs. Randolph and Owen, in addition to their editorial activities, have

combined therewith the business management of the magazine and their publicity work on the public platform, so that of necessity the clerical work has suffered.

It is to be noted that neither of the editors ~~have~~ has received any direct remuneration during that fiscal year for ~~their~~ his editorial and other services.

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The editors have expressed their belief that they can increase the circulation of the magazine to 10,000 copies during 1923 and on that assumption they have submitted the following budget based on an average circulation of 8,000 copies.

BUDGET FOR 1923

Estimated Expenses

Mechanical		
Paper	$1,800.00	
Printing	6,000.00	
Engraving	360.00	$ 8,160.00
Personnel		
Editors (2 at $2600.)	5,200.00	
Business Manager	2,000.00	
Advertising & Circulation Mgr.	1,500.00	
Stenographer & Bookkeeper	1,500.00	10,200.00
General		
Telephone	120.00	
Rent and light	600.00	
Advertising, circulars, etc.	1,200.00	
Postage	800.00	
Stationery	300.00	
Office supplies	100.00	
Traveling	700.00	
Multigraphing	250.00	
Special articles and cartoons	600.00	
Auditing	400.00	
Miscellaneous	500.00	5,570.00
		$23,930.00

Estimated Income	
Cash Subscriptions, 3000 at $1.125 each(net)	$ 3,375.00
Sale through agents, 5000 monthly at 9¢ per copy (net) 12 issues	5,400.00
Advertising	2,400.00
	$11,175.00

Summary

Estimated Expenses	$23,930.00
" Income	11,175.00
Excess of Expenses to be provided for	$12,755.00

It should be borne in mind that the revenue to be expected from advertising in a radical publication is necessarily small in comparison with that obtained by magazines of general circulation.

Very truly yours,

Heaton Worfolk

HEATON & WORFOLK

United States Department of Justice

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF OHIO
U. S. COURT HOUSE
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44114

August 10, 1971

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

In compliance with your request, I am enclosing herewith copies of the various documents which were in our file, pertaining to yourself.

Pursuant to your direction, I am releasing that file to the Cleveland Historical Society for its preservation among other important documents.

May I wish for your continued good health and every success in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick M. Coleman

FREDERICK M. COLEMAN
UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Enclosures

REPORT FORM NO. 1

REPORT MADE BY:	PLACE WHERE MADE:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Special Agent Sawken.	Cleveland, Ohio.	August 10, 1918.	Aug. 4/18.

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

In re: SOCIALIST MEETING, East 9th & Chestnut Streets

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:

At Cleveland:

Agent this evening, while accompanied by Special Agent Brown of this office, had his attention attracted by a large crowd at the corner of East 9th and Chestnut Streets, Cleveland. Speeches were being made and Agent recognized the speaker as a colored Socialist orator of ~~this~~ N.Y. city, A. Philip Randolph, and also recognized other Socialists among the audience (white people). One of these other Socialists later addressed the meeting, Chandler Owen of N. Y. City, also colored. Agent also noted among the Socialists present was one Walter Bronstrup and John A. Fronholz, both white, who are very prominent among the Socialists of this city.

While Owen and Randolph were speaking, Fronholz and Bronstrup went through the crowd selling a paper named the "MESSENGER" (which is the only radical Negro magazine in America, according to its own statement), this paper being edited by Owen and Randolph and published monthly by the Messenger Publishing Co. at 2305 Seventh Ave., New York City. This issue was dated July 1918 and contained several articles which seemed open to criticism. Agent's attention was called at the meeting by a citizen to an article in this paper on "Conscription" on page 12; also another article on page 13 entitled "Pro-Germanism among Negroes." (Several copies of the paper are on file in this office.) Agent bought copy of magazine from Walter Bronstrup, paying him 15¢ for same, and at the conclusion of the meeting took Owen, Randolph and Bronstrup into custody, to be held for investigation tomorrow by Agent in Charge Morton. Investigation to be continued.

COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: 7—677

A.B.B.-3; E.S.W.-2; C.W.L.-1; New York office-1.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

REPORT MADE BY:	PLACE WHERE MADE:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Special Agent Sawken.	Cleveland, Ohio.	August 10, 1918.	Aug. 6/18

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

In re: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH (colored)
Alleged Violation Espionage Act, Sec. 3, Title 1.

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS.-EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:

At Cleveland:

(See Agent's reports on SOCIALIST MEETING under date of August 4th and 5th).

Warrant was served for Subject's arrest and he was taken before U. S. Commissioner Walther today and pleaded "Not Guilty" to above charge. Commissioner Walther continued case until Friday, August 9th, placing Subject under bonds for $1000. Subject returned to jail until bonds can be obtained.

Case continued.

COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

A.B.B.-3; E.S.W.-2; N. Y. office - 1.

7—677

Chandler Owen, Walter Bronstrup, A. Phillip Randolph, John Fromholz,
On or about the 4th day of August 1918, at Cleveland, O.
Violation Sec. 3, Title 1, of the Act known as the Espionage Act, approved June 15, 1917, and as amended May 16, 1918.

Unlawfully, knowingly and feloniously, the United States being then and there at war with the Imperial German Government, wilfully print and cause to be printed, publish and cause to be published and circulated, in a certain language intended to incite, provoke and incur resistance to the United States and to promote the cause of its enemies, in a certain publication known as "The Messenger", edited and published monthly by The Messenger Publishing Company, 2305 Seventh Ave., New York City, which said publication was by defendants aforesaid published, and circulated generally throughout the United States and the Northern District of Ohio, particularly in the City of Cleveland, in the State of Ohio, within the jurisdiction of this court, which said publication aforesaid to-wit, The Messenger, so edited and published as aforesaid, the same being Volume 2, No. 7, of date July 1918, said certain language being as published aforesaid as follows--

"Pro-Germanism Among Negroes

At the recent convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a member of the Administration's Department of Intelligence was present. When Mr. Justin Carter of Harrisburg Pa., was complaining of the race prejudice which American white tropps had carried into France, this administration representative rose and warned the audience that the Negroes were under suspicion of having been affected by German propaganda.

In keeping with the ultra-patriotism of the oldline type of Negro leaders (?) the N.A.A.C.P. failed to grasp its opportunity. It might have calmly and frankly informed the Administration representative that the discontent among Negroes was not produced by propaganda, nor can it be removed by propaganda. The causes are deep and dark - though obvious to all who care to use their mental eyes. Peonage, disfranchisement, Jim-Crowism, segregation, rank civil discrimination, injustice of legislatures, courts and administrators - these are the propaganda of discontent among Negroes. The only way to remove this general unrest an widespread discontent among Negroes is to remove these cankerous causes.

The only legitimate connection between this unrest and Germanism, is the extensive government advertisement that we are fighting "to make the world safe for democracy", "to carry democracy to Germany; that we are conscripting the Negro into the military and industrial establishments to achieve this end for white democracy four thousand miles away, while the Negro at home, though bearing the burden in every way, is denied economic, political, educational and civil democracy. And this, despite his loyalty and patriotism in the land of the free and the home of the brave!

Col. Robert G. Ingersoll once said: "Between inevitable evils we have the right of choice." The Negro may be choosing between being burnt by Tennessee, Georgia or Texas mobs or being shot by Germans in Belgium. We don't know about this pro-Germanism among Negroes. It may be only their anti-Americanism - meaning anti-lynching, which historians and scholars like Prof. Cutler of Yale concede to be strictly "American" We should like to assist the government investigate this pro-Germanism among Negroes. It might bringto light the fact that they are still so absorbed in suppressing American injustices that their minds have not yet been focused upon Germany. Meanwhile we shall be on the watch for the real basis of this alleged pro-Germanism among Negroes should any new facts arise."

Affiant further says that at the time and in the manner aforesaid, and at the place aforesaid, when the said defendants so printed, published and circulated the aforesaid language, the said defendants did so with the intent to incite, provoke and encourage resistance to the United States and to promote the cause of its enemies.

REPORT FORM No. 1

REPORT MADE BY:	PLACE WHERE MADE:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Special Agent Sawken.	Cleveland, Ohio.	August 10, 1918.	Aug. 5/18

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

In re: SOCIALIST MEETING at E. 9th and Chestnut Streets

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:

At Cleveland:

(See Agent's report on above entitled matter under date of August 4, 1918.)

Agent took up said case with Agent in Charge Morton who after a conference with Assistant U. S. Attorney Kavanagh decided to request U. S. Commissioner to issue warrant for the arrest of Owen, Randolph and Frenholz, and Bronstrup.

Agent also interviewed these men as to their activities. colored Chandler Owen stated that at the present time he is rooming at 4217 Cedar Ave., Cleveland; that his home address is 206 West 137th St., New York City, his office being at 2305 Seventh Ave., that city. Stated he was born at Warrenton, N. C., April 5, 1889; went to St. Paul's School, Lawrenceville, Va., from 1902 to 1907; attended Union University at Richmond, Va., from 1909 to 1913; that he took up political science work at Columbia ~~University~~ University New York City, 1913 and 1914; attended Columbia Law School 1914 to 1917. In 1916 while attending law school he became associated with A. Philip Randolph in the publication of the "MESSENGER" and has been connected with this publication ever since. That he has been affiliated with the Socialist Party since September 1917. When interrogated with reference to his draft status he stated he registered June 5, 1917, while living at 206 W. 137th St., New York, and that he is under the jurisdiction of Local Board Division 140; Order #3485; Serial #2843; and that he had been placed by Local Board in Class 1-A; that he has been examined and is waiting for orders to entrain. Agent Scharrer of this office sent wire to New York office asking for status of Owen and reply was later re-

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A.B.B.-3; E.S.W.-2; New York office - 1.

In re: SOCIALIST MEETING.

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ceived that Local Board advised that Owen is needed for August quota and should be kept under surveillance.

Agent interviewed Walter Bronstrup (white), who states that he resides at 1244 Walnut St., Cleveland; that he was born at Cincinnati, Ohio, December 9, 1883; that he is employed by the Dietz Electric Co. in Cleveland as foreman of electricians, having been engaged in that capacity for the last 5½ years. That he has been member of the Socialist Party since October 14, 1909. He states that he voted for the St. Louis Resolution, stating that he was in favor of same. Agent asked him his opinion on the present war and Bronstrup stated he would not express his opinion. Also said he did not buy any Liberty Bonds, Thrift Stamps or contribute to Victory Chest or Red Cross. Agent asked if he had contributed to the different Socialist funds and Bronstrup stated "I certainly have." When asked why he did not buy Thrift Stamps, Liberty Bonds, etc., Bronstrup said he would not answer this question. When asked, "Who finances the meetings at which Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph (both colored) were speakers, Bronstrup stated that the Socialist Local of Cleveland hired parties mentioned to come here for the purpose of getting new members and to educate present members along Socialist lines. These meetings are termed "propaganda meetings."

Agent next interviewed A. Philip Randolph (colored), who stated he is residing at 4217 Cedar Ave., Cleveland; that his home address is 2453 Seventh Ave., N. Y. City, and his business address is 2305 Seventh Ave., N. Y. That he was born at Crescent City, Florida, April 15, 1889, and that he attended Cookman Institute, Jacksonville, Fla.; also City College at N. Y. City, and for 2 years was affiliated with American Brotherhood of Labor in New York City (colored people). Randolph stated that he has been

In re: SOCIALIST MEETING.

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connected with the Socialist movement and has been a member of the party for about one year. Upon being interrogated in reference to his coming to Cleveland, Randolph stated that he and Owen came to this city at the request of the Socialist Party here as they were en route to Chicago on tour to be present at the National Executive Committee and National Secretaries meeting at Chicago August 10th, and that their expenses are being paid by the Socialist Party, Cleveland Socialist Local paying for expense from New York to Cleveland; also they are being paid for services here by Cleveland Local. When asked what the purpose of their tour was, Randolph stated it was for the purpose of getting the colored people interested in the Socialist movement, also for the education of present and new members of the Socialist Party along socialistic lines. He further stated that he is President and Business Manager, also one of the editors of the "MESSENGER", paper published at 2305 Seventh Ave., New York City. Randolph was interrogated as to his draft status and showed Agent credentials showing he had registered in New York City and was placed in Class 4-A, having dependent wife and children. When questioned with reference to purchase of Liberty Bonds, etc., Randolph stated that he has not bought any Liberty Bonds or contributed to Red Cross, and when asked about Victory Chest stated he never heard about it and that he has not bought any Thrift Stamps. His reason is given that he could not afford same.

Agent also interviewed John A. Frenholz, who stated he lives at 1404 E. 105th St., Cleveland, and who called at this office at request of Agent for an interview. When interrogated Frenholz stated he was born in Buffalo, N. Y., January 25, 1888, is employed by Cleveland Telephone Co. as switchboard man at the Eddy Exchange, and has been member of Socialist Party since 1909. When interro-

7—871

In re: SOCIALIST MEETING.

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gated in reference to his being in favor of the St. Louis Resolution Frenholz stated he was not in favor of that resolution as he was not against conscription and that he had registered for Selective Service June 5, 1917, in Cleveland, living at 1404 E. 105th St. (which address is under the jurisdiction of Local Board #17); that he has been placed in Class 2, Division D. Stated he has bought one $50. Liberty Bond of the 3d Issue; has contributed to Victory Chest, the Sammy Smoke Fund and the Red Cross. When interrogated in reference to who was responsible for Owen and Randolph coming to Cleveland, Frenholz stated the Socialist Party paid these men to come here, also paying their expenses from New York City; that the Socialist Party also was responsible for the sale of this publication, "MESSENGER," and that the Socialist Party bought 200 copies from the Messenger Publishing Co. for $10. When interrogated as to who the party is that pays these different speakers for their services while in Cleveland, Frenholz stated that they are all paid by Mrs. Catherine Hartnagle, Treasurer of Cleveland Local, living on Kinsman Road, Cleveland. Agent also interrogated Frenholz as to his official capacity at Socialist Convention in Canton, Ohio, in June 1918. Frenholz stated he was delegated to go there from Cleveland Local; that he also sold Socialistic literature while at Canton. When questioned with reference to his having sold copies of the "MESSENGER" Sunday, August 4, 1918, at Socialist Meeting at E. 9th & Chestnut, Frenholz stated that he sold publication because it had been approved by the Cleveland Local and this duty assigned to him, and that in his opinion there was nothing wrong with this particular issue of the "MESSENGER", but admitted that he did not know the contents of it when he sold it. He stated that if he violated any law of the U. S. he did so unintentionally.

In re: SOCIALIST MEETING.

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After interviewing these 4 men, Agent took up matter with Assistant U. S. Attorney Kavanagh in referende to obtaining warrant for their arrest for violation of Section 3, Title 1, of the Espionage Act. Mr. Kavanagh suggested that the men be committed to jail until warrants were obtained from U. S. Commissioner.

Investigation continued.

THE CITY COLLEGE
OF
THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10031

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

(212) 621-

October 2, 1975

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
280 Ninth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I wish to thank you for taking the time to talk to me about your work. Not only did I learn a great deal, but it was a very pleasurable experience for me to meet you.

I am enclosing the letter sent to the U.S. Attorney by J. Edgar Hoover that I showed to you and also part of the response by the U.S. Attorney. It is very interesting, I think, the way he analyzes the question of lynching. Indeed, from his assumption that lynching could not be an important issue, he assumes that therefore a more insidious motive must be behind the Messenger. I am also enclosing a copy of an agent's report on one of your meetings. I found this in the papers of the Lusk Committee in Albany.

Thank you again. I would enjoy talking to you again at your convenience.

Very truly yours,

Judith Stein

Judith Stein
Assistant Professor

JS/gth
encs.

JEH:EM

9-12-725

December 3, 1919

Mr. Ben A. Matthews,
Assistant U.S.Attorney in New York
New York City.

My dear Mr. Mathews:

Sometime ago during my visit to New York, I called upon you relative to the radical conditions existing in the Southern District and particularly with the conditions existing among the negro element of New York.

I have discussed the matter at some length with Mr. Garvan, Assistant Attorney General in charge of Criminal Investigation and at his suggestion, I am writing to request that you prepare a memorandum as to the reasons why you do not feel that the Espionage Law is applicable to the publication entitled "The Messenger". I would also appreciate it if you would communicate with the District Attorney's office of New York and request them informally to submit a memorandum as to the reasons why prosecution cannot be instituted under the New York Sedition Act.

Our purpose in desiring this information is to be able to point out to Congress the fact that the present existing laws, both federal and state are not sufficiently broad to reach the pernicious activities of "The Messenger". As you and The District Attorney are more conversant with the local situation, it occurred to us that memorandums received from you would give a better view point of the situation than we could prepare in Washington.

I would appreciate it if you would give this matter your immediate attention and make an effort to have the memorandum in my hands by December 10th. It need not be prepared in any form, but may be forwarded in rough form.

With best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

Special Assistant to The Attorney General.

9-12-725-6
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
DEC 3 1919
MAILS AND FILES DIVISION

9-12-725-

be true, it follows that someone other than the editors is financing the publication.

Another matter that might be considered upon the question of the purpose underlying this publication is the fact that its stated purpose is entirely inadequate to justify its existence. That is, there is no need for a magazine devoted to the advocacy of the use of force to prevent lynching. Recently, that is, within the life of the publication, there have been no lynchings brought to my notice of a character calculated to require the extreme measures advocated. In other words, there has been no claim that the negroes that were lynched were not guilty of the capital crimes with which they were charged. I am not advocating the practice of lynching, but I am stating that so far as I have seen there have not been lynchings of innocent men. To the average law abiding negro, the fact that outcasts of his race who commit unmentionable crimes are lynched in the South, is not a source of worry to him, nor does the fact inflame him against the white race. He does not regard lynching as a crime against his whole race requiring drastic measures on his part. He does not regard lynching as oppression.

Another fact that should be taken into consideration in determining what is the underlying motive in the publication of this magazine is the fact that its editors, Chandler, Owen, and Domingo, all negroes, have been in close touch with the Rand School of Social Science, an institution fostering and advocating revolution.

In fact, a copy of a letter, dated May 16, 1919, written by one David P. Dernberg, connected with the Rand School of Social Science, in reply to one F. J. Peregino, who describes himself as a negro seeking education along Socialistic lines, states:

7-12-725-

> There is great need for missionary work among all people and among colored people. We have here a very active group of comrades, among them Comrades, Owen, Chandler and Domingo, who warn us that unless we make headway with the negroes, the capitalists may use them in time of a social revolution much as the Czecho-Slovaks are being used in Russia.

The copy of this letter was taken by the Police in their raid upon the Rand School of Social Science in June, 1919.

To my mind, this is evidence of weight as to the existence of an ulterior motive in the publication of "The Messenger". It is evidence, to my mind, tending to establish that the avowed purpose of "The Messenger" is one adopted by its editors, as a cloak to shield it from prosecution and to enable them in this guise to circulate matter designed to foster disorder and discontent among the negroes and to encourage them to organize and to arm.

Another document obtained by the Police from the Rand School for the Lusk Committee is a paper some 25 or more pages in length written by W. A. Domingo, a frequent contributor and an associate editor of "The Messenger". This document outlines Domingo's views as to the manner in which propaganda should be carried on for the purpose of preventing the use of negroes by the capitalists in a coming revolution of the "Proletariat". That such a revolution is coming, the writer assumes as an assured fact. He warns the revolutionists, unless immediate steps are taken and propaganda carried on, that the negro will join the capitalists, and will be used by them against the revolutionists. He devotes quite some space to this argument, and then outlines the kind of propaganda that in his opinion should be circulated in order to prevent the negro from being used by the capitalist and to insure his adherence to the revolutionists. In his paper, Domingo advocates the publication of a magazine on along the same lines as that of "The Messenger"; that is, the collection and dissemination of information as to instances of oppression of

8

7-12-725-

negroes, and the constant keeping before them of the occurrence of lynchings. In short, every idea suggested by Domingo as to the manner in which propaganda should be carried on, is followed in detail in the issues of "The Messenger" that I have reviewed.

In addition is the fact that Ludwig Martens and S. Nuorteva were closely in touch with the Rand School of Social Science, and there are general rumors of large sums of money being expended by them in the financing of revolutionary literature.

I think the condition is one that upon careful investigation would probably disclose with requisite certainty that the purpose expressed in "The Messenger" is not the true motive for which it is being published, but is merely a cloak, adopted by its editors as a means to create discontent among the negroes and to prepare them for a part to be assigned to them in the revolution looked for and being worked for by the editors.

If the existence of such ulterior motive on the part of the publishers can be established, there is no question in my mind but that the editors of "The Messenger" are engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow by force the Government of the United States in violation of Section 6 of the Criminal Code. However, the existence of such a conspiracy, depends upon proof distinct from that contained in the magazine itself. The publication of the magazine in and of itself is not sufficient. The magazine, as I have said, on its face is published for a lawful purpose and there is no statute of the United States, and in my opinion, no statute of the State (for I am more or less familiar with the provisions of the Criminal Anarchy Statute of the State of New York) which would enable the maintenance of a successful prosecution of the editors of this magazine, were such prosecution based solely upon its publication.

Respectfully,

Francis G. Caffey,

United States Attorney.

7-12-725-

(Copy)

July 13,1919 Dyshrade

Subject: The Messenger (Colored Radical Magazine)
Philip Randolph, Chandler Owen, Lt. Wm. Colson,
Norman Thomas. Gurley Flynn

Went to the Palace Hall, which was closed by orders of the Police, and the meeting was transferred to the Rush Epis. Church, 58 W. 138th St. This meeting was held under the auspices of The Messenger, a colored magazine, which was recently barred by the mail; they blame Burleson and Judge Lamar, and the capitalist class.

Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen spoke on the colored race, and the craft organizations, that do not recognize the colored workers, excepting the I.W.W. They are out to enlighten the world, that the colored people are as equal as the white race, and want the same rights as the white race. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States was written by colored slave drivers; but the freedom of the United States against England was the competition of slavery and that is why the United States broke away from England. How can the Constitution exist when it was written up by such slave drivers and the capitalist class. There are 12,000,000 colored people in the United States and The Messenger will see to it that their paper will educate the colored working class. They have a circulation of 22,000 subscribers and expect to double it in the next few weeks. If the mails will not reach them they will see that the paper is given out personally to the colored race and to the white people. Owen, asked for a collection and to subscribe for Liberty stock of The Messenger at $5.00 a share. $189.00 was collected in cash.

The Allies did not know the President when he first visited Europe; but the working class were wise to him, because he did not mean what he said. He is on both sides. He talks to the working class and acts for the capitalist class. The Italian Socialist left their seats when he visited Italy; also the socialists of France and England.

Lt. Colson protested against Burleson tactics of the mails against the paper. He wrote an article in last month's issue and will write another one next month, regarding the conditions of the soldiers' treatment in Europe. He was in France with a colored regiment.

Norman Thomas was introduced as a working class friend and editor of The World To-Morrow. He spoke along the lines of Socialism and the recognition of the colored workers; and that the only organization that represents the working class is the I.W.W. because there is no color line. An I.W.W. who was recently in his office explained to him of his incarceration in the prison of Seattle for eighteen months, and finally sent to Ellis Island where he was recently put on the streets penniless and this is what they call Justice. He also spoke of the Declaration of Independence which was made up by capitalists and slave dealers; and that we ought to take lessons from Russia, as they are a progressive country.

He said he bought The Messenger, as he entered the church, but did not read it through; but an article of the I.W.W. may have been the cause for Burleson barring the paper from the mail.

The chairman explained that the colored people produce the cotton for which they receive a small wage because they are not organized. The cotton is sent to England for manufacturing purposes; and keeps that country supplied with raw material. They will agitate among among the colored race to stop producing cotton and not send any of their products to England, and then the world will know the reason why...Through this agitation they will recognize the colored race and there will be no more lynching, Jim Crow cars and the colored people will be put on the equality as the white race. In the south 27,000 colored people are organized into one union, and they are going to try to make it a million in the next year or two. Organizors will be sent out and meetings will be held to educate the colored working class as to their rights; better pay and shorter hours. Also the six hour day which will dwindle down to the four hour day and then to the one hour day and then we will see what the working class can do.

Gurley Flynn spoke on the I.W.W. which is the only union that recognizes the colored people. Also of the Marine and Transport Workers of Philadelphia branch of the I.W.W. where the colored worker sits alongside of the white in their union and work together; and what the I.W.W. has done for the increase of the working class in that industry. She was in Florida and May 1st where she addressed an organized, but was surprised that there were no colored people in the Hall. She was later told that colored people are not allowed to meet with white people there. She spoke of the emancipation of the working class that they organize together for their own benefit. She cited an instance where the working class in a large steel mill were separated by nationality. They told the Italians who made the most work, they would hoist their flag to show their loyalty; and these capitalists went back to the Irish and said; "do not let those wops beat you. You do the most work and we will raise your flag." They worked like the blazes and the end was, that they produced so much work that they had to lay off one third of the force. This is to prove to you that the nationality shall not be separated by the capitalists. She spoke of the recent Irish meeting in Madison Sq. Garden by Valera and he defied the espionage law; because he has the working class on his side. And if she spoke one third of what they said in the Garden she would be held in such high bail that they would not be able to get her out of jail.

The chairman announced larger mass meetings will be organized to raise their voice against the powers that be, also Burleson and Judge Lamar of Georgia. He also remarked of the recent lynching in Texas of several negroes and the refusal of being served food to Jack Johnson in Mexico. He was finally served and the firm that did not serve him was put out of business.

Respectfully yours,

22

159.—Supplementary Proceedings—Affidavit and Order for Examination of Judgment Debtor. After return of Execution.

T.K.Bl.Cl

JULIUS BLUMBERG, INC., LAW BLANK PUBLISHERS
71 BROADWAY AND 1 RECTOR ST., NEW YORK

SUPREME COURT : NEW YORK COUNTY

In the Matter of Supplementary Proceedings:

WILLIAM SILVER,

Judgment Creditor

against

MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO. INC., CHANDLER OWEN, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and VICTOR R. DALY,

Judgment Debtor

Art. 45., Civil Practice Act.

Affidavit to obtain order for Examination of Judgment Debtor.

County of New York } ss.:

Benjamin Davidson being duly sworn, says that he is the attorney the above named William Silver who is the judgment creditor in this proceeding; that in an action in the Supreme Court of the State of New York, County of New York wherein William Silver was plaintiff and Messenger Publishing Co. Inc., et al were defendants a judgment was duly recovered and rendered against Messenger Publishing Co. Inc., et al the judgment debtor herein on the 21st day of January 1925 for three thousand three hundred & fifty six ($3,356.54) damages and costs after the personal service of the summons upon said judgment debtor ; that the said judgment was for a sum not less than twenty five dollars; that the Judgment Roll in this action was duly filed in the office of the Clerk of Supreme Court New York County on the 21st day of January 25 ; that a transcript of said judgment was duly filed and said judgment was duly docketed in the office of the Clerk of the County of New York on the 21st day of January 25 ; that thereafter an execution upon said judgment against the property of the said judgment debtor was on the 22nd day of January 25 duly issued out of the Supreme Court by the Clerk thereof, which is a Court of Record, to the Sheriff of the County of New York where said judgment debtor then had place of business and at the time of the commencement of this Special Proceeding still has place of business herein that the said Sheriff has duly returned said execution partly unsatisfied, and that the said judgment remains partly unpaid, and that no previous application has been made for this order. except an order dated June 5th, 1925, which could not be served.

Sworn to before me, this 29th *day of* June 1925

Zachary Grannerman
Notary Public

Benjamin Davidson

SUPREME COURT : NEW YORK COUNTY

In the matter of Supplementary Proceedings

WILLIAM SILVER,

Judgment Creditor

against

MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO. INC., CHANDLER OWEN, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and VICTOR R. DALY,

Judgment Debtor

Order for Examination of Judgment Debtor.

It appearing to my satisfaction, by the above affidavit of Benjamin Davidson attorney for William Silver. the the judgment creditor in this proceeding, that judgment has been duly recovered and rendered in the Supreme Court, New York County in an action wherein William Silver was plaintiff and Messenger Publishing Co. Inc. et al defendants against the above named Messenger Publishing Co. Inc. et al the judgment debtor herein on the 21st day of January 25 for the sum of $3,356.54 ; that said judgment was duly rendered upon a personal service of the summons herein upon the said judgment debtor ; that the said judgment was for a sum not less than twenty five dollars; that the Judgment Roll was duly filed in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, New York County on the 21st day of January 25 ; that a transcript of said judgment was duly filed and said judgment was duly docketed in the office of the Clerk of the County of New York on the 21st day of January 25 ; that thereafter an execution upon said judgment against the property of the said judgment debtor was on the 22nd day of January 25 duly issued out of the Supreme Court, N.Y. which is a Court of Record, to the Sheriff of the county of New York where said judgment debtor then had place of business and at the time of the commencement of this Special Proceeding still has place of business, ; and that such

execution has been duly returned partly unsatisfied, and that said judgment remains partly unsatisfied, and that no previous application has been made for this order: I do hereby order and require A. Philip Randolph the judgment debtor to appear before one of the other Justices sitting at Special Term, Part II of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, County of New York, Pearl & Centre Streets, 22nd June 22 30 here on the day of 19 at o'clock in the noon and on such further days as I or one of the Judges of this Court or the Referee duly appointed shall name, to make discovery on oath concerning his property. And the said judgment debtor is hereby forbidden to transfer or make any other disposition of the property belonging to him not exempt by law from execution, or in any manner to interfere therewith, until further order in the premises.

Dated at New York the 20 day of June 22 19

Richard P Lydon

JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

In the Matter of Supplementary Proceedings:

Judgment Creditor

against

Judgment Debtor

Affidavit of Service.

County of SS.:

being duly sworn, says; that he is over the age of years; that on the day of 19 at he served upon the foregoing order, and a copy of the foregoing affidavit by delivering said copy of said affidavit and a copy of said order to said personally, and leaving same with h , and at same time and place exhibiting to the within original order, and the signature of thereto subscribed. And that he knew the said to be the individual mentioned and described in said affidavit and order.

Deponent is not a party to this action.

Sworn to before me, this day of 192

Affidavit and Order

For Examination of Judgment Debtor.
After return of Execution.
(SUPPLEMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.)

Attorney for Judgment Creditor

Office and Post Office Address

(DEFAULT)

the judgment-debtor having been this day duly called in open Court at M. and M., respectively, and having failed to appear or answer, default is hereby duly noted.

Date

Justice of

270—New Form. Summons with Notice. Blank Court.

J. Meyers Stationery & Printing Co., Inc.
Stores: 280 Broadway, N. Y.

R. AE. MM. (9)

SUPREME COURT: NEW YORK COUNTY

ULMAN PRESS, INC.,

Plaintiff,

against

THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO.,INC.,

Defendant.

Summons with Notice

To the above named Defendant :

You are hereby summoned to answer the complaint in this action, and to serve a copy of your answer, or, if the complaint is not served with this summons, to serve a notice of appearance, on the Plaintiff's Attorney within twenty days after the service of this summons, exclusive of the day of service. In case of your failure to appear or answer, judgment will be taken against you by default for the relief demanded in the complaint.

Dated, N.Y. December 18th 1920

SMITH, ENDERFELD & WEISS

Attorney for Plaintiff.
(Office and Post Office Address)

277 Broadway

Borough of Manhattan, City of New York.

June 18, 1921

Affidavit of Service on Individual(s)

City and State of New York, County of ss.:

being duly sworn, deposes and says, that he resides at

and that on the day of 19 , at No.

, he served the within Summons and Complaint on

the Defendant therein named, by delivering to and leaving a true copy of each thereof with said defendant personally; deponent knew the said person so served as aforesaid to be the same person mentioned and described in said summons and complaint as the defendant therein; deponent is over the age of 21 years and not a party to this action.

Sworn to before me this
day of 19

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County.

Affidavit of Service on a Corporation

City and State of New York, County of ss.:

being duly sworn, deposes and says, that he resides at

and that on the day of 19 , at No.

, he served the within Summons and Complaint on

a corporation, the defendant therein named by delivering to and leaving a true copy of each thereof personally with an officer of said corporation, to wit, its deponent knew said corporation so served as aforesaid to be the same corporation mentioned and described in said summons and complaint as the defendant therein, and knew said to be such officer thereof at that time; deponent is over the age of 21 years and not a party to this action.

Sworn to before me this
day of 19

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County.

SUPREME COURT, NEW YORK COUNTY

ULLMAN PIERS, INC.,

Plaintiff,

against

MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO. INC.,

Defendant.

Summons

To the Defendant

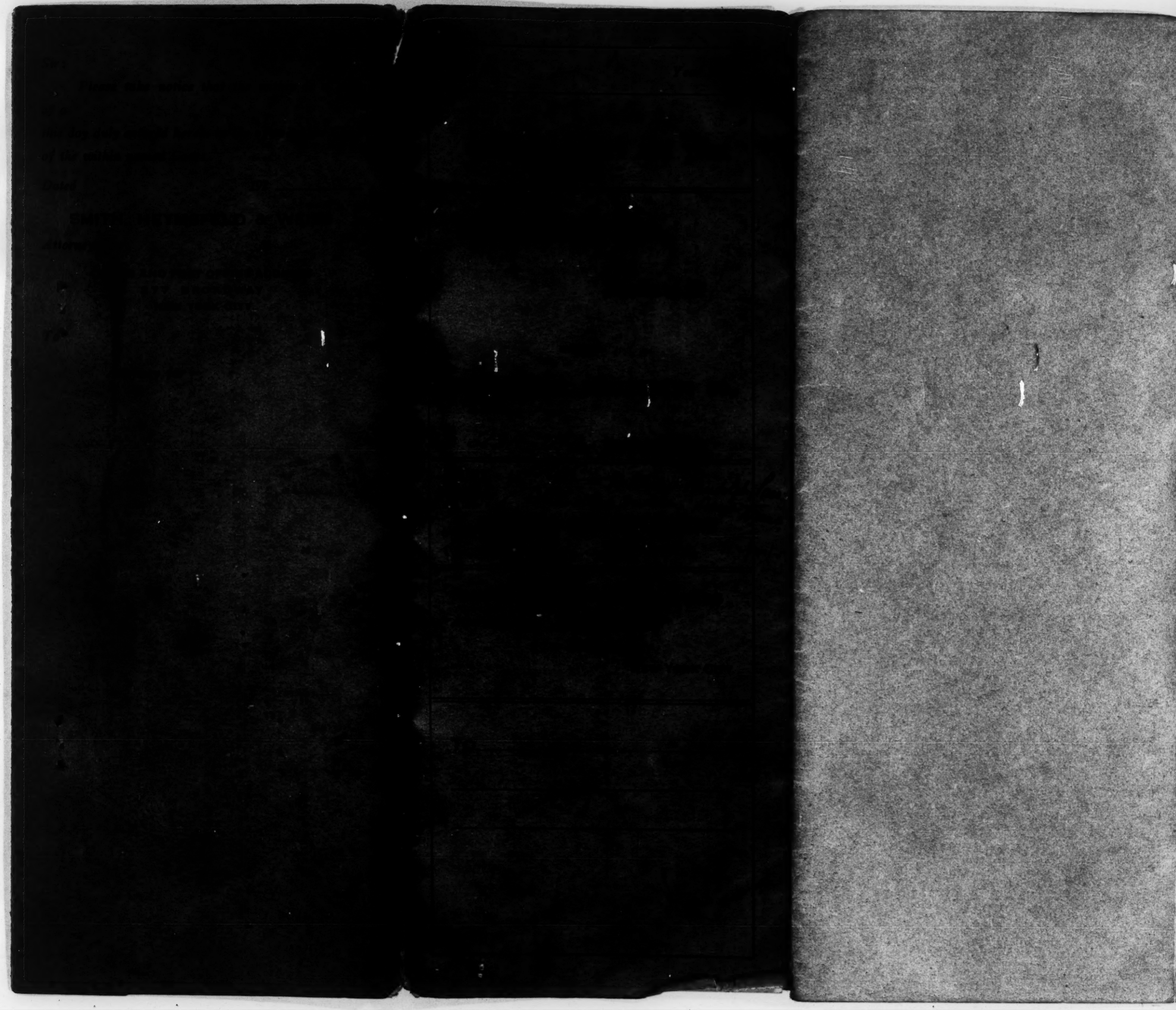
Notice is hereby given to you that, upon your default to appear, or answer the within summons, judgment will be taken against you for the sum of $ with interest from the day of 19 ; and the costs of this action.

SMITH, KNOWLES & WEISS,
Attorneys for Plaintiff.

(Office and Post Office Address)

[illegible] Broadway

Borough of Manhattan, City of New York



SUPREME COURT: NEW YORK COUNTY

- -X

ULLMAN PRESS, INC.,

Plaintiff

-vs-

THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO.INC.,

Defendant

- -X

Plaintiff complains:-

I: That at the times hereinafter mentioned, plaintiff was and now is a domestic corporation.

II: That at said times, defendant was and now is a corporation organized and existing under the laws of this State.

III: That on the 13th day of December, 1922, judgment was duly rendered in the Municipal Court of the City of New York, Borough of Manhattan, First District, in favor of plaintiff and against defendant in the sum of $986.70; that said judgment was duly docketed in the office of the Clerk of the County of New York where defendant had and now has its principal place of business and office; that an execution against the property of defendant was duly issued to the Sheriff of said County on the 16th day of December, 1923; that said execution has been returned wholly unsatisfied, and that said judgment remains unpaid to the extent of $991.70.

IV: Defendant is a publisher of a periodical called "THE MESSENGER" and has an office for the publication thereof at 2305 Seventh Avenue, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York.

V: Defendant has stock, fixtures, goodwill, accounts receivable and other assets which ought to be applied to the payment of this judgment.

VI: That plaintiff is suing on behalf of

itself and all other creditors of defendant similarly situated who will come in and share in the expenses of this action.

VII: That demand has been made upon the defendant to apply its assets to the payment of said judgment, but that defendant has failed and refused to do so.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff demands judgment that the property of defendant be sequestered and placed in the hands of a Receiver, and that the profits be distributed among the fair and honest creditors thereof according to law, and that plaintiff may have such other relief as may be just, with costs.

SMITH, HEINSFELD & WEISS
Attorneys for Plaintiff
Office & P.O.Address
277 Broadway
Borough of Manhattan
City of New York

CITY OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK } *ss.*

SIGMUND LIEBERMAN *being duly sworn, says that*

he is the **President of ULLMAN PRESS, INC., a domestic corporation,**
and plaintiff
in the within action; that *he has* *read the within* **complaint**

and knows the contents thereof; that the same is true to h **is** *own knowledge, except as to the matters therein*

stated to be alleged on information and belief, and that as to those matters *he believes it to be true.*

Sworn to before me this **15th** *day of* **December** *192* **6**

Samuel C. Ashkenazy
Comm. of Deeds
N.Y.City

Sigmund Lieberman

27B-2001-30-Bt

New York Supreme Court,

COUNTY OF NEW YORK

THE CITY OF NEW YORK,

Plaintiff,

against

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Defendant.

SUMMONS—The Plaintiff designates New York County as the place of trial.

To the above-named Defendant:

You are hereby summoned to answer the complaint in this action and to serve a copy of your answer, or, if the complaint is not served with this summons, to serve a notice of appearance on the plaintiff's attorney within twenty days after the service of this summons, exclusive of the day of service. In case of your failure to appear or answer, judgment will be taken against you by default for the relief demanded in the complaint.

Dated,

MARCH 12, 1951

ARTHUR J. W. HILLY,
Corporation Counsel,
Attorney for Plaintiff.

OFFICE AND POST-OFFICE ADDRESS
ROOM 1700, MUNICIPAL BUILDING,
BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN, NEW YORK CITY

1 # New York Supreme Court,

COUNTY OF NEW YORK

THE CITY OF NEW YORK,

Plaintiff,

2

against

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Defendant.

COMPLAINT—The Plaintiff designates New York County as the place of trial.

The plaintiff complains of the defendant, and shows to the Court as follows:

I. That the plaintiff herein was at all the times hereinafter mentioned and now is a domestic municipal corporation.

3 II. On information and belief that a Deputy Tax Commissioner, under the direction of the Board of Taxes and Assessments of The City of New York, duly assessed the defendant upon personal property in the sum of $ 10,000. for the purpose of taxation for the year 1927, as a resident of the Borough of MANHATTAN, in said City of New York. That said assessment was duly entered upon the Annual Record of the Assessed Valuation of Real and Personal Estate of the said Borough.

III. On information and belief, that the said Annual Record of the Assessed Valuation of Real and Personal Estate for the year 1927 was kept open for public inspection, examination and correction from the first day of October until the sixteenth day of November, 1926, as to real estate and from the first day of
4 October until the first day of December, 1926, as to personal property and that fact was duly advertised according to law.

IV. On information and belief that said Board of Taxes and Assessments, beginning with the first day of December, 1926, caused to be prepared from said Annual Record an assessment roll for said Borough; that said Board of Taxes and Assessments duly delivered the said roll upon which the said assessment was entered, to the Board of Aldermen of The City of New York, on or about the first day of March, 1927.

That the said Board of Aldermen estimated and set down opposite the sum set down as the valuation of the personal property of the defendant the sum of $ 266. to be paid by
5 the defendant as a tax thereon. That the said Board of Aldermen corrected and finally completed said assessment roll of said Borough, and when so completed caused said assessment roll of said Borough, or a fair copy thereof, to be duly delivered to the Receiver of Taxes with the proper warrants annexed, signed by the President of the Board of Aldermen, and countersigned by the City Clerk, directing and requiring the Receiver of Taxes to collect from the several persons named in the said assessment roll the several sums mentioned in the last column of the said roll opposite to their respective names.

V. That said Receiver of Taxes, immediately after he had received the said assessment roll gave due notice, by publication as required by law, that said assessment roll had been delivered to the Receiver of
6 Taxes, and that all taxes were due and payable at his office in said Borough, on the first day of May, 1927.

VI. That on the fifteenth day of January succeeding the year in which said tax was imposed, said tax
7 remained and still remains wholly unpaid and in arrears.

WHEREFORE, the plaintiff demands judgment against the defendant for the sum of $ 266. , with interest at the rate of seven per cent. per annum from the first day of May, 1927, besides the costs of this action.

ARTHUR J. W. HILLY,
Corporation Counsel,
Attorney for Plaintiff.

8 OFFICE AND POST-OFFICE ADDRESS
ROOM 1700, MUNICIPAL BUILDING,
BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN, NEW YORK CITY

9 CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK, ss.:

WILIAM REID, JR., being duly sworn, says: That he is the City Collector of The City of New York; that he has read the foregoing complaint and knows the contents thereof, and that the same is true to the knowledge of deponent, except as to those matters therein stated to be alleged on information and belief, and that as to those matters he believes it to be true.

Deponent further says that the reason why this verification is not made by the above-named plaintiff is that it is a corporation; that this deponent is an officer of the same, viz: City Collector, and that
10 the grounds of his belief as to all matters not therein stated upon his knowledge are as follows, to wit: information obtained from the books, records and papers in his office and the books and records of the Department of Taxes and Assessments and other departments of the City government.

Sworn to before me } WILLIAM REID, JR.

MAY 2 19[redacted]

BERNARD L. CARBERRY
Notary Public, Queens County.
11 *Certificate filed in New York County.*

COPY

No. 4469

Borough of MANHATTAN

Taxes of 1927.

RESIDENT

2 2206 14822

War. No.....; Sch. No.....; L. No.....

Vol. 85 Reg. p. 264

New York Supreme Court

COUNTY OF NEW YORK

THE CITY OF NEW YORK

against

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Summons and Complaint

ARTHUR J. W. HILLY,
Corporation Counsel,
Attorney for Plaintiff,
Room 1700, Municipal Building,
Borough of Manhattan,
New York City.

Issued by the
Bureau for the Collection of Arrears of Personal Taxes

142 W. 142d St., Res. 2311-7th Ave
2311 7th Ave
2390 W. Bklyn
4-7303

53-2005-30-B

SHERIFF'S OFFICE
COUNTY OF NEW YORK
HALL OF RECORDS
31 CHAMBERS STREET

Supreme COURT

William Silver

against

Messenger Publishing Co. Inc
Chandler Owen, A. Philip
Randolph & Victor R. Daly

EXECUTION issued Aug 7, 1936
for $ 3129.68 + Sheriff's fees
Plaintiff's Attorney,
Address of Defendant,

EXECUTION

By virtue of a writ of EXECUTION I have this 8th day of August 1936, levied upon the personal and real property of the judgment debtor within the County of New York, leviable under execution, sufficient to satisfy the execution in the above-entitled action.

KINDLY CALL AT THIS OFFICE IN REGARD TO THE ABOVE ENTITLED ACTION

JOHN E. NAGLE
Deputy
by: J. L. Lewis.
Asst.

DANIEL E. FINN
Sheriff

159.—Supplementary Proceedings—Affidavit and Order for Examination of Judgment Debtor. After return of Execution.

T.K.BI.CI

JULIUS BLUMBERG, INC., LAW BLANK PUBLISHERS
71 BROADWAY AND 1 RECTOR ST., NEW YORK

SUPREME COURT : NEW YORK COUNTY

In the Matter of Supplementary Proceedings:

WILLIAM SILVER,

Judgment Creditor

against

MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO. INC., CHANDLER OWEN, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and VICTOR R. DALY,

Judgment Debtor

Art. 45, Civil Practice Act.

Affidavit to obtain order for Examination of Judgment Debtor.

County of New York } ss.:

Benjamin Davidson being duly sworn, says that he is The attorney for the above named William Silver who is the judgment creditor in this proceeding; that in an action in the SUPREME COURT of the State of New York, County of New York, wherein William Silver was plaintiff and Messenger Publishing Co., Inc., et al were defendants a judgment was duly recovered and rendered against Messenger Publishing Co., Inc., et al the judgment debtor herein on the 21st day of January 1925 for Three thousand three hundred & fifty six ($3,356.54) dollars, damages and costs after the personal service of the summons upon said judgment debtor ; that the said judgment was for a sum not less than twenty five dollars; that the Judgment Roll in this action was duly filed in the office of the Clerk of New York County Supreme Court, on the 21st day of January 1925 ; that a transcript of said judgment was duly filed and said judgment was duly docketed in the office of the Clerk of the County of New York on the 21st day of January 1925 ; that thereafter an execution upon said judgment against the property of the said judgment debtor was on the 22nd day of January 1925 duly issued out of the Supreme Court to the Sheriff of the County of New York by the Clerk thereof, which is a County where said judgment debtor then had place of business and at the time of the commencement of this Special Proceeding still have place of business herein that the said Sheriff has duly returned said execution partly unsatisfied, and that the said judgment remains partly unpaid, and that no previous application has been made for this order, except one order dated June 8th, 1926, which could not be served.

Sworn to before me, this 22 *day of* June *1926* 28

Zachary L. Zimmerman
Commissioner of Deeds

Benjamin Davidson

SUPREME COURT : NEW YORK COUNTY

In the matter of Supplementary Proceedings

WILLIAM SILVER,

Judgment Creditor

against

MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., INC., CHANDLER OWEN, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and VICTOR R. DALY,

Judgment Debtor

Order for Examination of Judgment Debtor.

It appearing to my satisfaction, by the above affidavit of Benjamin Davidson, attorney for William Silver, the judgment creditor in the proceeding herein, that judgment has been duly recovered and rendered in the Supreme Court, New York County in an action wherein William Silver was plaintiff and Messenger Publishing Co., Inc., et al were defendants against the above named Messenger Publishing Co., Inc., et al the judgment debtor herein on the 21st day of January 1925 for the sum of $3,356.54 ; that said judgment was duly rendered upon a personal service of the summons herein upon the said judgment debtor ; that the said judgment was for a sum not less than twenty five dollars; that the Judgment Roll was duly filed in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, New York County on the 21st day of January 1925 ; that a transcript of said judgment was duly filed and said judgment was duly docketed in the office of the Clerk of the County of on the 21st day of January 1925 ; that thereafter an execution upon said judgment against the property of the said judgment debtor was on the 22nd day of January 1925 duly issued out of the Supreme Court, N.Y. County which is a County of business to the Sheriff of the county of New York where said judgment debtor then had place of business and at the time of the commencement of this Special Proceeding still have place of business ; and that such

execution has been duly returned partly unsatisfied, and that said judgment remains partly unpaid and that no previous application has been made for this order; I do hereby order and require Messenger Publishing Co. by A. Philip Randolph its President the judgment debtor to appear before me or one of the Justices sitting at Special Term Part II of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, County of New York, Pearl & Centre Streets,

on the 29th day of June 1928 at 10 o'clock in the forenoon and on such further days as I or one of the Judges of this Court or the Referee duly appointed shall name, to make discovery on oath concerning its property. And the said judgment debtor hereby forbidden to transfer or make any other disposition of the property belonging to it not exempt by law from execution, or in any manner to interfere therewith, until further order in the premises.

Dated at New York the 20 day of June 1928

Richard P. Lydon

JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

In the Matter of Supplementary Proceedings:

Judgment Creditor

against

Judgment Debtor

Affidavit of Service.

County of SS.:

being duly sworn, says; that he is over the age of years; that on the day of 19 at he served upon the foregoing order, and a copy of the foregoing affidavit by delivering said copy of said affidavit and a copy of said order to said personally, and leaving same with a place exhibiting to the within original order and the signature of address subscribed. And that he knew the said to be the individual mentioned and described in

Deponent is not a party to this action.

Sworn to before me, this day of 192

SUPREME COURT : NEW YORK COUNTY

PLEASE SERVE.

6-27

A. Philip Randolph

Affidavit and Order

For Examination of Judgment Debtor, After return of Execution.

(SUPPLEMENTARY PROCEEDINGS)

DENNIS ALVIN

Attorney for Judgment Creditor

Office and Post Office Address

(DEFAULT)

having been duly

and duly

default in

Dated

At a Special Term, Part I of the Supreme Court of the State of New York held in and for the County of New York at the county Court House, Pearl and Centre Street in the Borough of Manhatta, City of New York, on the 2[illegible] day of September, 1936.

P R E S E N T :

HON. EDGAR J. LASHER
Justice

In the Matter of Proceedings Supplementary To Execution under a Judgment in Favor of

WILLIAM SILVER,

Judgment-Creditor,

-against-

MESSINGER PUBLISHING CO. INC., CHANDLER [illegible], A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and VICTOR J. DALY,

Judgment-Debtors.

A motion having come on to be heard before me on the 14th day of September, 1936 at Special Term, Part I of this Court for an order to punish the above named judgment debtor A. Philip Randolph for contempt, for a violation and non-compliance with the order of this Court requiring his appearance at Special Term, Part II on the 26th day of August, 1936 and that he be punished for such contempt.

NOW, upon reading and filing the order to show cause dated the 8th day of September, 1936, the affidavit of Benjamin Davidson sworn to September 2nd, 1936, the notation of the judgment-debtor's default dated August 26th, 1936, the order of this Court made by Hon. Alfred Frankenthaler dated the 18th day of August, 1936, the affidavit of Benjamin Davidson sworn to August 17th, 1936, the affidavit of Dave Babich sworn to the 11th day of September, 1936, showing the due per-

sonal service of the order to show cause on the judgment-debtor A. Philip Randolph, and after hearing Benjamin Davidson, Esq. the attorney for the judgment creditor in support of the motion and no one appearing in opposition thereto,

NOW ON MOTION of Benjamin Davidson, Esq. attorney for the judgment creditor and upon filing the opinion of the Court, it is,

ORDERED, that the motion to punish the judgment-debtor A. Philip Randolph for contempt of Court is granted; and it is,

ORDERED, that the judgment-debtor A. Philip Randolph is guilty of contempt of Court in having willfully disobeyed the said order of the Court, in failing to appear for his examination at Special Term Part XX of this Court on the 26th day of August, 1936; that he has failed to satisfactorily excuse or explain said contempt; and it is,

ORDERED, that the said misconduct of the said judgment-debtor A. Philip Randolph was calculated to and actually impeded, impaired and prejudiced the rights and remedies of the judgment creditor, and it is further,

ORDERED, that the said A. Philip Randolph be, and he hereby is fined for said contempt the sum of $250.00 which sum shall be paid to the judgment creditor by the said A. Philip Randolph judgment-debtor and said sum of $250.00 when paid shall be applied towards the satisfaction of this judgment, and it is further,

ORDERED, that the judgment-debtor A. Philip Randolph may purge himself of contempt and the fine will be remitted by his appearing for and submitting to an examination to be held at the Special Term, Part XX of this Court on the 16th day of September, 1936, at 10:00 in the forenoon of said date, and it is further,

ORDERED, that upon the failure of the said judgment-debtor A. Philip Randolph to pay said fine as aforesaid or purge himself of said contempt in the manner aforesaid an order for his commitment shall be issued without further notice to him, directed to the sheriff of any county in the State wherein the said debtor shall be apprehended commanding him forthwith to arrest said debtor without further process and commit him to the county jail of said county until he shall pay said fine or such part as shall be imposed or is discharged according to law.

E N T E R :

Edgar J. Laws

J. S.. C.

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK, COUNTY OF } ss.:

INDIVIDUAL VERIFICATION

....., being duly sworn, deposes and says that ....he is.... the.....in the within action; that he has.....read the foregoing .....and knows the contents thereof; that the same is true to h own knowledge, except as to the matters herein stated to be alleged on information and belief, and that as to those matters he believes it to be true.

Sworn to before me this.....
day of.....19

_____

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County

CORPORATION VERIFICATION

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK, COUNTY OF } ss.:

....., being duly sworn, deposes and says that ....he is the.....of..... .....
the corporation named in the within entitled action; that he has read the foregoing .....and knows the contents thereof, and that the same is true to h own knowledge, except as to the matters herein stated to be alleged upon information and belief, and as to those matters he believes it to be true.

Deponent further says that the reason this verification is made by deponent and not by the .....is because the said.....
.....is a.....corporation, and deponent an officer thereof, to wit its.....

Sworn to before me this.....
day of.....19

_____

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County

AFFIDAVIT OF PERSONAL SERVICE

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK } ss:
COUNTY OF

being duly sworn, deposes and says, that he is over the age of years. That on the day of , 19 , at No. in the , he served the foregoing upon in this action, by delivering to and leaving personally with said a true copy thereof.

Deponent further says, that he knew the person, served as aforesaid to be the person mentioned and described in said as the therein.

Sworn to before me this
day of 19 }

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County

AFFIDAVIT OF SERVICE BY MAIL

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK } ss:
COUNTY OF

being duly sworn, deposes and says, that on the day of , 19 , he served the within upon the attorney for the in the within action, by enclosing a true copy thereof in a securely sealed postpaid wrapper addressed as follows:

and by depositing the same in the post office box regularly maintained by the United States Government at in the Borough of City of New York.

That deponent further says that the said is the attorney for the herein and that address set forth on said wrapper is the office and post office address given by the said attorney upon the last paper served by in the within action.

Sworn to before me this
day of 19 }

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County

SIR:

Please take notice that the within is a true copy of an order entered herein in the office of the Clerk of this Court on September 22nd, 1936.

Yours, etc.

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON

Attorney for Plaintiff

Office and Post Office Address

21 East 40th Street

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To

Attorney for

SIR:

Please take notice that an order of which the within is a true copy will be presented for settlement and signature herein to the Justice

at of this Court at in the Borough of City of New York, on the day of , 193 at o'clock in the noon.

Dated, N. Y. , 193

Yours, etc.

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON

Attorney for

Office and Post Office Address

Borough of New York City

To

Attorney for

Clerk's Index No. 24303 Year 1936

SUPREME COURT : NEW YORK COUNTY

IN THE MATTER OF PROCEEDINGS SUPPLEMENTARY TO EXECUTION UNDER A JUDGMENT IN FAVOR OF

WILLIAM SILVER,

Plaintiff,

-against-

MESSINGER PUBLISHING CO. INC., A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, et al.,

Defendants

ORDER AND NOTICE OF ENTRY

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON

Attorney for Plaintiff

21 East 40th Street

Borough of Manhattan New York City

SUPREME COURT : NEW YORK COUNTY

- - - -

1936, at 10:00 o'clock in the forenoon of that day and show cause why he should not be punished as for contempt for violation and non-compliance with the said Order dated the 18th day of August, 1936, and why he should not pay the costs of this motion and why the judgment-creditor should not have such other and further relief as may be proper.

Service of a copy of this Order and of the papers upon which it is based on the judgment-debtor A. PHILIP RANDOLPH on or before the 11th day of September 1936, shall be deemed sufficient.

Dated: New York, the 8th day of September, 1936.

Lloyd Church

JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

SUPREME COURT : COUNTY OF NEW YORK

- - - -

noted by the Justice presiding at the said Court at the said time and place, as appea rs by the notation on said Order; that the conduct of the said judgment-debtor A. PHILIP RANDOLPH was calculated to and actually did defeat, impair, impede and prejudice the rights and remedies of the judgment-creditor herein.

That no previous application for the annexed order has been made.

Sworn to before me this
2nd day of September, 1936.

FANNIE SCHECHTER, Notary Public, Bronx County
Bronx Co. Clk's No. 351 Register's No. 358338
New York Co. Clk's No. 1828 Register's No. 931095
Kings Co. Clerk's No. 367 Register's No. 3715
Commission expires March 30, 1938

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK

In the Matter of Proceedings Supplementary to Execution, under a judgment in favor of

WILLIAM SILVER,

Judgment Creditor,

-against-

MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., INC., CHANDLER OWEN, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and VICTOR R. DALY

Judgment Debtors.

The Judgment-debtor A. Philip Randolph having been this day called in open Court at 10:00 and 10:30 respectively, and having failed to appear or answer, his default is hereby noted.
Dated, New York, County August, 1936

L.C.
Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York
LLOYD CHURCH

IT APPEARING TO MY SATISFACTION, by the annexed affidavit of Benjamin Davidson, attorney for judgment creditor, sworn to August 17, 1936 that judgment has been duly recovered and rendered in the Supreme Court, New York County, in an action wherein William Silver was plaintiff, and the judgment debtors above named were defendants against the above named defendants, Messenger Publishing Co., Inc., Chandler Owen, A. Philip Randolph and Victor R. Daly the judgment debtors herein on the 21st day of January, 1925 for the sum of $3,356.54; that said judgment was duly rendered upon personal service of the summons herein upon the said judgment debtors; that the said judgment was for a sum not less than twenty-five dollars; that the Judgment Roll was duly filed in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, New York County on the 21st day of January, 1925; that thereafter execution upon said judgment against the property of the said judgment debtors was on the 22nd day of January, 1925 duly issued out of the Supreme Court, New York County which is a Court of Record to the Sheriff of the County of New York where said judgment debtors then resided or had a place for the transaction of business; that thereafter the said Sheriff returned the said execution partly unsatisfied, and that the said judgment

remains unpaid to the extent of $3,129.68 with interest; that on the 10th day of April, 1936, an order was duly made and entered in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, New York County granting leave to issue execution upon the judgment herein against one of the above named judgment debtors, to wit: A. Philip Randolph; that on the 7th day of August, 1936 an execution was duly issued out of the Supreme Court, New York County to the Sheriff of the County of New York where said judgment debtor, A. Philip Randolph, then and at the time of the commencement of this special proceeding resided and still resides; that the said Sheriff has returned the said execution wholly unsatisfied and that no previous application has been made for this order.

I DO HEREBY ORDER AND REQUIRE A. Philip Randolph, one of the judgment debtors herein to appear before me or one of the other Justices of this Court at Special Term, Part II at the County Court House, corner of Pearl and Center Streets in the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York on the 26 day of August, 1936 at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of that day and on such further days as I or one of the Judges of this Court or the Referee duly appointed shall name, to make discovery on oath concerning his property. And the said judgment debtor A. Philip Randolph is hereby forbidden to transfer or make any other disposition of the property belonging to him not exempt by law from execution, or in any manner to interfere therewith, until further order in the premises.

Dated at New York the 19 day of August, 1936

Alfred Frankenthaler

JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK

- -x

In the Matter of Proceedings
Supplementary to Execution, under
a judgment in favor of

WILLIAM SILVER,

Judgment Creditor,

-against-

MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., INC., CHANDLER
OWEN, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and VICTOR R.DALY

Judgment Debtors.

- -x

STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK } ss:

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is the attorney for the judgment creditor herein; that in an action in the Supreme Court, New York County, wherein one William Silver was plaintiff and the judgment debtors above named were defendants, a judgment was duly recovered and rendered against the judgment debtors herein on the 31st day of January, 1925, for $5,336.54 damages and costs; that the said judgment was for more than ($25.00) twenty-five dollars; that the judgment roll in this action was duly filed in the office of the Clerk of the said Supreme Court on the 31st day of January, 1925; thereafter an execution upon said judgment against the property of the said judgment debtors herein was on the 22nd day of January, 1926 duly issued out of the Supreme Court, New York County which is a Court of Record, to the sheriff of the County of New York where said judgment debtors then resided or had a place for the transaction of business; that thereafter the said sheriff returned said execution partly satisfied and that the said judgment remains unpaid to the

extent of $5,129.69 with interest; that said judgment was duly rendered and recovered upon the personal service of the summons upon the defendants.

That on the 18th day of April, 1936, an order was duly made and entered in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, New York County, granting leave to issue execution upon the judgment herein against one of the above named judgment debtors, to wit: A. Philip Randolph.

That on the 7th day of August, 1936, an execution was duly issued out of the Supreme Court, New York County, to the sheriff of the County of New York where said judgment debtor, A. Philip Randolph then and at the time of the commencement of this special proceedings resided, and still resides; that the said sheriff has returned the said execution wholly unsatisfied.

That no previous application has been made for the annexed order.

Sworn to before me
this 7 day of August, 1936.

FANNIE SCHECHTER, Notary Public, Bronx County
Bronx Co. Clk's No. 351 Register's No. 359838
New York Co. Clk's No. 1828 Register's No. 8S1095
Kings Co. Clerk's No. 367 Register's No. 8715
Commission expires March 30, 1938

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK,
COUNTY OF } ss.:

INDIVIDUAL VERIFICATION

....., being duly sworn, deposes and says that ....he is.... the.....in the within action; that he has.....read the foregoing .....and knows the contents thereof; that the same is true to h own knowledge, except as to the matters herein stated to be alleged on information and belief, and that as to those matters he believes it to be true.

Sworn to before me this.....
day of.....19

_____

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County

CORPORATION VERIFICATION

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK,
COUNTY OF } ss.:

....., being duly sworn, deposes and says that ....he is the.....of..... the corporation named in the within entitled action; that he has read the foregoing .....and knows the contents thereof, and that the same is true to h own knowledge, except as to the matters herein stated to be alleged upon information and belief, and as to those matters he believes it to be true.

Deponent further says that the reason this verification is made by deponent and not by the .....is because the said.....is a.....corporation, and deponent an officer thereof, to wit its.....

Sworn to before me this.....
day of.....19

_____

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County

AFFIDAVIT OF PERSONAL SERVICE

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF } ss:

being duly sworn, deposes and says, that he is over the age of years. That on the day of , 19 , at No. in the , he served the foregoing upon in this action, by delivering to and leaving personally with said a true copy thereof.

Deponent further says, that he knew the person, served as aforesaid to be the person mentioned and described in said as the therein.

Sworn to before me this
day of 19 }

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County

AFFIDAVIT OF SERVICE BY MAIL

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF } ss:

being duly sworn, deposes and says, that on the day of , 19 , he served the within upon the attorney for the in the within action, by enclosing a true copy thereof in a securely sealed postpaid wrapper addressed as follows:

and by depositing the same in the post office box regularly maintained by the United States Government at in the Borough of City of New York.

That deponent further says that the said is the attorney for the herein and that address set forth on said wrapper is the office and post office address given by the said attorney upon the last paper served by in the within action.

Sworn to before me this
day of 19 }

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County

SIR:

Please take notice that the within is a true copy of a
this day made and entered herein in the office of the Clerk of
Dated, N. Y., 19

Yours, etc.

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON

Attorney for

Office and Post Office Address,

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To Esq.

Attorney for

SIR:

Please take notice that an order of which the within is a true copy will be presented for settlement and signature herein to Mr. Justice
at of
this Court at
in the Borough of
City of New York,
on the day of 19
at o'clock in the noon.

Dated, N. Y., 19

Yours, etc.

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON

Attorney for

Office and Post Office Address,

Borough of Manhattan New York City

To Esq.

Attorney for

Clerk's Index No. Year

SUPREME COURT : COUNTY OF NEW YORK

IN THE MATTER OF PROCEEDINGS SUPPLEMENTARY TO EXECUTION UNDER A JUDGMENT IN FAVOR OF

WILLIAM SILVER,

Judgment-Creditor,

-against-

MESSINGER PUBLISHING CO. INC., A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, et al.,

Judgment-Debtor.

AFFIDAVIT AND ORDER TO SHOW CAUSE AND EXHIBITS

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON

Attorney for Judgment-Creditor

Office and Post Office Address

Borough of Manhattan New York City

A. Carnahan, Stationer, 115 Nassau Street, New York

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK. . . . . -x

In the Matter of Proceedings
Supplementary to Execution, under
a judgment in favor of

WILLIAM SILVER,

Judgment Creditor,

-against-

MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., INC., CHANDLER
OWEN, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and VICTOR R. DALY

Judgment Debtors.

. x

IT APPEARING TO MY SATISFACTION, by the annexed affidavit of Benjamin Davidson, attorney for judgment creditor, sworn to August 17, 1926 that judgment has been duly recovered and rendered in the Supreme Court, New York County, in an action wherein William Silver was plaintiff, and the judgment debtors above named were defendants against the above named defendants, Messenger Publishing Co., Inc., Chandler Owen, A. Philip Randolph and Victor R. Daly the judgment debtors herein on the 31st day of January, 1925 for the sum of $3,336.54; that said judgment was duly rendered upon personal service of the summons herein upon the said judgment debtors; that the said judgment was for a sum not less than twenty-five dollars; that the Judgment Roll was duly filed in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, New York County on the 31st day of January, 1925; that thereafter execution upon said judgment against the property of the said judgment debtors was on the 22nd day of January, 1926 duly issued out of the Supreme Court, New York County which is a Court of Record to the Sheriff of the County of New York where said judgment debtors then resided or had a place for the transaction of business; that thereafter the said Sheriff returned the said execution partly unsatisfied, and that the said judgment

remains unpaid to the extent of $3,129.68 with interest; that on the 10th day of April, 1936, an order was duly made and entered in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, New York County granting leave to issue execution upon the judgment herein against one of the above named judgment debtors, to wit: A. Philip Randolph; that on the 7th day of August, 1936 an execution was duly issued out of the Supreme Court, New York County to the Sheriff of the County of New York where said judgment debtor, A. Philip Randolph, then and at the time of the commencement of this special proceeding resided and still resides; that the said Sheriff has returned the said execution wholly unsatisfied and that no previous application has been made for this order.

I DO HEREBY ORDER AND REQUIRE A. Philip Randolph, one of the judgment debtors herein to appear before me or one of the other Justices of this Court at Special Term, Part II at the County Court House, corner of Pearl and Center Streets in the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York on the 26 day of August, 1936 at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of that day and on such further days as I or one of the Judges of this Court or the Referee duly appointed shall name, to make discovery on oath concerning his property. And the said judgment debtor A. Philip Randolph is hereby forbidden to transfer or make any other disposition of the property belonging to him not exempt by law from execution, or in any manner to interfere therewith, until further order in the premises.

Dated at New York the 18 day of August, 1936

Alfred Frankenthaler

JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK
- -x

In the Matter of Proceedings
Supplementary to Execution, under
a judgment in favor of

WILLIAM SILVER,

Judgment Creditor,

-against-

HERSINGER PUBLISHING CO.,INC., CHANDLER
OWEN, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and VICTOR R.DALY

Judgment Debtors.

- -x

STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK } ss

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON being duly sworn, deposes and says:

That he is the attorney for the judgment creditor herein; that in an action in the Supreme Court, New York County, wherein one William Silver was plaintiff and the judgment debtors above named were defendants, a judgment was duly recovered and rendered against the judgment debtors herein on the 21st day of January, 1925, for $3,356.54 damages and costs; that the said judgment was for more than ($25.00) twenty-five dollars; that the Judgment Roll in this action was duly filed in the office of the Clerk of the said Supreme Court on the 21st day of January, 1925; thereafter an execution upon said judgment against the property of the said judgment debtors herein was on the 22nd day of January, 1925 duly issued out of the Supreme Court, New York County which is a Court of Record, to the sheriff of the County of New York where said judgment debtors then resided or had a place for the transaction of business; that thereafter the said sheriff returned said execution partly satisfied and that the said judgment remains unpaid to the

extent of $5,129.68 with interest; that said judgment was duly rendered and recovered upon the personal service of the summons upon the defendants.

That on the 16th day of April, 1936, an order was duly made and entered in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, New York County, granting leave to issue execution upon the judgment herein against one of the above named judgment debtors, to wit: A. Philip Randolph.

That on the 7th day of August, 1936, an execution was duly issued out of the Supreme Court, New York County, to the sheriff of the County of New York where said judgment debtor, A. Philip Randolph then and at the time of the commencement of this special proceedings resided, and still resides; that the said sheriff has returned the said execution wholly unsatisfied.

That no previous application has been made for the annexed order.

Sworn to before me
this 17 day of August, 1936.

[illegible] SCHECHTER, Notary Public, Bronx County
Bx Co. Clk's No. 351 Register's No. 356538
New York Co. Clk's No. 1828 Register's No. 8S1095
Kings Co. Clerk's No. 367 Register's No. 8715
Commission expires March 30, 1938

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK, COUNTY OF } ss.:

INDIVIDUAL VERIFICATION

....., being duly sworn, deposes and says that ....he is.... the.....in the within action; that he has.....read the foregoing .....and knows the contents thereof; that the same is true to h own knowledge, except as to the matters herein stated to be alleged on information and belief, and that as to those matters he believes it to be true.

Sworn to before me this.....
day of.....19

_____

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County

CORPORATION VERIFICATION

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK, COUNTY OF } ss.:

....., being duly sworn, deposes and says that ....he is the.....of..... .....
the corporation named in the within entitled action; that he has read the foregoing .....and knows the contents thereof, and that the same is true to h own knowledge, except as to the matters herein stated to be alleged upon information and belief, and as to those matters he believes it to be true.

Deponent further says that the reason this verification is made by deponent and not by the .....is because the said.....
.....is a.....corporation, and deponent an officer thereof, to wit its.....

Sworn to before me this.....
day of.....19

_____

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County

AFFIDAVIT OF PERSONAL SERVICE

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK COUNTY OF } ss:

being duly sworn, deposes and says, that he is over the age of years. That on the day of , 19 , at No. in the , he served the foregoing upon in this action, by delivering to and leaving personally with said a true copy thereof.

Deponent further says, that he knew the person, served as aforesaid to be the person mentioned and described in said as the therein.

Sworn to before me this
day of 19 }

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County

AFFIDAVIT OF SERVICE BY MAIL

STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK COUNTY OF } ss:

being duly sworn, deposes and says, that on the day of , 19 , he served the within upon the attorney for the in the within action, by enclosing a true copy thereof in a securely sealed postpaid wrapper addressed as follows:

and by depositing the same in the post office box regularly maintained by the United States Government at in the Borough of City of New York.

That deponent further says that the said is the attorney for the herein and that address set forth on said wrapper is the office and post office address given by the said attorney upon the last paper served by in the within action.

Sworn to before me this
day of 19 }

Commissioner of Deeds for the City of New York.
Notary Public, County

SIR:

Please take notice that the within is a true copy of a
this day made and entered herein in the office of the Clerk of
Dated, N. Y., , 193

Yours, etc.

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON

Attorney for

Office and Post Office Address,
570 Seventh Avenue
Borough of Manhattan New York City

To , Esq.

Attorney for

SIR:

Please take notice that an order of which the within is a true copy will be presented for settlement and signature herein to Mr. Justice
at of this Court at
in the Borough of City of New York,
on the day of , 193
at o'clock in the noon.
Dated, N. Y., , 193

Yours, etc.

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON

Attorney for

Office and Post Office Address,
570 Seventh Avenue
Borough of Manhattan New York City

To , Esq.

Attorney for

A. Grundie, Stationer, 116 Nassau Street, New York

Clerk's Index No. 1544 Year 1363

SUPREME COURT
COUNTY OF NEW YORK

In Supplementary Proceedings

WILLIAM GLEVIN,

Judgment Creditor,

-against-

HERITAGE PUBLISHERS CO., INC. et al.

Judgment Debtors

AFFIDAVIT AND ORDER

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON

Attorney for Judgment Creditor
[illegible]
Borough of Manhattan [illegible] New York City

Wm A. Philip Randolph
209 W 148 St

The Messenger

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SEPTEMBER, 1926

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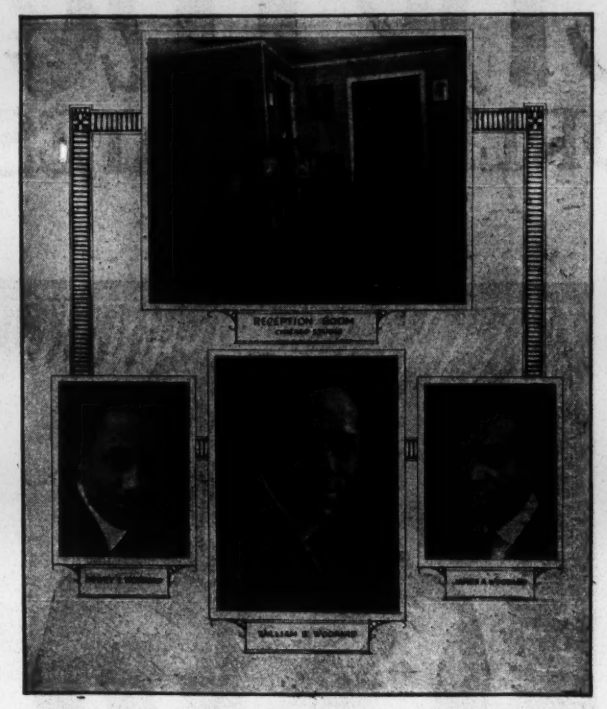

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ROY LANCASTER

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AN OPEN LETTER

To My Late Fellow Workers of the Pennsylvania District

Fellow Workers, Brothers and Sisters:—

I think this is the most appropriate time to send greetings of cheer to members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and an appeal to those who have not yet cast their lot with us, to do so at once. The twenty-fifth of August will mark the First Anniversary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which is the embodiment of that ideal to which the thinkers of the race are hopefully aspiring.

It is the first well-defined movement for the ultimate consummation of freedom from economic slavery. The struggle for a foothold in a new field of endeavor has been hard, fast and always acute; but the results are encouraging even beyond our most roseate dreams. Today we stand second to none from point of achievement, when time and attendant conditions are calculated.

Those who have caught the vision of "a world where labor reaps its just reward and work and worth go hand in hand" have already enlisted, fought with courage and the splendid spirit of real pioneers, who believe in their cause and are willing to die for it. Against threats, coercion, harassment and espionage, their zeal, for the right has been unflagging. Even at this initial stage, the collossal possibilities of a great Brotherhood, is clearly demonstrated and the knowledge that we stand or fall together keeps the individuals moving with courage onward, as a single unit.

To the men and women who have given of their best for the uplift of this movement in time, money and intelligence, too much praise cannot be given—unselfishness is a virtue and virtue is its own reward. Yet, if that does not suffice when the history of our epochal struggle is written, and a later generation scans its pages, their names and deeds shall stand out in bold relief, as persons who gave their quota in the making of a better world in the building of a world in which democracy means more than a name—a spiritual democracy. That is a heritage worthy of bequest and will be received with just pride and be a stimulant for emulation to those who follow.

I turn with reluctance from the contemplation of this pleasant picture to view another which saddens. Those who refuse to help in the promotion of their race from tip takers to tip givers, from poverty to competence, from sorrow to joy, from darkness to light, from ignorance to enlightenment, and from the thralldom of economic slavery to the sunlight of economic freedom and progress.

The porters, who, entrenched in a crystalization of selfishness, neglect or refuse to aid in making this much desired spiritual awakening function to its maximum capacity. To these men, I now make my appeal, personally and in the guise of true comradeship; that feeling I have always endeavored to foster as side by side with you I worked, sharing your joys and sorrows and interchanged thoughts for the promotion of our welfare. I may say without a trace of egotism that my work stands as surety of my good intentions and honesty towards you.

From my entrance in the Pullman service in February, 1909 until my discharge from that service in June, 1925, I worked faithfully to lift the standard of treatment meted out to porters and maids. As Chairman of the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association and Secretary of the Grievance Committee, I worked from the inside, gaining information and experimenting with the feeble instruments of justice thrust on the porters and maids by the Pullman Company. In plain language, they are merely smoke-screens for the delusion of the weak minded and the destruction of self-expression.

Without fear of reasonable contradiction and with regard for truth and justice to all, I say they are as useless as instruments of equity and honest deliberation, as a pair of snow skates would be in equatorial Africa. Had I thought of my personal welfare, to the exclusion of the services I owed to those who trusted me, as their representative, I could now be high in the favor of the Pullman Company. My crime was because I struggled against serious odds to awaken you, fellow workers, to the bald truth; that you had no representative machine working for your welfare, but an autocratic machine in representative clothing.

An Employees' Representative Plan, in the present form, has not and can never have the best interest of the workers at heart. It has been exposed and no intelligent worker pays any attention to it. It is a bauble placed on the road to success to attract the feeble-minded and retard their progress. With full knowledge of this, I tried to uncover its weaknesses by forcing it to function and lost my job as a Pullman porter.

It is said "A gambler never wins until he quits." In losing my job, my first great battle was won. At great sacrifice, I found myself facing the world without a job; but in complete retention of my self respect. Freedom to devote my time to aid in the building of an independent and truly representative body, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids, was gained.

Today our organization is recognized throughout the country, as the greatest single factor that has materialized as a star of hope for the guidance of a down-trodden race. Our success has been great, but many men have lagged behind—stragglers in a great race. Wise cooperation is the keynote of success. We need the assistance of every porter and maid in the Pullman service and you need the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids to gain for you the recognition which your long services and merits have earned, and yet have been denied. Will you not join us now and prove yourself real men and women?

Brothers and sisters of the Pennsylvania District, you are showing the worse results of any district in the country. Surely you do not wish to appear before the world as being less intelligent, less progressive, more selfish, cowardly and with a stronger view of slave psychology in evidence than your fellow workers? I feel jealous for your reputation. Are you going to persist in making me feel that my sacrifice for you was in vain and you have not the guts to enter a fight of strong men and women?

Will you stand idly by and see the struggle to uplift a neglected group and increase the efficiency of the race to which you belong, rage, without helping?

Do you wish to know that your wives, daughters, sisters and mothers are eternally doomed, by your selfishness to be the proverbial "Hewers of wood and drawers of water?"

Do you want to leave a heritage of shame for your sons and daughters, in the absence of your name from among those who helped in the establishment of this great union? You have already enjoyed the good results of our struggle, in better wages and working conditions. Are you so devoid of a sense of fair-play as to continue to do so without giving an adequate return by your assistance?

Are you still so blind as to believe it was received through the pure good will of the Pullman Company?

It cannot be possible! Wake up, comrades, from your coma and think in terms of modern progressiveness. Forge to the front and make the Brotherhood proud of its Pennsylvania representatives. Permit me to say brothers and sisters, before closing, a few words of explanation to clear from your minds any misapprehensions as regards the aims and objective of our Union.

The Brotherhod of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids is a constructive organization. It stands for justice to employer and employees. It is no cloak for insubordination, inefficiency, dishonesty or inebriety, but aims through wise cooperation and proper selections to raise the standard of the Pullman service to its highest possibility. If the Pullman Company is honest towards you, in its pretensions, it should have no objections to our Union; but should welcome it as a valuable ally.

We only differ in the selections of representatives. Again friends, let me urge you to save yourselves from the stigma of the name of slackers by joining this onward, forward movement of progressives. Then work well and wisely, be true to yourselves, so that as time advances, we may look back with pride and satisfaction at our accomplishments.

If the road seems hard, the reward will, as a consequence, be great. Have faith in right and truth. Work with good will and success is bound to crown your efforts. Let me here pledge my faithful services to you, in the future as I have endeavored to render them in the past.

God and the right speed the cause.

Your obedient servant,

ROY LANCASTER.

THE EATONVILLE ANTHOLOGY

By ZORA NEALE HURSTON

I

The Pleading Woman

Mrs. Tony Roberts is the pleading woman. She just loves to ask for things. Her husband gives her all he can rake and scrape, which is considerably more than most wives get for their housekeeping, but she goes from door to door begging for things.

She starts at the store. "Mist" Clarke," she sing-songs in a high keening voice, "gimme lil' piece uh meat tuh boil a pot uh greens wid. Lawd knows me an' mah chillen is SO hongry! Hits uh SHAME! Tony don't fee-ee-eee-ed me!

Mr. Clarke knows that she has money and that her larder is well stocked, for Tony Roberts is the best provider on his list. But her keening annoys him and he arises heavily. The pleader at this shows all the joy of a starving man being seated at a feast.

"Thass right Mist' Clarke. De Lawd loveth de cheerful giver. Gimme jes' a lil' piece 'bout dis big (indicating the width of her hand) an' de Lawd'll bless yuh."

She follows this angel-on-earth to his meat tub and superintends the cutting, crying out in pain when he refuses to move the knife over just a teeny bit mo'.

Finally, meat in hand, she departs, remarking on the meanness of some people who give a piece of salt meat only two-fingers wide when they were plainly asked for a hand-wide piece. Clarke puts it down to Tony's account and resumes his reading.

With the slab of salt pork as a foundation, she visits various homes until she has collected all she wants for the day. At the Piersons, for instance: "Sister Pierson, plee-ee-ease gimme uh han'ful uh collard greens fuh me an' mah po' chillen! 'Deed, me an' mah chillen is SO hongry. Tony doan' fee-ee-eed me!

Mrs. Pierson picks a bunch of greens for her, but she springs away from them as if they were poison. "Lawd a mussy, Mis' Pierson, you ain't gonna gimme dat lil' eye-full uh greens fuh me an' mah chillen, is you? Don't be so graspin'; Gawd won't bless yuh. Gimme uh han'full mo'. Lawd, some folks is got everything, an' theys jes' as gripin' an stingy!"

Mrs. Pierson raises the ante, and the pleading woman moves on to the next place, and on and on. The next day, it commences all over.

II

Turpentine Love

Jim Merchant is always in good humor—even with his wife. He says he fell in love with her at first sight. That was some years ago. She has had all her teeth pulled out, but they still get along splendidly.

He says the first time he called on her he found out that she was subject to fits. This didn't cool his love, however. She had several in his presence.

One Sunday, while he was there, she had one, and her mother tried to give her a dose of turpentine to stop it. Accidently, she spilled it in her eye and it cured her. She never had another fit, so they got married and have kept each other in good humor ever since.

III

Becky Moore has eleven children of assorted colors and sizes. She has never been married, but that is not her fault. She has never stopped any of the fathers of her children from proposing, so if she has no father for her children it's not her fault. The men round about are entirely to blame.

The other mothers of the town are afraid that it is catching. They won't let their children play with hers.

IV

Tippy

Sykes Jones' family all shoot craps. The most interesting member of the family—also fond of bones, but of another kind—is Tippy, the Jones' dog.

He is so thin, that it amazes one that he lives at all. He sneaks into village kitchens if the housewives are careless about the doors and steals meats, even off the stoves. He also sucks eggs.

For these offenses he has been sentenced to death dozens of times, and the sentences executed upon him, only they didn't work. He has been fed bluestone, strychnine, nux vomica, even an entire Peruna bottle beaten up. It didn't fatten him, but it didn't kill him. So Eatonville has resigned itself to the plague of Tippy, reflecting that it has erred in certain matters and is being chastened.

In spite of all the attempts upon his life, Tippy is still willing to be friendly with anyone who will let him.

V

The Way of a Man with a Train

Old Man Anderson lived seven or eight miles out in the country from Eatonville. Over by Lake Apopka. He raised feed-corn and cassava and went to market with it two or three times a year. He bought all of his victuals wholesale so he wouldn't have to come to town for several months more.

He was different from us citybred folks. He had never seen a train. Everybody laughed at him for even the smallest child in Eatonville had either been to Maitland or Orlando and watched a train go by. On Sunday afternoons all of the young people of the village would go over to Maitland, a mile away, to see Number 35 whizz southward on its way to Tampa and wave at the passengers. So we looked down on him a little. Even we children felt superior in the presence of a person so lacking in worldly knowledge.

The grown-ups kept telling him he ought to go see a train. He always said he didn't have time to wait so long. Only two trains a day passed through Maitland. But patronage and ridicule finally had its effect and Old Man Anderson drove in one morning early. Number 78 went north to Jacksonville at 10:20. He drove his light wagon over in the woods beside the railroad below Maitland, and sat down to wait. He began to fear that his horse would get frightened and run away with the wagon. So he took him out and led him deeper into the grove and tied him securely. Then he returned to his wagon and waited some more. Then he remembered that some of the train-wise villagers had said the engine belched fire and smoke. He had better move his wagon out of danger. It might catch afire. He climbed down from the seat and placed himself between the shafts to draw it away. Just then 78 came thundering over the trestle spouting smoke, and suddenly began blowing for Maitland. Old Man Anderson became so frightened he ran away with the wagon through the woods and tore it up worse than the horse ever could have done. He doesn't know yet what a train looks like, and says he doesn't care.

VI

Coon Taylor

Coon Taylor never did any real stealing. Of course, if he saw a chicken or a watermelon or muskmelon or anything like that that he wanted he'd take it. The people used to get mad but they never could catch him. He took so many melons from Joe Clarke that he set up in the melon patch one night with his shotgun loaded with rock salt. He was going to fix Coon. But he was tired. It is hard work being a mayor, postmaster, storekeeper

and everything. He dropped asleep sitting on a stump in the middle of the patch. So he didn't see Coon when he came. Coon didn't see him either, that is, not at first. He knew the stump was there, however. He had opened many of Clarke's juicy Florida Favorite on it. He selected his fruit, walked over to the stump and burst the melon on it. That is, he thought it was the stump until it fell over with a yell. Then he knew it was no stump and departed hastily from those parts. He had cleared the fence when Clarke came to, as it were. So the charge of rock-salt was wasted on the desert air.

During the sugar-cane season, he found he couldn't resist Clarke's soft green cane, but Clarke did not go to sleep this time. So after he had cut six or eight stalks by the moonlight, Clarke rose up out of the cane strippings with his shotgun and made Coon sit right down and chew up the last one of them on the spot. And the next day he made Coon leave his town for three months.

VII

VILLAGE FICTION

Joe Lindsay is said by Lum Boger to be the largest manufacturer of prevarications in Eatonville; Brazzle (late owner of the world's leanest and meanest mule) contends that his business is the largest in the state and his wife holds that he is the biggest liar in the world.

Exhibit A—He claims that while he was in Orlando one day he saw a doctor cut open a woman, remove everything—liver, lights and heart included—clean each of them separately; the doctor then washed out the empty woman, dried her out neatly with a towel and replaced the organs so expertly that she was up and about her work in a couple of weeks.

VIII

Sewell is a man who lives all to himself. He moves a great deal. So often, that 'Lige Moseley says his chickens are so used to moving that every time he comes out into his backyard the chickens lie down and cross their legs, ready to be tied up again.

He is baldheaded; but he says he doesn't mind that, because he wants as little as possible between him and God.

IX

Mrs. Clarke is Joe Clarke's wife. She is a soft-looking, middle-aged woman, whose bust and stomach are always holding a get-together.

She waits on the store sometimes and cries every time he yells at her which he does every time she makes a mistake, which is quite often. She calls her husband "Jody." They say he used to beat her in the store when he was a young man, but he is not so impatient now. He can wait until he goes home.

She shouts in Church every Sunday and shakes the hand of fellowship with everybody in the Church with her eyes closed, but somehow always misses her husband.

X

Mrs. McDuffy goes to Church every Sunday and always shouts and tells her "determination." Her husband always sits in the back row and beats her as soon as they get home. He says there's no sense in her shouting, as big a devil as she is. She just does it to slur him. Elijah Moseley asked her why she didn't stop shouting, seeing she always got a beating about it. She says she can't "squinch the sperrit." Then Elijah asked Mr. McDuffy to stop beating her, seeing that she was going to shout anyway. He answered that she just did it for spite and that his fist was just as hard as her head. He could last just as long as she. So the village let the matter rest.

XI

DOUBLE-SHUFFLE

Back in the good old days before the World War, things were very simple in Eatonville. People didn't fox-trot. When the town wanted to put on its Sunday clothes and wash behind the ears, it put on a "breakdown." The daring younger set would two-step and waltz, but the good church members and the elders stuck to the grand march. By rural canons dancing is wicked, but one is not held to have danced until the feet have been crossed. Feet don't get crossed when one grand marches.

At elaborate affairs the organ from the Methodist church was moved up to the hall and Lizzimore, the blind man presided. When informal gatherings were held, he merely played his guitar assisted by any volunteer with mouth organs or accordions.

Among white people the march is as mild as if it had been passed on by Volstead. But it still has a kick in Eatonville. Everybody happy, shining eyes, gleaming teeth. Feet dragged 'shhlap, shhlap! to beat out the time. No orchestra needed. Round and round! Back again, parse-me-la! shlap! shlap! Strut! Strut! Seaboard! Shlap! Shlap! Tiddy bumm! Mr. Clarke in the lead with Mrs. Mosely.

It's too much for some of the young folks. Double shuffling commences. Buck and wing. Lizzimore about to break his guitar. Accordion doing contortions. People fall back against the walls, and let the soloist have it, shouting as they clap the old, old double shuffle songs.

'Me an' mah honey got two mo' days
Two mo' days tuh do de buck'

Sweating bodies, laughing mouths, grotesque faces, feet drumming fiercely. Deacons clapping as hard as the rest.

"Great big nigger, black as tar
Trying tuh git tuh hebben on uh 'lectric car."

"Some love cabbage, some love kale
But I love a gal wid a short skirt tail."

Long tall angel—steppin' down,
Long white robe an' starry crown.

'Ah would not marry uh black gal (bumm bumm!)
Tell yuh de reason why
Every time she comb her hair
She make de goo-goo eye.

Would not marry a yaller gal (bumm bumm!)
Tell yuh de reason why
Her neck so long an' stringy
Ahm 'fraid she'd never die.

Would not marry uh preacher
Tell yuh de reason why
Every time he comes tuh town
He makes de chicken fly.

When the buck dance was over, the boys would give the floor to the girls and they would parse-me-la with a slye eye out of the corner to see if anybody was looking who might "have them up in church" on conference night. Then there would be more dancing. Then Mr. Clarke would call for everybody's best attention and announce that *'freshments was served! Every gent'man would please take his lady by the arm and scorch her right up to de table fur a treat!*

Then the men would stick their arms out with a flourish and ask their ladies: "You lak chicken? Well, then, take a wing." And the ladies would take the proffered "wings" and parade up to the long table and be served. Of course most of them had brought baskets in which were heaps of jointed and fried chicken, two or three kinds of pies, cakes, potato pone and chicken purlo. The hall would separate into happy groups about the baskets until time for more dancing.

But the boys and girls got scattered about during the war, and now they dance the fox-trot by a brand new piano. They do waltz and two-step still, but no one now considers it good form to lock his chin over his partner's shoulder and stick out behind. One night just for fun and to humor the old folks, they danced, that is, they grand marched, but everyone picked up their feet. *Bah!!*

THE BROTHERHOOD'S ANNIVERSARY

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Dear Brethren and Fellow-workers, Greetings:

One year ago this month we were born. It was August 25th, in New York. The occasion was a monster mass meeting in the Elks Hall. This had been preceded by a secret conclave at the home of Brother Des Verney with himself, Brothers Lancaster and Totten and the writer. At that mass meeting, perhaps, the most unique and significant movement among Negroes was projected. It began and has steadily moved forward within the veil of secrecy. This was essential to avoid the victimization of the men. The wisdom of this method has been tested through a period which has tried men's souls.

Why Did We Begin?

Is the question which has rung down the changes. Have we not accepted, too often in abject resignation, unmerited scorn, reproach and persecution for over one thousand years? Have we not drunk, in America, a land made beautiful, prosperous and powerful, by our own sweat and blood, tears and toil, the bitter dregs of privation and want, hate and hell? Have we not, as virtual peons of Pullman property, built up mountains of gold and goodwill, for over a half century, without a murmur, on starvation wages, in fact, on practically, no wages at all? Have we not listened to the honeyed words, the siren call of our pretended white friends and black leaders who counselled satisfaction and contentment; "to let well enough alone," to accept pity for pay; to wait for ours in the sweet bye and bye instead of fighting for justice in the here, now and nigh? Have we not been easily flattered, quickly deceived, and systematically exploited? Have we not ever appeared as children of laughter and levity, joy and jokes, innocence and ignorance? We sang in sorrow, danced in darkness and worked in worry.

Who then, Brethren, could take us seriously? The tragedy of our lives could not be sensed by the outer world of white men.

What though, ask the white men of power, black children wail for bread they never eat; black women weep for raiment they never wear; and black men toil to the tune of torture? Is it not written in holy writ: "Slaves, obey thy master"? Have they not been the slaves of men down the centuries! They have accepted insolence in silence, contempt with contentment, derision in docility. Have they not been the disinherited and dishonored of the sons of men? Then how can the world reverse its reason on right and wrong in relation to a race of blacks? Thus spake the age-old masters of slaves. Nor have they changed in their thinking today, nor will they change, Brethren, until we change them. This then is why the Brotherhood was born. We are in quest for the holy grail of economic freedom. Yes, and we shall find it. But we must destroy the engines of industrial slavery ere we breathe the air of free men.

Smashing the Employee Plan

Realizing that the Employee Representation Plan stood athwart our path to freedom, we resolutely assailed it without let or hindrance or equivocation. All of the resources of the Pullman Company have been thrown in the balance against us. Still we are steadily smashing it, retiring it to oblivion. Every subterfuge has been resorted to with a view to fortifying a decadent, decrepit, and deceptive plan for settling workers' grievances. The operation of the Plan has securely established its own failure, its own futility as an instrument for achieving economic justice for the porters and maids. So thoroughly has the Plan been discredited that the Company, in order to give it a new lease of life, has placed a porter on the Board of Industrial Relations, in order that it might appear that the porters and maids have a voice on every committee of the Plan. One, Mr. George Shannon, has been chosen to represent the porters. Regardless of his qualities or virtues, he is absolutely helpless to benefit the porters. *He is like a lamb in a cage of lions.* He is being used as flypaper to ensnare the porters. The new scheme is merely calculated to deceive the porters into believing that the Plan will work, that the Brotherhood is unnecessary. But the Pullman Company cannot fool the Pullman porters all of the time. Porters, like conductors, were bound to wake up. Sheer necessity forced it. Oppression, in the nature of things, contains the seeds of its own abolition. No institution, or system, or doctrine founded upon the tyranny of body or mind, can stand. The Plan represents autocracy. It suppresses freedom. It stifles initiative. It suffocates thought. Its rules merely regulate injustice and intrench industrial serfdom. It was built to discourage organization of, by and for the porters and maids. It cannot any more serve the interests of the porters than can a sewing machine grind corn.

The fact that every official of the Plan must be an employee of the Company, gives the Company the power to discharge any man who shows a spirit to fight in the interest of the men. The whole fight of the Company against the Brotherhood is based upon the fact that it doesn't control the officials of the Union. Such is the reason for the trade union movement everywhere. It is seeking to break the irresponsible domination of the boss over the workers.

In one year then, Brethren, we have thoroughly broken the power of the Plan. It is one of our most signal victories. The Company may be reluctant to admit it, but history will reveal it.

Other Opposition

Upon discovering that the Plan could not withstand the mortal blows the Brotherhood was dealing it, the Company proceeded to mobilize forces within the race to oppose the Union. The powerful Negro papers of the West went over completely to the Pullman Company and arrayed themselves against us. Pullman gold was being lavishly dispensed among Negro editors. Few had the stamina to resist the pressure. Happily, all of the Negro editors did not surrender to Pullman power. The Eastern papers very largely maintained their freedom, and so have some of the Western ones.

But, undaunted and undismayed, we fought on and won the respect and admiration of friend and foe.

Conferences of some of our leading Negroes were adroitly plotted, planned and juggled to glorify the so-called Pullman friendship for the race. Corrupt and wicked Negro politicians and preachers were subsidized to proclaim the blessings of the so-called monopoly which porters and maids enjoy, a monopoly which does not yield a living wage or civilized hours and conditions of work. It was boldly asserted that no other race enjoys such a monopoly as though there was any other race except the white serving as conductors on Pullman cars or railroad trains. Are not these jobs monopolized by the white race?

Even the much oppressed Filipino was belabored into some of the club cars in order to frighten the porters away from the Brotherhood. But to no avail.

We were in dead earnest this time. The Company saw it. We would not surrender, we would not equivocate, we would not retreat a single step, and we resolved that we would be heard in the great forum of public opinion, and we were heard.

Sixteen Cents More Per Day

But, brethren, the Pullman Company is resourceful and inventive. It has fertile brains. Seeing the tide of organization steadily rising, it made its supreme bid to stem the tide by calling a wage conference under the Plan and distributed a few crumbs from its big banquet table of

some seventeen millions net profits for 1925, in the form of an eight per cent increase or sixteen cents a day. And to the utter amazement and dismay of the Company, it only stimulated the men to organize more strongly, since it was apparent to them that the increase was the direct result of the Brotherhood. Thus the Brotherhood is already paying the porters over 300 per cent on every dollar they have invested in it, granting that they have paid their joining fee of five dollars and twelve dollars dues, for the year. In a bank, at the current rate of interest, they would only have earned six per cent, or $1.02 on $17, a year's interest, whereas the Brotherhood has put $64.80 in the pockets of the porters for $17. Not a bad record, this. And the porters are getting this increase of $64.80 every year, but only pay $12 dues. Obviously, the Brotherhood has paid big dividends.

But this is only the beginning, my brethren.

The Referendum

is on, and at its conclusion, a conference will be sought with the Company. Should we fail to secure same, we shall seek the services of the Mediation Board.

We have come a long way to reach this point. And we are ready, willing and prepared to fight through the years to attain our goal, economic security and freedom.

Thus, brethren, let our anniversary be an occasion of joy. It is the race's first serious and significant knock at the door of economic justice.

Let us look forward with our heads erect and souls undaunted. Ours is a great spiritual victory for the race. To the utter disappointment, consternation and despair of Pullman officials, the Brotherhood has demonstrated to the world that it is beyond the reach of corruption. Be assured, my brethren, that the Pullman Company may have money enough to purchase preachers and politicians, papers and prestige, but it has not got *millions* enough to cause me to desert your cause. Every dollar you put in the Brotherhood is systematically handled by an expert accountant. Your money is as secure in the Brotherhood as it is in the Pullman Company. It is being used for no other purpose than your economic emancipation. Your officials are honest, upright and capable.

The great success of your movement is due to the valiant, unselfish and efficient labor of Roy Lancaster, General Secretary-Treasurer; W. H. DesVerney, Assistant General Organizer; A. L. Totten, Second Assistant General Organizer; S. E. Grain, Field Organizer; Frank R. Crosswaith, Special Organizer; M. P. Webster, Organizer, Chicago Division; George A. Price, Secretary-Treasurer, Chicago Division, and Brother Berry; George S. Grant, Secretary-Treasurer of Los Angeles; Dad Moore and D. J. Jones of Oakland; Clarence E. Ivey of Portland; Burgess of Salt Lake City; Benjamin of Boston; Rev. Prince of Denver, and a host of heroic, self-sacrificing souls whom circumstances prevent naming at this hour. The men have ascended to the highest heights of human struggle—loyalty to a great cause. They have been weighed in the balance and *not* found wanting.

> "Tempt them with bribes, you tempt in vain;
> Try them with fire, you'll find them true."

Yours, brethren, has been a marvelous demonstration of devotion, zeal, faith, and action.

To deter such souls from their purpose or vanquish them in combat is as impossible as to stop the rush of the ocean when the spirit of the storm rides upon its mountain billows. You are hourly increasing in number and strength and going on from conquering to conquer.

White America has always reasoned that no Negroes had the moral stamina to resist the influence of money. Your Pullman officials thought that in order to halt this movement it was only a question of sending out a few thousand dollars to buy up your officials. But Pullman officials and white America have been rudely awakened to a realization that a New Negro has come upon the scene who places *manhood above money, principles above price, devotion to duty to his race and a great human cause beyond the reach of gold, whether it be in tens of thousands or millions.*

To my mind, brethren, this is our greatest spiritual landmark. It has won the respect of the employer, worker, educator, politician and preacher, alike. You have shown that it is not true that every Negro has his price to sell out the race. Yes, your movement is incorruptible by gold and undaunted by power. *I would rather go in rags, live in a hovel, drink water and eat the crust of bread, and go down to the voiceless silence of the dreamless dust before I would betray your trust for the riches of this world.*

And, brethren, we cannot fail if we remain united. For the cause of justice there is:

> "A voice on every wave,
> A sound on every sea!
> The watchword of the brave,
> The anthem of the free!
> Where'er a wind is rushing,
> Where'er a stream is gushing,
> The swelling sounds are heard,
> Of man to freeman calling,
> Of broken fetters falling—
> And like the carol of a cageless bird,
> The bursting shout of freedom's rallying word!"

Why should we not rejoice in our triumph? Is not the star of hope beginning to illumine our path to power. Do you not see the pitiless storm which has so long been pouring its rage upon you breaking away, and a glorious bow of promise spanning the sky—a token that to the end of time, if we are resolute, the billows of prejudice and oppression shall no longer cover the earth to the destruction of our race, but seed time and harvest shall never fail and the laborer shall eat the fruit of his hand and brain.

Then let us be tolerant. Let us forgive our enemies, though remain ever vigilant and alert. Let us as workers be ever mindful of our duties, obligations and responsibilities to the Pullman Company and to the public. A high standard of service depends upon us and we must give it. No Brotherhood man should ever shirk his duty or violate the rules of the Company. The purpose of the Brotherhood is not to shield dishonesty, insobriety, indolence, but to foster industry, a high sense of responsibility, intelligent initiative, courtesy and devotion to principles of justice, righteousness, fair-play, freedom, self-reliance, loyalty to truth and service to mankind.

But what have we done? We have achieved nothing short of a miracle through solidarity.

Achievements of the Brotherhood

1. It forced the Company to call a wage conference last February under the Employee Representation Plan and grant the porters and maids an eight per cent increase, thereby raising the pay from $67.50 per month to $72.90.

2. It forced the Company to revise the Time Sheet with a view to removing basis for criticism on same.

3. It has forced the local officials to become quite lavish with courtesy and attention.

4. It has carried the message of labor unionism to over half a million black and white workers from August 25, 1925, to August 1, 1926. Over 500 meetings have been conducted from origin of movement up to date. The meetings have ranged from 100 to 2,500 or more. Thousands of Negroes addressed had never heard a talk of organized labor before. Many of the Negro preachers did not know what it was all about, except that some "black reds" were coming to town to urge insurrection among Negroes. That was the propaganda of the Company. It is estimated that there were over 60,000 persons at the opening of the Sesqui-Centennial at which the General Organizer spoke May 31st. He stressed the cause of black labor. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, and Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State, the other speakers, stressed the prosperity of the country.

5. The case of the Pullman porters in particular and the Negro workers in general has been presented to cen-

tral labor bodies in various cities visited as well as to individual trade unions. A large number of white workers said that they had never seen a Negro before advocating the organization of Negro workers.

6. The Brotherhood has secured entrance into a number of Negro churches.

7. The case of the Pullman porters and the Negro workers has been presented in addresses to Reed College in Portland, Oregon; a body of students of the University of Denver, and a group of industrial Y. W. C. A. girls; University of California; University of Southern California; Chicago University; University of Minnesota; the fraternity of law students of Howard University; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's Convention, together with a large number of liberal and labor forums throughout the country; also to a number of Negro business clubs; National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, the Shriners and Knight Templars in convention.

8. The Brotherhood has secured the endorsement of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in convention assembled; the leaders of the National Urban League; the Chicago State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; the Thirty-seventh Annual Session of the Grand Lodge of the Knights of Pythians of New York State; the Empire State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; the Brotherhood of Federal Post Office Employees; National Young People's Baptist Union; the Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers; the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.

9. During eleven months of organization and agitation, over three million five hundred thousand pieces of propaganda literature have been circulated.

10. Over 75,000 miles of territory have been covered by the organizers.

11. The Brotherhood has brought to the porters for their education such leaders of thought as James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.; John Fitzpatrick, President, Chicago Federation of Labor; ex-Governor Sweet of Colorado; Norman Thomas, Director, League for Industrial Democracy; Mary McDowell, Head of the Department of Charities of Chicago; H. E. Wills, Assistant Grand Chief, Locomotive Engineers; Mr. Lovell, Vice-President, Locomotive Firemen; Mr. Clark, Vice-President, Train Conductors; C. H. Brown, General Chairman, Adjustment Board of Railway Clerks and Express Handlers; Mr. Eagan, Special Representative of William Green, President of the A. F. of L.; William Pickens, R. W. Bagnall, Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P., Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, James Oneal, Morris Hillquit, Chandler Owen, C. Francis Stradford, lawyer, Abraham Lefkowitz, Prof. Bowman of Columbia University, Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Gertrude E. MacDougal, Assistant Principal, Public School 89, August Classens, ex-Assemblyman, Algernon Lee of the Rand School of Social Science, Congressmen Emanuel Celler and LaGuardia, Arthur Garfield Hayes, Rev. A. C. Powell of the Abyssinnia Church, New York City, Thomas J. Curtis, First Vice-President, State Federation of Labor of the A. F. of L., Charles W. Erwin, Editor of the *Advance*, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, Samuel Beardsley, of Jewelry Workers, Philip Zausner, of Painters and Paper Hangers, Harry Laidler, Benjamin Stolberg, McAllister Coleman of Federated Press, Robert L. Dunn, Gurley Flynn.

In all of the districts where the Brotherhood has set up local organizing committees, speakers from the American Federation of Labor have been secured to address the porters from time to time. It has developed a higher sense of race pride and responsibility among Pullman porters and maids.

13. Ladies' Auxiliaries to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters have been established in New York, Chicago, Washington, Boston, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Oakland and Los Angeles, Calif., Denver and Omaha, Salt Lake City. The auxiliaries are active propaganda nuclei for the Brotherhood.

Such is our achievement, Brethren. Let us renew our courage and faith and rededicate our hearts and minds and hands to the unfinished task and high mission of Negro emancipation. Forward to victory.

Your faithful servant,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, General Organizer.

THREE POEMS

By GEORGIA DOUGLAS JOHNSON

Appassionata

A wild heart in a wretched frame,
Long welted by the years,
A flame that evermore consumes
The vertiment it bears;
So soon to crumble cold, and still,
Its final flicker fail,
And leave within its fevered wake
An ashen-dusted trail.

Disenthralment

Upon a lonely hill I stand,
  And from its height I see
The secrets of the backward way
  I walked in mystery.

The aura fades about your brow,
  I read the riddle clear,
Your little soul stands bare relieved
  Of all that made your dear.

At last—I see you as you are,
  A creature without charms!
Would I had never climbed the hill
  But perished in your arms!

Loss

So you are back—back at my feet,
A suppliant once more,
But life can never, never be
Just as it was before.

For you have robbed me of a thing
More prized than jewels are—
A thing as vital to my need
As light is to a star.

Uncertain now, I hesitate
In fatal impotence
Since you my prince have faltered,
I have lost my confidence.

SAMUEL COLERIDGE TAYLOR

By HENRY F. DOWNING

The authoress of "For Unborn Children," a playlet, winner of the third prize of $10 in the Crisis Contests of 1925, and published in the June number of that organ of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, endeavors to make it appear that when a white woman gives birth to a child conceived of a Negro she immediately loses all the natural instincts of motherhood, becomes a monster—she hates her baby! Perverts of this kind are in all races; fortunately, their number is not many, otherwise mothers, the world over, no matter their race or their color, would occupy a level lower than that occupied by savage beasts.

Innumerable cases contradicting this mischievous libel occur every day, and among these cases none are plainer in view than that of the white mother of Coleridge Taylor. As stated, in a former article she was devoted to her child. Just as black women slaved at washtubs and at other laborious employments earning money to provide for the need of their mulatto child then so did this white mother labor to support her mulatto child.

A disposition is shown by many of Coleridge Taylor's admirers to look upon him as having been one of those usually disappointing creatures of great promise in the bud, but odorless and beautyless in the flower, in other words, an Infant Prodigy. He was nothing of the sort. He was just a plain ordinary boy, fond of sport and games, and not too good to dip his hands into mischief. At the same time he was exceedingly sensitive, too much so altogether to enjoy the rough manners and coarse words of the boisterous idle who by reason of class distinctions were his playmates. Many times, his feelings hurt to their quick by some unkind epithet hurled at him by his young companions, did he flee home into his mother's arms where his grief was soon assuaged. This sensitiveness, causing him to shrink away from all things coarse, avoid contention, cultivate the beautiful, expressed in his thoughts and deeds, remained with him during all his life. And it was because of his sweet and tender disposition that he was given admiration by his friends as well as their love in the fullest measure.

Coleridge Taylor, with all the vicissitudes of his early years, with all the difficulties and obstacles which he struggled against and overcame during his mature years, was on the whole very happy. He was that rare creature a contented man. He once said, "I have been very happy in my surroundings all my life; first with my mother and then in my marriage. Even without any moderate success I think I should have been one of those rare beings—a happy man. Unlike a great many painters who want to be musicians, musicians who want to be Barristers, and barristers who want to be journalists, I want to be nothing except what I am—musician."

And this cheerful content he displayed at all times and in all places. Not only did he bring sunshine into his own home, and into the home of his beloved mother, whom he visited, purse in hand on each Sunday, as sure as Sunday came, but into the homes of his friends, amongst whom the present writer and his wife were perhaps the closest. With us he would converse in the happiest mood about music, and tell amusing anecdotes meanwhile disposing of one or two cigarettes—his favorite was the Caporal, and drinking innumerable cups of "Golden Tips" tea which it was our delight always to have in stock to brew for his enjoyment. His bright and sparkling conversation was remarkable, and his ability as a story-teller was really great. He was witty, and his sense of humor left nothing to be desired, yet his wit and humor carried no sting, it was sweet and harmless. At times he pictured the grotesque in the sayings and doings of celebrities, but his real delight was to tell stories about himself, for instance:

"Last night," said the composer, his face one big smile, "the postman brought an unstamped letter to me, and since the Government is not exactly philanthropical in its activities I had to pay the price of a stamp, 2d, before the postman would deliver it to me. The letter contained 3d in stamps, the first royalty payment for mechanical production of one of my songs. So, to get the three pence," continued the musician, "I had to spend two pence, and gazing ruefully at the 3d stamp, I wondered how long, at any rate, it would take me to become a millionaire."

"Was the song worth it?" asked his auditor jokingly. "Clara Butt sang it continuously with the result that before it was a year old I had borrowed over 50 guineas in royalty," replied Coleridge Taylor, and his daughter Gwendoline, a blue eyed golden haired little beauty, then about 5 years of age, offering to sing the song, he placed himself at his piano and played the accompaniment to "Big Lady Moon," words by Miss Kathleen Easmon.

Young Coleridge Taylor, Coleridge as he desired his more intimate friends, to call him, began his musical progress when he was about nine years of age, as a choir boy under Colonel Herbert A. W. Walters, V.D., to whom he was presented by Mr. Drage, the celebrated Headmaster of the British School. Colonel Walters soon perceived that the boy had a beautiful voice, almost a pure tenor, and with his mother's consent, at first doubtfully given, he practically became his guardian and decided to have him trained to pursue a musical career.

The Colonel's first move in that direction was to have the boy join the choir of St. George's Presbyterian Church, in Croydon, afterwards to become a member of the choir of St. Mary Magdalene in Addiscombe. The youngster's delightful voice quickly won his popularity, and brought him into demand to appear in local concerts. Proud of his success in this narrow field he determined to succeed in a wider world. His ambition encouraged by his mother, and fostered by the beneficient Colonel, he studied and studied, practised upon his violin, until, believing himself sufficiently advanced to take higher flight, he presented himself to the authorities of the Royal College of Music as a student candidate for admission to their great school. These authorities, influenced probably by the lad's shrinking manner and humble appearance, if not by the dark color of his skin, declined to take him seriously, refused even to give him and his violin a trial.

Our young hero returned to his home. At first he felt almost heartbroken, but he soon recovered his courage, then hoping that perseverance sooner or later would enable him to reach his goal he resumed his studies. The following year he again presented himself for admission to the Royal College of Music, and again was refused. Another period of study followed, then in September, 1890, once more he appeared before the musical magnates, who, this time, possibly impressed by his persistency, if not by the quality of his fiddling, and his general knowledge of music, had him entered as a student.

Coleridge was given the violin as "first study," but Sir George Grove, then Director of the College, soon recognizing that his bent was towards composition placed him where his particular talent would best be developed, with result so satisfying that in 1893 he won an open scholarship in that subject. Then for four years he studied under Doctor Charles Villiers Stanford, later raised to the dignity of knighthood, who although he ceased to be his teacher never ceased to be his friend. During this time Taylor composed a number of works several of which were produced at the College Student's concerts, and all considered as possessing great promise.

And it was during this period that Coleridge first became aware that it was possible for him to be stirred by emotions other than those aroused by music; in other words, he fell in love with a beautiful girl, a fellow student. She was not indifferent to him, even though he was far

from handsome, who knows but that she perceived the beauty and purity of his soul. However, here was the beginning of a delightful romance, which had it not been nipped in its bud by the girl's unwilling and stern parents perhaps would have led our young composer to don the collar of a benedict much earlier than he did.

II.

Twenty-nine years ago American shoes, ice cream sodas, lager beer, Boston Baked Beans, and "the rest of it" were as difficult to find in London, the English metropolis, as it is now to find Amerindians hunting for scalps. The nasal tones and raised raucous voices of American tourists, bargain-hunting in Piccadilly, Bond and Regent Streets, now so prevalent, were seldom heard, and as for the American Negro, except for a Bohee, or a stray black sailor, he was rare almost as is the often described, but not yet seen by mortal eyes, that mythical bird, the "Dodo."

Under the immediate patronage of His Excellency,
Col. John Hay, United States Ambassador

Mr. Paul Laurence Dunbar

(Afro-American Poet)

AND

Mr. S. Coleridge Taylor

(Anglo-African Composer)

Respectfully announce

A RECITAL

AT THE

Salle Erard, Great Marlborough Street, W.

On Wednesday, June 2nd, 1897, at 3 P. M.

The Programme will consist of Selections from
The Poetical Works of

PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR

(Read by the Author), and

Vocal and Instrumental Compositions

OF

S. COLERIDGE TAYLOR

(*Graduate Royal College of Music*)

Who will be assisted by

MISS MARIE MOTTO .....(Violin)
MISS HELEN JAXON .....(Soprano)
MR. GREGORY HAST .....(Tenor)

For further particulars address HENRY F. DOWNING,
24 *Oxford Road, Gunnersbury, W.*

And this being true, it is easy to imagine how surprised I was, as well as pleased, when on one beautiful morning, in the early summer of 1897, while passing the National Gallery, in Trafalgar Square, I came face-to-face with the late Paul Laurence Dunbar. Scarcely believing our four eyes we stared at each other a moment; then, moved apparently by one impulse, and indifferent to the glances of amused passers-by, we rushed into each other's arms, and perhaps we exchanged kisses after the manner of the French—I do not remember.

It is difficult to say which of us was the more pleased because of this unexpected meeting, but it is not impossible to say which of us had the more reason for rejoicing. Quoting Dunbar, he was "down in his luck." He had come from America to London, to recite his poems, under the management of a female relation of a certain celebrated lecturer and concert agent, of that day. According to the poet's complaint this lady had treated him very unkindly: She had housed him in a small and poorly furnished garret through whose soot-covered windows he could view nothing but chimney-pots belching forth black, thick smoke, had supplied him with very little, if with any, of John Bull's coin of the realm, rendering it impossible for him to take in any of the great city's sights or participate, even in a moderate way, in any of its many diversions. Anyhow, he was exceedingly unhappy, and in the morning, just before he and I met, he had made up his mind to give the manageress a piece of his mind, then to separate himself from her control and "Paddle his own canoe."

Of course, I gladly invited Dunbar to become my guest; he accepted the invitation and a little while later he was comfortably roomed in my home, where he remained some time. And it was while he was residing under my roof that he and Samuel Coleridge Taylor first met.

Dunbar, rigged out in a brand new knicker suit of clothes belonging to me, which I had never worn, and which he had taken possession and ever afterwards refused to surrender, after giving me a good drubbing at the game of single-sticks, had turned his attention to gathering dandelions, of which succulent plant, cooked with fat bacon, he was inordinately fond, and which he always refused to give me even a taste, when my landlady, Mrs. Smith, whom Dunbar introduced in his novel "The Uncalled," written while he was my guest, came into the garden and ushered into our presence a light-brown young colored gentleman modest in his demeanor. He was not handsome, far from it. His frame was meagre, his shoulders narrow and somewhat stooping, his head, naturally very large, seemed larger than it really was because of its immense crop of tangled hair. He carried a sort of Sarah Gamp umbrella in one of his hands, while in the other was a wide-rimmed felt hat of the kind peculiar to heroes of the "Wild and Woolly West." He wore a frock-tail coat over wide and baggy trousers. Deceived by the young man's appearance at first we suspected that he was what is called "A Character," but when we gazed into his luminous, big black eyes, dreamy, yet full of fire, when we heard his low, soft voice, all music, despite his strange makeup we recognized that our visitor was an inspired—possibly a genius, and we fell in love with him at once.

He introduced himself as Samuel Coleridge Taylor, then explained that having read an article, in a London newspaper, about Dunbar, under the amusing caption: "Nigger Poet and Actor," he had ventured to call to see the poet. He desired permission to set music to some of Dunbar's lines. And thus began an acquaintance between the American poet and the English composer which reached its climax in a recital, given, at the Salle Erard, under the management of the present writer, on June 2, 1897, and under the patronage of the Hon. John Hay, United States Ambassador, one time private secretary to President Lincoln, and his historian, who, winding up a useful and distinguished career as Secretary of State.

The Dunbar-Taylor Recital was one of the great events of the London musical season of 1897. It was attended by eminent musical critics, by many of the titled and untitled gentry, by leading members of the American Colony, conspicuous amongst whom was the well known author, Moncure D. Conway, who, while Dunbar recited "The Party" so forgot the conventions that he laughed and laughed loudly, while tears flowed down his cheeks, and that distinguished, cultured Negro, Reverend Alexander Crummel, who sat beside the amused author, laughed too.

This was the first appearance of Coleridge Taylor before a London audience, and his bid for favorable recognition found ready and immediate acceptance. The young composer's songs, which had been sung from manuscript, were snatched up by a publisher and quickly published, and a Mr. Yaeger, an eminent musical critic connected with Novello and Company, was so pleased by his work that he introduced him to his principals, who, at a later date, brought out his "Hiawatha" which made the whole world aware that a musical genius, of the very first rank, had been found in the person of Samuel Coleridge Taylor.

(*The third article in this series by Mr. Downing will appear in the October issue.*)

AN EXPOSE OF THE PULLMAN PORTERS BENEFIT ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

By ASHLEY L. TOTTEN

Ex-Chairman, Local Lodge No. 5, New York District

President Carry of the Pullman Company appeared at the Wabash Avenue Y. M. C. A. at Chicago on the night of November 17, 1925, and in an address delivered before two thousand Negroes, said among other things that "the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association of America is an independent organization of, by and for Pullman Porters, and whoever says that the Pullman Co. has anything to do with it, tells a damned lie."

Fifty-one delegates to their annual convention led by Perry Parker, the Grand Chairman, cheered and cheered themselves hoarse.

This article will prove conclusively that the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association of America IS NOT an independent organization of, by and for Pullman Porters, and that the said Association IS CONTROLLED and DOMINATED by the Pullman Co.

Pullman Porters' Benefit Association of America Turned Down by Referendum Vote

The true story which leads to the birth of the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association of America, dates back to the days when these unfortunate, overworked, underpaid and helpless peons were dying like paupers, and with their relatives unable to give them a decent burial.

Man's inhumanity to man had taken on a form of slavery far more degrading and demoralizing than chattel slavery.

Porters earned so little that they could ill afford to keep up an insurance, and, by reason of the "camp stool" torture and continued doubling, dead-heading and other extreme measures which served to undermine their health, mortality was at an alarmingly high rate.

It was customary in those days to pass around the hat whenever a Pullman slave died, and Pullman officials shared the views of their surviving slaves that since this method was embarrassing to them and humiliating to the families of the deceased, it would be better to organize an association among Pullman Porters to take care of such emergency cases.

An organization known as the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association was formed, where porters signed a pledge to pay fifty cents as a death rate tax from among the members in each Pullman Zone.

The plan worked out very well until the year 1919, when it was suggested that this zone arrangement be changed into a national organization to be known as the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association of America, with national headquarters in the Pullman Building in Chicago, local headquarters in each district and to be operated according to the plan of "American Insurance Experiences."

Each member would be required to pay assessments of $28 a year, for which he is entitled to twelve weeks' benefit in case of sickness at $10 per week, and one thousand dollars at death.

Section 13 of the By-Laws reads that no benefit shall be allowed for the first five days of disablement which is typical of an insurance plan, and not a benevolent organization.

It was the concensus of opinion that the Pullman Co. desired to effect control of this proposed Association, because of the fear that the porters would eventually build up money power if they ran it themselves, so a referendum vote was taken and the porters turned it down.

But on November 20, of the following year, Thomas R. Webb, a porter from Denver, Colo., introduced the copy of the Constitution and By-Laws of this proposed Association, said to be drafted by himself to the delegates assembled in convention.

Without the knowledge or consent of the porters who had already repudiated it, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association of America was adopted and became effective February 1, 1921.

It was seen from the outset by those who were able to read and think for themselves that the determination to force this Association on the porters against their will, was due to the desire of a few selfish and bigoted Negroes who were concerned about making themselves solid with the Pullman Co., at the expense of the entire group.

The first to rise to the height of his ambition was Thomas R. Webb, who secured for himself the job as Comptroller—a-la-figurehead, at a salary of about four thousand dollars a year.

Webb started out on a tour to prove to the porters all over the country that the Pullman Co. did not control and dominate the P. P. B. A. of A., as it is more familiarly known, but when several questions were shot at him in many of the larger districts he made a miserable failure of his mission.

Perry Parker, the Grand Chairman, a parlor car porter at the time was promoted by the Pullman Co. to the position as "Grand Exalted Ruler of Stool Pigeons," "Doctor of Religious Hypocrites" and "Professor of the School of Cringers," "Crocodile Weepers" and "Pretenders."

When this self-seeking dissembler took the field of action, it was discovered that he knew less about the origin and purpose of the Association than Webb did, but his ability to convert men into professional stools, and to soothe the minds of the restless with fat promises won him some disciples who still believe in him.

"Leave it to me," says Perry, "all you have got to do is to join the P. P. B. A. of A. and its members will be given preference to promotion."

Porters Forced to Join Pullman Porters' Benefit Association of America

The setting up of Local Lodges in the districts was made possible by the presence of the district superintendent, but the majority of the porters knew nothing about it and did not clearly understand at the time when they affixed their signatures that it was a shake down for the first quarterly assessment of $7 to be taken out of their pay checks with which to carry on the work of the Association.

The local officers have no power to function whatsoever because they receive their orders from the district superintendent of the Pullman Co. and not from the Grand Officers of the Association at Chicago.

Sick and death benefit checks are sent from the Chicago national headquarters located in the Pullman Building, to the Pullman District Superintendent, and the local Secretary or Treasurer has absolutely nothing to do with that.

The local officers, however, are expected to create a separate fund to carry on ritualistic meetings, with pass words, secret signs and grips, which is the camouflage to keep the BIG INSURANCE COMPANIES off their backs.

The truth is that the P. P. B. A. of A. is nothing but an INSURANCE COMPANY not incorporated, and operating as a fraternal organization in disguise.

With the failure to put over this rejected Association by fair means, and with despair in the minds of those who

determined to force it through, the Pullman Porters were told that unless they became members of the P. P. B. A. of A. they would not breathe in the same atmosphere with men who were already members.

Every scheme imaginable was employed to importune, cajole, and then threaten the men against their will to sign applications, and if a survey was made by some government agency upon neutral ground where the names of these men would be free from reprisals, these statements would be found to be true.

During my five years' experience as Local Chairman of Lodge No. 5, New York District, and as a delegate to the convention of 1924, I've compiled a mass of valuable data which gives a fair illustration of the Pullman Co. in the background, controlling the interests of the P. P. B. A. of A.

The two following letters are self-explanatory:

Subject: PHYSICIAN'S DISABILITY CERTIFICATE OF PORTER, JOS. H. SMITH

Mr. F. A. Cook, Supt.,
The Pullman Co.,
New York District,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I would respectfully call your attention to my communication of July 30, upon the above subject; Mr. Smith is in the City today, and advises that the reason that his dues were not paid is that he was home sick and no member of the Association called upon him, notwithstanding the fact that he notified the district office at the time of his injury.

I am returning you herewith this physician's disability certificate for your inspection. I would appreciate if you would institute a personal investigation into this matter, and if this man is entitled to the benefits that he has applied for, we desire to pay him. Your co-operation in this case will greatly facilitate settlement of this claim.

Yours truly,
(Signed) T. R. WEBB, Comptroller.

Mr. J. A. Rittenhouse, Supt., July 18, 1925.
The Pullman Company,
Grand Central,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find vouchers accompanied by checks made in favor of porters D. P. Miller and R. W. Beard of your District in the sum of $17.12 and $61.42 respectively.

The return of the vouchers properly signed will be greatly appreciated.

Yours very truly,
T. R. WEBB, Comptroller.

The financial report of 1924, showed a membership of over seven thousand and a surplus of over one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Despite this fact the men who are appointed as tellers and poll clerks for the annual primary and final elections are expected to lose two weeks pay off the road with no compensation from the association for their services, as this letter will explain.

September 29, 1924.

Mr. A. L. Totten, Chairman, Local No. 5,
c/o Mr. F. A. Cook, Supt.,
New York District,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

This is to advise that we are in receipt of communications from several districts making inquiry as to the payment of men who are withheld from service to assist at the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association Primary and Final Elections.

This is to advise you that the Association is not in a position to pay men to remain away from their work to care for these elections. The chairmen of the local lodges are requested to ask members of the Association who are at home on their lay-over to give the Association some of their time to assist in the conduct of those elections by appointment.

While the amount involved at each district for the payment for supervision of the election does not seem great, in the aggregate considering all the large districts in the service who have made application in paid supervision, it would run into a very large amount of money, so the Association will be unable to compensate anyone for this work.

Yours truly,
(Signed) PERRY PARKER, Grand Chairman.

The members of the Association at New York district refused to work at the polls without pay, in consequence of which I took the liberty as Local Chairman to wire Perry Parker that there would be no election held in N. Y. District unless provisions were made to pay the men.

The moment it became known that I had wired Parker, I was ordered before the Superintendent, the late F. E. Cooke, who attempted to humiliate me.

"Get this out of your head that there will be no election," said he. "If the men refuse to function without pay, I will place S. J. Freeman, the Welfare Worker, W. C. Taylor and John Mingo the Porter Instructors to watch the polls."

I reminded the superintendent that it was I who had been elected Chairman of Local 5, and he replied that it made no difference, it is my duty to first consult him before doing anything in connection with the Association.

PULLMAN PORTERS DO NOT READ ENOUGH, HENCE THEY ARE TRICKED

It is safe to say that over seventy-five per cent of the members of the Association have never read the Constitution and By-Laws, and do not understand the true meaning of the language expressed in it.

In Article 2 it specifically states that the object of this Association is to improve and uplift the moral and financial condition of its members, thereby elevating the service and employment in which they are engaged and rendering the same attractive to the best elements of the Negro race.

In other words, one of the aims and purposes of the Association is to extract an annual assessment of twenty-six dollars a year, the present rate, for the creation of a fund to elevate the porters service on the cars for the benefit of the Pullman Co.

Having accomplished this at the expense of the porters, their jobs will be made attractive to the best elements of the Negro race, and the pamphlet which is evidently published by the Pullman Co., spells the word Negro with a common "n."

It reads further: "to cultivate fraternal and brotherly regard among the members and their families, and to form local associations or lodges with ritualistic form of work."

No such lodges are found to exist anywhere, and as a matter of fact the members of the Association know nothing about these secret grips and passwords.

With the exception of a few of the "Uncle Tom" type the members of the Association feel that their only duties are to pay their assessments as they do after they have taken out any other insurance policy, and for which they are entitled to certain privileges.

They do not see why it should be incumbent on them to pay any extra dues for the maintenance of this so-called fraternity, to be ordered out regaled for funerals and memorial services, because the original idea was repudiated by them, and consequently they will not be made to yield to force.

In some districts there are Ladies' Auxiliaries to the P. P. B. A. of A., where poor, misguided (some of whom are feeble minded) women relatives of the porters are admitted, but in none of these auxiliaries can there be found anyone who is able to give an intelligent explanation what they are organized to do.

In Kansas City, Kans., there is a militant group against the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, whose sympathies reach out in favor of "white man's superiority."

When called upon to explain the aims and purposes of their auxiliary one woman replied that they were banded together to bring a little more religion to the porters.

"The white man is very good to us," said another, "we don't want our husbands to earn any more money."

Another suggested that if the porters had any troubles we should take them to the Lord.

It was without doubt the most pitiable demonstration of criminal ignorance I ever saw in all my life.

In Boston, the city of Culture, I had a very long interview with Mrs. Banks, the President of the Ladies' Auxiliary there.

I had been told that she was active using her influence through her many leading organizations of Boston to destroy the usefulness of the Brotherhood local there.

I was also amazed when I learned that the Association attempted to snub Mrs. Minnie T. Wright, an outstanding figure among the representative women of the Negro race, merely because she had addressed a meeting of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Mrs. Banks admitted that she knew nothing about the condition of Pullman Porters and their right, value and necessity to organize independently, and she also knew a great deal less about the P. P. B. A. of A.

Mrs. Banks did not know that on November 17, 1925, President Carry of the Pullman Co., addressed the delegates of the P. P. B. A. of A. and after referring to the unborn child of a porter as the little porter, said that the Negro could never be considered the equal of a white man.

In Los Angeles, Cal., I addressed the Ladies' Auxiliary there and found them to be a well-meaning group who did not know that their services contributed to a cunningly devised scheme to keep their own race in virtual slavery.

Part of Article 6 of the Constitution reads as follows: The Pullman Co. is therefore requested to make it possible for the attendance of delegates to the Grand Association (*i. e.*, the annual convention) and of directors and officers at general or special meetings to assist so far as possible the officers in the discharge of their duties, to contribute a fair proportion of the amount necessary to pay the expense of conducting the business operations of the Association in order that assessments and dues of members may so far as possible be used for the payment of benefits provided, and generally to co-operate in the furtherance of the objects of the Association.

Imagine the Pullman Co. suddenly extending charity to a self-supporting and highly profitable organization, without dictating its policies.

A Few Pertinent Questions Which Demand an Intelligent Answer

The nine thousand members of this Association who pay $26 per year out of their wages toward the support of this Association have the right by the Federal Laws of these United States and without the interference of the Pullman Co. to demand that Perry Parker, the Grand Chairman, answer these questions:

1. Why is it necessary that every convention be held in Chicago?
2. Why was the last convention suddenly removed from the Y.M.C.A. and held in the offices of the Pullman Building?
3. Why is Perry Parker the only nominee for Grand Chairman at every convention?
4. Why do they send a large majority of the same delegates every year?
5. Why is it necessary for each Local Lodge to send their resolutions to the Grand offices in the Pullman Building at Chicago six weeks before the date of the convention?
6. Why are these resolutions blue penciled before they are handed in to the convention?
7. Why is the resolution committee always made up of men from the south and south-western districts?
8. Why is Mr. Greenlaw, the legal brain of the Pullman Co., admitted as the principal speaker in the executive session of the convention, and who gives him the authority to tell the delegates what they can or cannot do with their own money?
9. Why is Mr. Cummins, the Treasurer of the Pullman Co., admitted in their executive sessions?
10. Is it not a fact that T. R. Webb, Comptroller, who is under bond, cannot issue a check in excess of fifty dollars until the voucher is O'K'd by the Treasurer of the Pullman Co.?
11. Does Mr. Duncan, the grand treasurer of the P. P. B. A. of A. who is under bond, receive in his own hands from the Pullman Co., Cashier Dept., the assessments of the members which they are authorized to draw out of their pay checks?
12. Does he at all times keep an accurate account of all receipts and disbursements which is not cogged off from the Comptroller's balance sheet and is he in a position at all times if suddenly called upon to make a financial report?
13. Can he do this without appealing to the auditor of the Pullman Co.?
14. Why is every officer of the P. P. B. A. of A. a Negro Pullman Official, on the payroll of the Pullman Co., and are not Pullman Porters?

If Perry Parker cannot answer these questions satisfactorily to the members of this Association it is the duty which every man owes to his wife, his children, and himself that he be removed from office.

And if the members experience any difficulty from the Pullman Company removing him and effecting control of their own organization they ought to make a quiet appeal to the various INSURANCE COMPANIES all over the United States and test the legality of this outrage.

Scanning further into this colossal fraud, it is found that the Executive Board is made up of Perry Parker the Grand Chairman and six others all of whom are Negro officials of the Pullman Co., and not porters at all.

This Executive Board has plenary powers, they can remove officers elected by the delegates in convention assembled, increase or decrease pays and they have power to suspend or expel members from the Association after they have insured themselves against sickness or death for twenty-six dollars a year.

When a porter leaves the service of his own accord he may retain his membership with the Association by paying increased assessments of fifty per cent or thirty-nine dollars a year for the same benefits and denied the right to vote or hold any office.

In the convention of November, 1924, Greenlaw, the legal brain of the Pullman Co., said that this law was instituted because the Pullman Co., did not want anyone in the Association who is not a Pullman Porter.

In other words, when a porter is dismissed from the Pullman Co., dishonorably, the Executive Board who are a part of the Pullman management, have power to oust him out of the Association, and he loses all benefits which every insurance gives him the right to enjoy as long as he pays his assessments when they become due.

Pullman Porters Benefit Association Fights Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

When the movement started to organize the porters into an independent union of, by, and for themselves, great care was taken not to do anything to hurt the progress of the P. P. B. A. of A.

Despite the many suggestions by porters who thought that provisions ought to be made to add an insurance to the Brotherhood, the organizers refrained from any action which might be misconstrued as an attempt to run opposition against them.

But the P. P. B. A. of A., immediately started out to fight the Brotherhood vigorously and it is generally believed that the funds of the Association was ruthlessly wasted to pay off Negro detectives, editors, preachers, and would-be race leaders.

An experienced journalist estimates that the amount paid such papers like the Chicago Defender, Whip, Enterprise for the half page advertisements of the P. P. B. A. of A., was no less than eleven hundred dollars.

By further calculation it is believed that the amount paid to Mitchell of the St. Louis Argus for his services and the tip off "when these people will be in St. Louis" was a check for five hundred dollars.

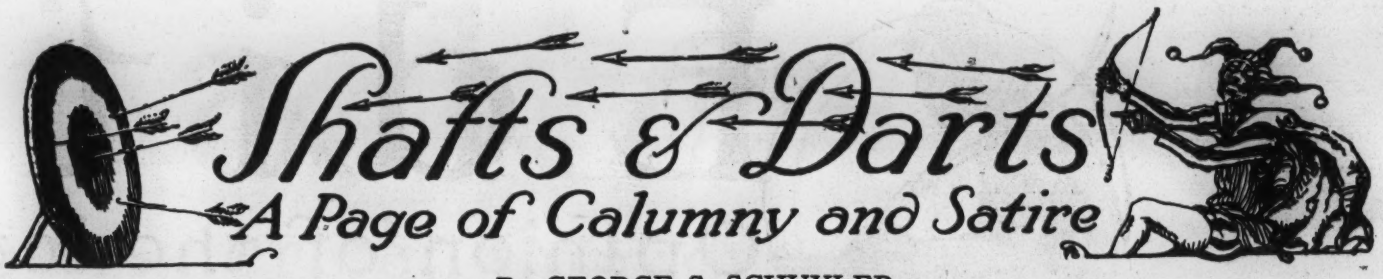
The attitude of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters toward the Pullman Porters Benefit Association of America is fair, just, and reasonable.

If the Association is for Pullman Porters, then it should be controlled and operated by Pullman Porters only, and I might mention by way of passing that the Maids have a right to membership in it also.

If the Association is in any way indebted to the Pullman Co., they should pay off that indebtedness.

But it is a direct insult to the Negro Race to permit the funds of the P. P. B. A. of A., to be controlled by the

(*Continued on page* 285)



By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

The Monthly Award

As this matter goes to press, a carload of bandana handkerchiefs are being sent to Rev. Charles Plummer, of the Lowery Institute and Industrial School, of Mayesville, South Carolina. This in addition to the monthly award: the beautiful cutglass thunder-mug. The views of Br'er Plummer are, in part, written below. They reveal the Brother as the logical descendant of the renowned Uncle Tom. They were expressed by our sable contemporary in an interview with a Washington journalist which was reprinted in a recent number of the famed Dearborn Independent. Folks, scan the following:

"I have advised the negro to stay home on election day and dig potatoes. His vote doesn't count for anything. He only starts trouble. . . . I personally do not want to see a Negro in Congress . . . a Negro Congressman can do us no good. He certainly can do us a lot of harm. . . . I would rather see my people stay away from the polls. . . .

"Of course there is racial inferiority, but that should cause the black man no resentment. . . . He never amounted to anything until the white man took hold; even though the white man sold him into slavery, it has proved his salvation. . . .

"Joseph was a trustworthy fellow in spite of all he went up against. He went into Egypt and was sold unto Potiphar. Having great love and respect for his master, he did not betray his trust when temptation came. Neither did the Negro in the South. Later Potiphar elevated Joseph. Just so the white man will help the Negro and will put him in his rightful place—not at the top, but in the place he deserves and where he belongs."

The white newspaper correspondent who interviewed the Rev. Plummer neglected to say whether that worthy's hat was just held in his hand or glued to his hand during their chat.

Aframerican Fables No. 10

It was terribly cold. The wind whistled, howled and swept down the streets and around corners; street signs swayed and screached; the sidewalks, bare of snow, resounded with the hurried footsteps of occasional pedestrians. There were no loiterers on the street corners—they had fled to the pool rooms, buffet flats and blind pigs. The yellow lights from the rows of shops shone upon deserted sidewalks. Street cars rattled by and motors steamed through the streets. It was winter in Harlem.

In a buffet flat on Seventh avenue, a corpulent Italian bootlegger reclined in an over-stuffed chair, toying with a cigarette and conversing with his high brown "friend," a girl of about thirty summers who looked quite comfortable and alluring in her purple silk negligee. Together they had arrived at the conclusion that they could make far more money than was at present rolling into their treasury. Not by selling more pseudo Gordon's Gin and charging more to transient roomers, could this be done. No, they had worked out another plan.

Briefly, they were going to bring a large number of beautiful Ofay females to Harlem and place them in appropriate surroundings to be conveniently reached by sable bucks. Already the Latin had gone to various parts of the town and rounded up several score of Caucasian damsels all of whom had either auburn, golden or flaxen locks. Nordics predominated. Both schemes were quite confident that in a few weeks they would be rolling in the wealth that this ambitious venture would bring.

Next week several brand new clubs appeared in various side streets of the world's largest Negro city. The prominent business, professional and sporting dinges of the community were given cards of membership, substantial and insinuating advertisements appeared in the Negro newspapers, the police were "fixed" for "protection," all the clergymen were made members, and a local magazine, The Rattler, which carried the sub-head "All the Slime; That's What We Get," carried some very plain hints. Everything, to descend to the Latin, was Jake.

Now it would naturally be expected that these clubs would have flourished; that money would have streamed into the pockets of the Italian owner; that there would have always been a long queue of Senegambian bucks, pockets bulging with cash, clamoring for admission; that dark wives would have been left alone nightly to sob their hearts out; that, in short, social life in Harlem would have been wrecked by this influx of damsels with pink epidermis.

But alas! to the sorrow and regret of the Latin and his high brown "friend," the Negroes of the community proved to be so race conscious that they avoided the exclusive "clubs" despite the desperate attempts to interest them. Nightly the Caucasian maids would trip Fifth, Seventh, Lenox, Edgecombe and St. Nicholas Avenues, enter the movies, theatres, cabarets and restaurants, on a still hunt for prospects, but to no avail. Two weeks, three weeks, then a month passed. Not a single dollar had the race conscious Negro males disgorged. So, having lost thousands of dollars, the bootlegger and his lady "friend" hastily closed their numerous establishments, sent their golden haired nymphs back below 125th Street, and, sadder and wiser, returned to the business of bootlegging and number banking. Another battle had been won for race consciousness. It was established to the satisfaction of everyone that Nordic dames could no longer lure the Ethiope from the charming maidens of his race.

Baron Maunchausen will now rise and recite one of *his* stories!

Ruminations of a Bachelor

The bachelor has always wondered why women prefer to be lied to. They will closely question a man for the truth, yet when he tells them the truth, they are usually dissatisfied and downcast. For instance, a commonplace affair will be going on between a man and a woman. No real deep emotions have been aroused on either side. The woman realizes this—that physical satisfaction is the only tie that binds, and yet she will pester him for a declaration of undying love. A conversation something like this usually takes place about 2:30 A. M.:

She: You don't care a thing about me, do you? (this accusingly).

He: Why, yes I do, sugar. You know I do.

She: Oh, no you don't! All you want is to use me—you don't love me.

He: Well, I like you an awful lot, or I wouldn't be spendin' so much time with you.

She: Yeh! You *like* me but you don't love me. Why can't you *love* me? I love *you* (this with her tongue in her cheek). Why can't *you* love me?

He (if he isn't a boob): Well, honey, you know I don't carry on a lot and make a lot of fuss over you—it ain't my way—but I *do* love you. I love you better than any other girl I've ever known. You're so sweet and affectionate!

She: Oh, do you, daddy? I do love to hear you say it. That's so sweet of you. I'm so happy.

Note: Next night the same conversation takes place between the same girl and a different fellow.

Virginity

Why it is that so many men value virginity in women so highly has always been one of the world's greatest mysteries, for, aside from the satisfaction of the pioneering urge, it has no value. Indeed, the attitude of men toward it, is quite contrary to their reasoning in regard to everything else. The state of virginity implies inexperience and incompetence in one of the greatest fields of human endeavor and pastime. Everywhere else men frown upon inexperience and incompetence, but in sex it is elevated into a high and unmerited position. Of course there are a minority of men of experience who avoid the virgin and condemn the fictitious value placed upon her, but their voices are drowned in the clamor of nitwits.

Edito

Opinion of the leading

Mexico and Her Troubles

Revolution-ridden Mexico is now beset by the problem of separating church and state. Most of the modern governments have achieved this separation. The verdict of history has been that it is essential to political and social progress. In Mexico, the church has been, as an institution, of great financial and political power ever since Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1811. Then the wealth of the church, formerly taken by the king of Spain, remained in the church coffers. Since all faithful adherents of the church gave it one-tenth of all their income, the property of the church rapidly accumulated. By the middle of the last century the Catholic church is said to have owned nearly one-half of all the wealth of Mexico. It was the nation's largest banker, lending great sums to the large landowners at low rates of interest, and in return receiving one-tenth of their estates when they died.

It was quite natural, therefore, that the church in Mexico should have allied itself with big landowners and the army, and later with the new industrial magnates, to maintain its power and safeguard its possessions. Thus when Benito Juarez, the great champion of republicanism, endeavored to overthrow the emperor and establish a Mexican Republic in 1857, the church naturally opposed him. After seven years of struggle Juarez won out.

It is generally recognized that as late as 1912, the Catholic Party was a very real power in Mexican politics. Recently, the church has been accused of backing counter-revolutionists seeking to undo the liberties won by the people in the Madiero revolution.

When Mexican labor finally organized its military and political power and crushed the last uprising against the new government in 1917, it immediately sought to make its gains permanent by enacting a new constitution. In the constitution all the old restrictions on the church embodied by Juarez in the constitution of 1857 and the Reform Laws were re-enacted, and in addition new restrictions making it forever impossible for the Catholic Church or any other church to become again a political power in Mexico.

What were some of these constitutional restrictions? In the constitution of 1857, there is this covering statement upon which all of the restrictive measures are based:

"The federal authorities shall have exclusive power to exercise in matters of religious worship and outward ecclesiastic forms, such intervention as by law is authorized."

Herein lies the kernel of the whole religious controversy in Mexico today. The church maintains that this provision abrogates all of its rights and privileges. The Government claims, on the other hand, that the peculiar religious and political situation in Mexico renders it imperative that such power be vested in its hands.

The constitution also provides that "The Church and State are independent of each other. Congress shall not enact laws establishing or forbidding any religion."

Who will emerge victorious, is practically impossible to foretell at this writing.

President Calles is strong and has apparently won favor among the people by many deserving, worthwhile policies. Still the church is rich and powerful, with centuries of experience behind it.

It is the hope of lovers of liberty everywhere that religious freedom will be recognized in Mexico, that Catholics or anybody else be protected in the right to worship according to the dictates of *their own conscience*. They also hope to see Mexico achieve complete separation between Church and State, a consummation devoutly to be wished for in the modern world.

British Miners Ask American Labor for Aid

The British miners are still on strike, struggling to maintain living wages and decent hours of work. The fight has been unduly prolonged as a result of the stubborn resistance of mine owner and mine worker alike for the recognition of their respective demands. Needless to say, that the wages of the miners, unlike the profits of the mine owners, did not enable them to lay aside a surplus to live on in a conflict such as this without some suffering.

It is to ameliorate this suffering, to assuage and relieve the economic strain and stress under which the wives and children of the miners are living that a delegation of miners has come to America, seeking aid from the American workers. It is our hope that their call will be answered bounteously. They are our brothers and we, white and black, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant workers are their keepers. The victory of the miners in England will help the cause of labor in America. Just as the American capitalists have gone to the rescue of the decadent capitalists in Europe, so the workers in America must succor the brave struggle and hard-pressed workers in England. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will contribute its bit to their cause.

The Mediation Board

The Board of Mediation set up under the new Railway Labor Act, has gotten under way. It settled down to its first case the early part of August, in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City.

The first case involved the interests of the Order of Railway Conductors and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. These organizations had submitted their requests for wage increases to the carriers, and they were rejected. Under the provisions of the Act, the next step was for the Board of Mediation to inter-

rials

colored American thinkers

vene with a view to bringing about an understanding. The meetings have been secret. In the event no amicable settlement of the cases is reached through the Board, arbitration will be the next step. The future service of the Board as an agency for the adjustment of disputes between railway employers and employees will be very largely determined by its handling of this its first case.

Fewer Strikes

More and more industrial disputes, as they ought to be, are being submitted to the conference table. The workers have only resorted to the strike, as a general rule, when the employers were too intolerant to submit their contentions to orderly and methodical discussion.

According to a study of the Federal Council of Churches, ending July first, there has been a fifty per cent decrease in strikes in manufacturing establishments in the five year period 1921-1925 as compared with 1916-20.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, what was the *cause* of these strikes. In 1921 and 1922 most of the strikes, according to the study, were defensive, to prevent the loss of something already achieved rather than to gain some desired goal. Then came the aggressive period in 1923, to regain losses. In 1924 and 1925 the number of strikes has again increased. In 1920, the Council of Churches points out, there were 1,429 strikes to secure wage increases, and 147 to prevent wage decreases. Then came the period of "deflation" which swept thousands of farmers into bankruptcy and put millions of industrial workers on the streets jobless. That year there were 120 strikes to increase wages and 896 strikes to prevent wage reductions. The decrease in the number of strikes is the direct result of an increase in power of the workers and their increase in power is based upon their increase in organization, education, and agitation.

The Chicago Bee

The recent expose of the political corruption in connection with the recent primaries in Chicago, reveal the crying need for a thorough-going cleaning-out of its wicked and venal politicians, white and black. The old guard politicians, ecclesiastical and secular, have become so arrogant and bold that they talk and act as though they were above the will of the people. Note how they defied the Senate Committee, under Jim Reed, investigating slush funds in the Pennsylvania and Illinois primaries. Were their hands clean would they be so adamant against the investigation? Not at all. Only a man with a false stone shuns a lapidary.

Samuel Insull, head of the public utilities interest and his lawyer, Daniel Schuyler, virtually set themselves above the law in refusing, point blank, to give testimony. This is the same crowd which is corrupting Negro politics on the South side. Dan Schuyler has set himself up as a sort of social and political dictator of black Chicago, under the guise of being the Negroes' friend. It is a grave reflection and a crying disgrace upon the intelligent, self-respecting Negroes of that community. With Chicago's Negro population of some 150,000, there is not the slightest necessity for these Negroes being dominated by any sharp-practicing politicians, whatsoever.

The only clear voice which has been raised against it is the Chicago *Bee,* edited by Chandler Owen. He is fearlessly laying bare the flagrant, notorious political juggling of the old crowd politicians. It comes as a fitting climax to his masterly expose of the Chicago *Whip,* for which he ought to be granted the Pulitzer prize for constructive jouralism.

The Chicago *Bee* can bring about a "new day" of political decency, honesty, independence and vision in Chicago. Black Chicago ought to support it. Decent people everywhere, black and white, will acclaim it. More power to the *Bee!*

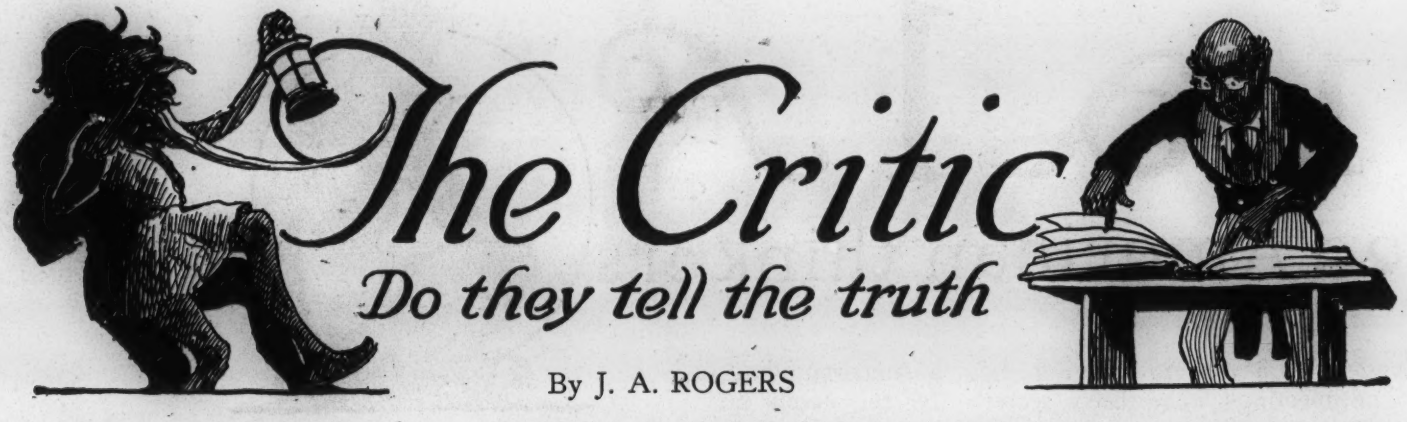
It is high time that the Negroes reached the place where they will not permit some political wolf masquerading in sheep's clothing to shift them around like pawns on the political checker-board to satisfy the selfish ambitions of some white politicians with their black political parasitic satellites. The time has come for an entirely new deal in politics, in industry and everything else. Negroes have moved into the cycle of political self-reliance. They don't need sympathy, mercy, or charity. They need and want only justice.

In order to get justice, however, they must build up political organizations financed by Negroes, which means that they will be responsible only to Negroes. This is the task of the New Negro. It is what the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is doing in industry.

The Primaries and Corruption

Since the expose of the notorious graft and corruption scandal in the Pennsylvania primaries for the election of Pepper, Pinchot and Vare, a smoke-screen of misrepresentations and falsehoods has been set up by astute apoligists for the sinister practice of purchasing elections, to conceal the unclean hands of Big Business in politics. This smoke-screen consists in the attempt to put all of the blame on the system of primaries for the corruption. Senator Reed, of Pennsylvania, would have the country know that the State of Pennsylvania is no small western burg, but a real, regular state which must needs do things on a big scale, not the least among which is buying an election.

(*Continued on page* 287)



By J. A. ROGERS

One Giant Porter

Speaking recently at a meeting of the Brotherhood, Morris Hillquitt brilliant radical leader, said there were two ways for the Pullman porters to regard themselves. One was as 12,000 separate porters, who, should two, or three, or a few dozens of them fail to report one evening could be replaced with little inconvenience; the other, was for the 12,000 to regard themselves as *one giant porter*, who, should he fail to report at any time would make it tremendously interesting for the Pullman Company.

And this is the whole thing in a nutshell. This is beyond argument as every porter and maid, too, has at bottom a common interest, namely, to get the highest wages, and the best working conditions, just as any other worker, regardless of color. It has been only by standing together in organizations that humanity has been able to accomplish anything, whether it be a matter of getting better wages, making war or peace, getting the presidency or any other political office, or doing almost anything bad or good. The man, who decides to stand alone, will find himself pretty much like the letters of the alphabet, which, when taken singly are almost impotent to express anything, but when combined are capable of moving vast masses of humanity to action.

And let not those porters who keep out of the Brotherhood deceive themselves into thinking that they are going to get justice in any other way. At bottom the company and the porters have nothing in common. That is, the Pullman Company like any other concern is a money-making proposition, first of all. The porter's first idea in working is also to make money, and if he has a soul above a jelly-fish to make as much of it as possible, hence, it will be seen that the more the porter gets the less the company will have to pay to its stockholders. Whenever the porter gets a raise, down goes the dividend unless there is a boost in rates. It will be seen then that, at bottom, the interest of the porter, the stockholder, and to no small extent the passenger, are poles apart no matter how much one may try to cloud the issue with words. The porter who refuses to join the Brotherhood then is really fighting against himself on behalf of the company.

Another important point: Porters are Negroes having to deal with white men. Now if white men found it necessary in their dealing with other white men to form unions to get better wages and better working conditions how much more necessary it is for a group which is discriminated against, even by many white workers, to organize?

And the porter who refuses to join is going to reap, and has been reaping a benefit, just as the unions have benefited all the non-union workers, black and white, by raising the standard of wages. Hence all self-respecting porters, those with souls above that of the sponge or the parasite will jump in and help.

Is Black Ever White?

Walter White, author of "The Fire in the Flint," in an interesting article on his mental reactions to criticisms of his latest book, "Flight," says among other things:

"Then there are amusing editorials like that which came to me from a Florida paper—the *Miami News*, which scored me for 'drawing upon my imagination in trying to picture the experiences of a Negro who passes for white.' The writer goes on to intimate that there is no such thing as a Negro successfully passing himself off as a white person and, therefore, I wrote of things wholly foreign to my own experience. I was tempted sorely to send him a photograph—being somewhat laden with work just now prevents my paying a personal visit upon the editor in Miami—and let it convince the Florida Horace Greeley that there WERE Negroes who could, if they chose to do so, might cross the line."

For once I find myself agreeing with a cracker. I, too, insist that you cannot find any human being of any color passing off for another color, unless he stains his face, or possesses the qualities of a chameleon, or the people he goes among are color-blind. If a man has a coloring that among human beings is known as white, he is white regardless of what his ancestry may be. He certainly isn't blue, or green, or yellow or red, not if I am to go by the color-chart, and use my own eyes, and common-sense instead of the eyes of American race prejudice.

Because of the prejudiced idea that one can be white and black in complexion at the same time, every one of known Negro ancestry has a common interest. But at the same time it is high time that we learn to use our own eyes and own judgment about things, and not to accept the biased views of others. The white man, wishes to maintain a separate exploiting caste, and when we use his phraseology—a phraseology that is two hundred and fifty years behind the time—we but help to keep the chains fastened on ourselves.

If one is dark-brown, or brown, or yellow, or white-skinned, he is that color, that's all. It is a simple fact, possessing neither honor nor disgrace. If one is mixed Caucasian or Negro or Indian he is that as a fact, no matter how much prejudiced whites, or blacks, who use the eyes of white men to look at themselves, may say to the contrary. No matter what others may say, I, for one, cannot see two races, or a dozen in America. I see but one American people, speaking a common language, and at bottom having a common ideal, shading in color by imperceptible degrees from white to black, or black to white, as you will—this variety of coloring being of as little moment to the real human value as the variety of hair coloring.

Yes, I agree with the writer of the *Miami News*, though I fancy he won't thank me for the endorsement, that a Negro cannot successfully pass off as a white person. A white cow or mouse; a white dog or louse hasn't to "pass off" as white: *they are white.*

One of the first things towards "solving" this so-called race problem is to learn to call things by their right name.

Mr. White's point of view is no doubt due to the fact that he is not ashamed of his ancestry—a fact, which I, for one, have ample proof. He is one of the few, regardless of complexion, who has taken up the cudgels for justice for conviction's sake rather than money's sake. He believes in the group to which, logically and bioligically, he belongs least—believes in it to the extent of having in it hostages to fame and fortune, by which I mean if he were to send a photograph of his children to the editor of the *Miami News*, little as that worthy is likely to know which of his associates are white and which "colored," he would know that the children are colored.

Mr. White's attitude in this last mentioned respect is clearly a rebuke to many, obviously colored, nevertheless I, for one do not call him a Negro. In "Flight" he speaks of his heroine, Mimi, as belonging to the Negro race. There is but one race—the human race—and in so far as Mimi belonged to any variety of it, she belonged to the so-called white race. I regard any other point of view as too big a concession to the Bourbons, who insist that if one is thirty-one parts of one thing and only one of another, he belongs to the one, because of some magical, or heaven-only-knows what quality involved. Now I am not going to accept that though all the crackers in Christendom shouted it in my ear.

I recognize, moreover, that right here is the fountain-head of the so-called color line, to which I am totally and unalterably opposed particularly when there is such a large percentage of citizens of the same descent as Mr. White and either do not know or wouldn't acknowledge it.

ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO—THE LAND OF ESPERANZA

By ANITA SCOTT COLEMAN

It is singular, that most persons think of Arizona and New Mexico in unity. The fact is, that Arizona was a part of New Mexico until 1863 when it was divided by Congress into a separate territory. Since, each, not so many years ago attained the status of Statehood, they have striven diligently, albeit amiably to establish a distinct and separate individualism.

Yet for this once, we shall consider them as one.

Together they cover an area of 235,654 square miles, a boundless region of vast treasures.

Their mineral resources are limitless. Manganese, iron, coal, oil, zinc, copper, gold, silver, onyx and marble, meerchaum and turquoise, emeralds, sapphires, garnets and opals lie buried in level plains and rugged mountains.

Great stretches of timbered lands are protected in forest reserves, and one forest in Holebroke, Arizona, is so old, it is petrified, its trees but solid rock. The lower mountain ranges and hills are covered with stunted growth of pine, juniper, pinon, cedar, and oak. The rolling prairies are arrayed in the wonder vegetation of the Southwest—the cactus, the sagebrush, the mesquite, and the yucca.

Its surface is traversed by rivers. The greatest of these being the Rio Grande, the old reliable, of whom legend says: obligingly changed its course to suit the whim of "el Gringo;" cleaving the State of New Mexico from tip to toe as it wends its way to the Gulf. This and the Pecos and the Gila rivers along with their tributaries water extraordinarily fertile valleys; in which wonder apples, figs, apricots, grapes, wheat, corn, cotton, and alfalfa are produced. While the Colorado River in Arizona is that small and turbid stream which has wrought through centuries the mighty marvel of the Grand Canyon.

The animals and the insects of these States, like its arid vegetation, are unique. Here is the home of the Gila-monster, the vinegerone, the rattlesnake, the centipede, the tarantula and the nina de terra. The coyote and the prairie dog keep watch upon its plains, the fox and deer, the wolf and bear, sheep and mountain lions, and countless feathered "game," bestow upon their natal states the title: "The hunting ground of the United States."

Another natural resource is the climate. Rarely does the sun hide its face from these two states. Endless breezes lilt and sing as effective as an electric fan in summer and as bracing as a tonic.

Natural resources are the gifts of generous Nature, and industry is the outcome of man's manipulations of these gifts.

Since minerals are strewn in such lavish quantities, mining is an important occupation, the leading one in Arizona. Copper is yet being taken from "workings" bearing the scars and marks of the day when Spaniards conquered and enslaved the Indian, gave him the crude implements of the time and sent him chained into the bowels of the earth to delve for treasure. Later the white man came and conquered and so it is the Mexican miner rather than the Negro or the foreigner of the East, who goes down and up the shaft, in and out the tunnel, down and down into endless pits in quest of minerals.

The vast stretches of grass grown plains give rise to the cattle industry, the greatest pursuit in the State of New Mexico. To all appearances and despite legend—cattle raising is an exclusive white man's trade. Mexican cowboys there are and perhaps in a bygone day, the natives were large cattle owners—but today, one sees only the white cattleman. Occasionally one glimpses a Negro cowboy or rather a Negro who has learned a lot about cattle, quite likely, he has often gone with cattle-trains into Kansas, Nebraska, Old Mexico to punch cattle—to prevent any of the packed cattle lying down, where they would be trodden to death beneath the hoofs of the others—on their long railway journey. But very few black men have ridden beneath the stars, singing cowboy chants to still the restless herds. And in no instance has a black American, plied himself to the task of becoming one of the "big" cattlemen of the Southwest. Maybe, it is due to the side line of cattle rustling; which once upon a time accompanied cattle raising, most profitably, who knows?

In Arizona and New Mexico, man has aptly turned the climate into an industry. We have here the business of dispensing health to the health-seeker. The different chambers of commerce vie one with the other in advertisements of climate.

"Sunshine 365 days in the year," boasts New Mexico.

"Arizona—land of golden sunshine," acclaims Arizona.

Indisputably, these States offer the best in health giving "ozone" and revivifying sun-light. The Sanatorium is the outstanding feature of many towns. But Tucson, in Arizona and Silver City, in New Mexico, are favored spots. Prescott in Arizona and Ft. Bayard in New Mexico, the latter the largest sanatorium of its kind in the country, both Veteran Bureau Hospitals, treat Negro patients. Besides, these, there is no especial provision made for the Negro health-seeker. Several tentative efforts to establish a Negro sanatorium have fallen short. Yet, such an institution is a needed and certainly a humane project for an American Negro.

Again, the scenic wonders of these two States lures the tourist into their midst, while "big game" during the hunting seasons beguile the sportsmen and so the trade of entertaining a traveling public becomes an important one.

Farming, a new and steadily growing project owing to the recently completed dams for the conservation of a bountious water supply enabling irrigation on larger scales, the climate, the productivity of soil, and the acreage for large crops holds forth a promise of vast reward for the inhabitants of these States. Likewise, farming, more than all its other industries, swings wide its gates and cordially welcomes the Negro.

Cotton as an experiment. Cotton in the Maricopa valley and Mexican peon labor. Cotton in the Mesilla valley and Negro hands from the South. Cotton, a wonderful yield and experiment becomes an established fact. With it all there are many Negroes in Phoenix and some scattered throughout the State. And mayhaps, Mexican peons will eventually return to Mexico. But in the Mesilla valley, Vado, a Negro town is born. Jammed against the States scenic highway, plodding its way to the high road of success.

As industry is dependant upon natural resources, population is dependant upon industry. It is seen, then, that industry in these States has held little promise for the Negro.

The inhabitants here are as striking as the plant and animals of Arizona and New Mexico. They are historically interesting. Consisting of fast dwindling tribes of Indians, living echoes of a by-gone day, remnants of a centuries-old civilization. The tatters of the Aztecs, cliff dwellers and the humble dwellers in Pueblos. And the Spanish-American or Mexican native, the first conquerors of Indians, plenteous whites, and essentially, it is the home of the half-breed, the inevitable outcome,

where two or more races meet and mingle in an unaccustomed freedom.

While here and there are Negroes, like straggly but tenacious plants growing, nevertheless, though always in the larger towns. Becoming fewer and fewer, until in many or in all of the remoter hamlets and towns they are as sparse as rose bushes upon the prairies.

But all, which the Negro has failed to give to the industry or to the population of Arizona and New Mexico, he has made amends for with the contribution to its history.

It is potent to recall that in 1538, Estevan, the Negro slave in the role of interpreter and guide to the Friar Marcos de Niza, was sent on ahead to spy upon the people and the strange lands they were entering, and send back reports to his peers. Thus, it was that Estevan the Negro, was first to behold the wonders of the seven cities, and though, he, himself was killed, sent back the report:—"Advance, the find is worth it."

Negroes have fought and struggled over all the vast stretches that included the one time Indian Territory, the Panhandle, New Mexico and Arizona, throughout the years of Indian warfare. Most of the old settlers among Negroes in "these parts" are descended or related to a hoary-haired and fast-passing, honorably discharged, Indian war fighter, who thought wearily upon receiving his discharge, that "here" was as good as "way back there" to settle down and rest after his long arduous campaign.

And mingled with the tales of Indians on warpaths are the stories of heroism performed by avenging whites and all interwoven with these deeds are mingled the deeds of solitary Negroes.

In 1916 Negroes helped patrol the borders in New Mexico and Arizona, safeguarding the doorways through which Villa or a mightier foe might enter. That Villa did enter and raided Columbus, New Mexico, was no fault of theirs. Yet, they, it was, who rode out in to chaparral hard on the trail of the treacherous Villa, to their death in Carrizol.

Among the famous acts of outlawry are knit the acts of black men. Oft'times they have accompanied posses in the capture of dangerous bandits. And a black man was the first to fall before the deadly aim of Billy the Kid, in a gambling hall in Silver City.

Among famous frontier huntsmen are the names of Negroes. One George Parker, was the best crack shot and the gamest bear hunter who ever followed a trail. He was also a lucky prospector and amassed a fortune in mines. As did his friend John Young, who still survives; who was at one time the richest Negro and one of the wealthiest mine owners in the territory of New Mexico.

Among the lowly and humble tasks, which likewise make history, are such deeds as this: In Roswell a town of tree lined streets, it is told that a Negro, an old pioneer, recently deceased, planted the trees which grace the City's streets.

Withal, the Negroes in these States are an isolated lot, yet in nearly all instances they are home owners. In the remote hamlets, if there be blacks at all, they seem a bit hazy concerning their relationship to the great hordes of Negroes beyond their confines. This is not true of the groups in larger towns.

One is almost persuaded to say, that the brains and the brawn of the Negro population is gathered in Alberquerque. Negro enterprise of various sorts are here. Negro doctors and dentists reside here. Two churches are supported. The N. A. A. C. P. is represented—and it is the home of the *Southwest Review,* a Negro publication, edited by S. W. Henry.

Though the greatest outstanding feature of the Negro population is that in New Mexico, there are two exclusively Negro towns. Blackdom, sixteen miles south of Roswell and situated in the Chavis County oil area and Vado, previously mentioned, a score of miles below Las Cruces.

So far, in New Mexico, the Negro has not yet become a bone to gnaw in politics. He is not legislated either pro or con, he is an unconsidered quantity, due to his inconsequential numbers. But what New Mexico may or may not do is evidenced in the fact that the influx of Negro children to Dona Ana County the center of the cotton activity were not allowed to attend the schools. Separate schools were immediately installed, also Roswell in Chavis County maintains a separate school system.

On the other hand, Arizona has made rigid laws concerning her Negro inhabitants. A rather funny one is eight Negro children in any community is a sufficient quota for instituting a Negro school.

Boiled down to finality—these States are the mecca-land for the seeker after wealth—the land of every man to his own grubstake—and what-I-find-I-keep.

And criss-crossing in and out through the medley of adventure, stalk the few in number black folks. Often, it is only the happy-go-lucky, black gambler, again it is but the lone and weary black prospector—but ever and ever the intrepid, stalwart Negro homeseeker forms a small yet valiant army in the land of esperanza.

And over it all the joyous freedom of the West. The unlimited resourcefulness the boundless space—that either bids them stay—or baffles with its vastness—until it sends them scuttling to the North, the South, the East whence-so-ever they have come.

For here prevails for every man be he white or black a hardier philosophy—and a bigger and a better chance, that is not encountered elsewhere in these United States.

Formula

Poetry should treat
  Of lofty things
Soaring thoughts
  And birds with wings.

The Muse of Poetry
  Should not know
That roses
  In manure grow.

The Muse of Poetry
  Should not care
That earthly pain
  Is everywhere.

Poetry!
  Treat of lofty things:
Soaring thoughts
  And birds with wings.

LANGSTON HUGHES.

Autumn Note

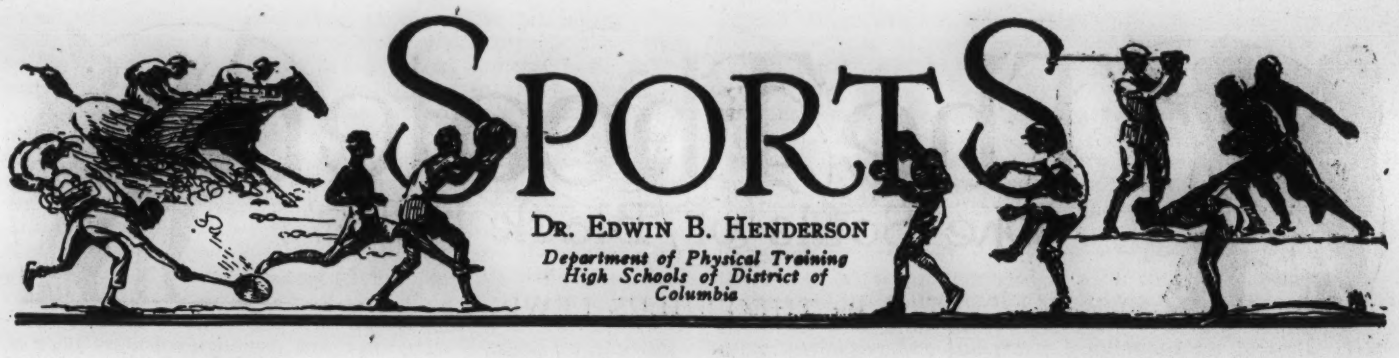
The little flowers of yesterday
Have all forgotten May.
The last gold leaf
Has turned to brown.
The last bright day is grey.
The cold of winter comes apace
And you have gone away.

J. CRUTCHFIELD THOMPSON.

For Dead Mimes

Oh, white-faced mimes,
May rose leaves
Cover you like snow.
And may Pierrette,
The faithful,
Rest forever with Pierrot.

EARL DANE.



Athletics

By this time the baseball will be edging towards the brink of innocuous desuetude and from all over the land myriads of boys and men in the schools and colleges will harken to the call of the pigskin and gridiron. The coaches have rounded out summer school courses at the feet of famous tutors of football play. High school boys have decided where to take on in college football. Schedules and plans for the games of the year are about complete. Attention of players and coaches have centered on the written side of football and from now on practical application of the art of combining theory and practice will center the stage. For the first time a serious attempt is to be made to have clear cut professional football. Teams will represent many cities. Players of national repute will be signed up for fairly fabulous salaries. Colored players have been in demand in the past on professional teams of football but we wonder when professional football becomes as largely extended as is paid baseball will the bar sinister be drawn. A player like Byrd of Lincoln would feature on many teams.

Lincoln vs. Tuskegee

In the old days a Tuskegee barnstorming football team went home sadder and wiser. Playing games every other day brought no victories. Then came Harvey of Morehouse and the athletic victories of the south were written mostly in the annals of the Atlanta school. But Cleve Abbott went from the west to Tuskegee and made a champion aggregation. With Stevenson, Joyner and Kitchin on hand and others of the 1925 eleven Tuskegee expects to descend upon the Lions of Lincoln on October 29th in Philadelphia and demonstrate that southern football has little to learn from above the Mason and Dixon Line. The game will be played in the Sesqui-Centennial exposition stadium. Next to the annual academic school classic in Washington on Thanksgiving Day eyes will make the Tiger-Lion scrap a cynosure.

Jungle Stuff

Imitativeness is no inconsequential trait to possess in the midst of a harrowing civilization. The Negro has it. Sometimes he imitates the good and as often the bad. In sports the various sport writer made appellations applied to our baseball teams and football teams help buffonery and humor to belittle our athletics. We have in baseball the Sox, the Browns, the Giants, Stars and in football, Tigers, Bears, Bisons, Lions. At least with college football we need not copy names. Many big colleges discourage the use of such names as unnecessary and undignified.

Shelving of Wills

It is hackneyed to say in the language of Barnum that the American people like to be fooled. Fools are born every minute and in America there are many to the square foot in some cities. Here we have Jack Dempsey a notorious draft dodger and a champion of set-ups who has been doing the African-Dodger stunt ever since Wills loomed big on his horizon and since he could see no farther than his new nose holding up the American public for a paltry million or so to fight another second rater. Gene Tunney, pride of the Montezuma Marines, has been trained to take over a championship. He may do it for few men be they Irish or Negroes can hit Hollywood and other equally precipitous high spots without losing some of the vital body cells necessary to undergo the gruelling hour of the prize ring. We have to hand it to the Chicago and New York Boards for stalling against the insistent demands of the Moron sporting public that cry for meat. They want to see their idol Dempsey fight and they don't care who. They saw him with one-blow, wild-man Firpo whose name sounded anthropoidal, and they saw him bruise up little Tommy Gibbons and they would like to see him with Wills but they know he is not ready for the grave digger yet since he has been gold digging on such a big scale out of the gullibility of the American public. Probably, when Wills gets too old to lift a leg or the glass grows into his arteries this public will urge him to pick up some young slugger and do battle. We do not forget however that in this so-called brutal sport there is more democratic spirit than in any other personal contact game. Witness Tiger Flowers, Lawson, Chick Suggs, as a few, battling around in rings with white fighters and before white crowds and getting a big hand for skill or fighting courage. The Dempsey vs. Wills fiasco is however simply a case of the love of the filthy lucre killing a real battle of a century. No matter what the outcome of the Tunney-Dempsey fight, the public from coast to coast will be left with that bad nauseating taste that comes from a crooked deal in sport.

New Sports

We are glad to see school boys taking up swimming. There are some real swimmers among the race. A little publicity of records and the attempt to get into the swimming races where they are permitted may bring us some record holders. A negro swimming the English Channel would do no harm. A few hitting around the records of Johnny Weismuller in competition would help. Lowell Wormley of Washington was a first stringer on Dartmouth's Lacrosse team last year. A few years ago Dick Woods formerly of Dunbar High School was notable at Ski jumping. Major Taylor in the old days in the bicycle sprints, Cable at the weights, Drew at the hurdles, Pollard in the jumps show versatility and help prove coordinations not unlike the best nerve-muscle efforts of the Nordic champions.

Tiger Flowers a Shrewd Boxer

The late Col. Charles Young once told the writer that the Negro in Oriental countries was as good a bargainer as the Jew. His uncanny understanding of human nature and ability to play on the vanities of most white men is evidenced in the shrewdness of the average shoe-shine vendor or servant in the house. Our middleweight champion, Tiger Flowers knows the game. He chants a hymn or mutters a prayer in the presence of press agents and adds color to his already colored self and colorful career. Where he fights they come and the shekels flow. Then, too, fighting white men admire a fighter who is not afraid of battle so the Deacon is popular. Let us hope he again goes Greb one better.

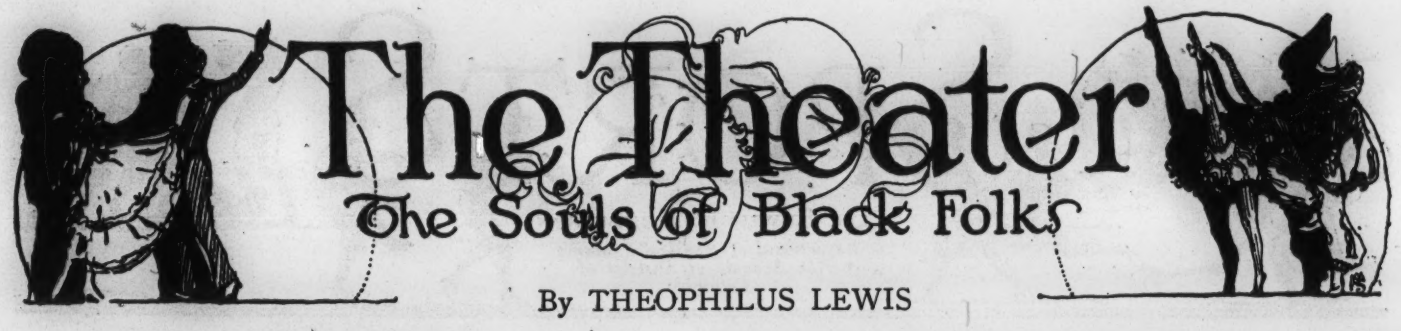
Tennis

At this writing tennis is raging in various sections. In Washington, D. C., the old master Tally Holmes took the measure of his youthful adversary the national champion Teddy Thompkins but in Philadelphia Saitch of New York downed Tally but Ted captured the crown from Saitch. The southeastern championships gave us a new hero in Marcellus Goff of Howard University who hails from Albany, N. Y. The games were played on the hard clay courts of Kittrell College. McGriff and Downing, veterans took the doubles. The skilled racquet wielders are doing a great good in the educational ferment at work in the uplift of our people about America. Tennis tournaments have a cultural influence upon player and spectator not to be found in any other sport except perhaps in golf.

New Year

The years
Fall like dry leaves
From the top-less tree
Of eternity.
Does it matter
That another leaf has fallen?

LANGSTON HUGHES.



By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

SURVEY OF THE NEGRO: No. II.

Its Economic Weakness

Even an extremely conservative estimate of the amount of money Negroes spend on the theater presents a surprisingly large figure. In New York alone the two theatres which give vaudeville and musical shows collect admission fees amounting to at least $1,000 a day. The admissions paid to the five moving picture theaters in the district amount to no less than $1,000 more. An extremely cautious estimate would put the amount spent on the theater in Harlem alone at $600,000 a year, enormously more than all the Negroes in America spend on any other spiritual vehicle except the church.

According to J. A. Jackson, the leading statistical authority on the colored stage, there were in 1925 four hundred and twenty-five theaters devoted to the patronage of colored audiences. If the average annual receipts of these theaters amount to $10,000 the yearly total is over $4,000,000. This, of course, is an extremely low estimate, and it would doubtless be closer to the facts to say that four cities, Harlem, Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia spend that amount for amusement.

It would appear that an institution able to sell itself with such conspicuous success would quickly become prosperous enough to spend a part of its earnings making experiments in the direction of improving the quality of its offerings. For the stage itself must ever be the active agent in raising the public taste. The public, or any important part of it, knows well enough when it is dissatisfied with what is being shown in the theater; but it never knows in advance what kind or quality of amusement will suit its taste. Time and again in the history of the American Theater, both black and white, there have been attempts on the part of managers to give some disgruntled part of the public precisely the kind of amusement it had demanded. These efforts to please the public by giving it what it had said it wanted have uniformly ended in failure. A striking illustration, and one close to home, is furnished by the several failures to win the appreciation of better class Negro audiences by giving them the sort of sedate performances they had seen on the white stage and which they said they wanted to see on the colored stage. Plans for raising the general standard of amusement by appealing to the higher as well as the lower elements of the public succeed best when they originate behind the footlights. Not that the theater is infallible in adjusting its offerings to its public; rather, it proceeds by an ardurous trial and error method, varying the type and quality of its entertainment and carrying on its experiments at a loss until it finally wins a response from the part of the public it is aiming to please.

This response cannot always be measured in the form of profits. The higher minded individuals of a community are always outnumbered by the lower elements and the type of diversion they require costs more to produce than the low amusement the multitude is satisfied with. In striving to please the better part of the public the theater must be prepared to supply a limited market with an expensive form of entertainment. Which means, in more definite terms, that the higher forms of theatrical recreation must be produced with the expectancy of small profits or even a dead loss. In a theater which is economically sound and spiritually vigorous these expensive but unprofitable productions are undertaken as a contribution to the community culture. The white American theater is commercial to the core, still a part of the gains produced by the more vulgar forms of amusement is continually being reinvested in the production of the higher forms and the result is that the stage is constantly becoming richer while the popular taste is gradually being improved.

This adjustment of the prosperity of the stage to the cultural needs of the community is usually undertaken in response to the spur of competition. It is voluntarily attempted only when there is a bond of spiritual kinship existing between the public the theater serves and the persons in control of its finances. The Negro theater is not subject to either of these favorable influences. While prosperous enough when the collections at the door are considered, it is organized in such a way that neither its public nor its performers can obtain the full advantages of its prosperity.

White Landlords and Producers

More than half of the theaters operated for colored patronage, says J. A. Jackson, are owned by white capital. Mr. Jackson's figures are by no means exhaustive and they leave us in doubt as to the relative values of the holdings of white and colored owners. Nor do his figures shed any light on how the amount of business done by either group compares with the amount done by the other group. But as the white owners generally control the larger houses, as well as the ones longest established and most conveniently located in centers where theater-going is a community habit, there cannot be much error in claiming that their control of fifty per cent of the theaters gives white owners seventy-five per cent of the business.

This foreign financial control of our theater would be undesirable even if those exercising it were persons of higher than average culture, which is not the case. Almost without exception, the white owners of theaters devoted to colored patronage are people who, if they were connected with the white American theater, would be found among its camp followers rather than working in the theater proper; cheap vaudeville entrepreneurs at best, at bottom sandwich venders and amusement park fakirs. They have no knowledge of the true nature of the theater, and even if we concede their willingness to adjust the stage they control to the finer feelings of the public they serve their limitations stand between their good intentions and success. Out of touch with the refinement of their own race, they cannot be expected to meet with much success when they attempt to gauge the more delicate sentiments of a people whose ways are strange to them. When they see a part of the Negro public pleased with the theater when it combines the most garish features of a nickelodeon and a burlesque show they are easily convinced that there is no strong desire among Negroes for any higher quality of amusement.

Most of the colored owners are men of the same low calibre as the white owners. But they are at least privy to the idiomatic aspirations of the race and subject to its social discipline. If they were in control of the bulk of the income produced by the perennial prosperity of the Negro theater they would be moved, or they could be urged, to devote a part of their profits to bringing the stage up to the standard demanded by the better element of the race. But the small share of the business in the hands of colored owners does not produce balances large enough to absorb the inevitable losses which would have to be faced during the transition from a low to a higher quality of entertainment. Indeed, as a rule the reserves of colored owners are so slight that frequently a single month of slack business will force a proprietor to close his doors. With such a precarious hold on a bare existence in business colored owners cannot assume the expense of even such piffling experiments white proprietors sometimes underwrite.

The white owners, to the limits of their low vision, are usually sympathetic enough and quite willing to accede to any demand of the public which strikes them as reasonable. Their idea of a reasonable innovation, however, is one that promises quick and substantial profits. They hardly ever object to putting colored cashiers in the ticket booths and colored flunkeys on the door because it means a saving in salaries and favorable comment in Negro newspapers. They will permit chorus girls to take off more clothes than the law allows because it means increased patronage of the poolroom rats and sex starved stevedores who cannot afford to visit the buffet flats as often as they wish. They will occasionally go the limit outfitting a combination burlesque and minstrel show, presenting the hybrid product as a "revue," because that also fetches the crowd and brings in ready money right away. But they cannot be persuaded to assist in keeping the stage abreast of the cultural progress of the race unless they can be shown where it will pay from the first performance.

Only slightly less pernicious than the domination of the white

owner-manager is the influence of the white producer. The white producer, however, is not at all concerned about the desires of the Negro public. His potential audience is the large number of white people who would like to enjoy the thrills of the black and tan cabarets, only they can't afford the stiff cover charge and don't like the idea of paying fifty cents for a bottle of beer they can buy for eight cents at the delicatessen store. Then there are the old timers who yearn for amusement reminiscent of the days of Lew Dockstader and the Primrose Minstrels. These two classes, when they are in the mood for theatrical slumming, will be satisfied with any show consisting of twenty odd yellow dancing girls topped off with a few low comedians and their feeders.

Assembling a show for the diversion of white audiences is in itself innocuous enough, but, indirectly, it exerts an unwholesome influence on the Negro theater. The white producer prefers to select his headliners from the ranks of colored performers who have made good on the white vaudeville stage. He pays higher salaries than the colored actor can earn playing before Negro audiences, and if the show enjoys a moderately successful run the members of the cast subsequently find it easier to get bookings on the white vaudeville stage as well as from the managers catering to colored audiences. This condition makes a prominent part in a show assembled for white audiences the goal of the colored actor's ambition. Naturally, only the more talented performers can make the grade; and instead of making an effort to reform the Negro theater for the better, the more competent and versatile colored actors spend their best years developing themselves for a career under a white producer.

Often enough the abler actors are dissatisfied with the condition of the Negro theater. But they willingly submit to that degraded condition because if they can obtain a formidable number of return engagements they will be able to impress the booking offices of the white vaudeville circuits. Again they submit to the distorted standards of white vaudeville because becoming popular with its audiences is the surest way to catch the eye of white producers of musical comedies and revues.

Without the glamour of a Broadway career to seduce him the more competent colored actor could develop himself along some distinctive line and create a following for himself. With a definite following in the audience he could obtain steadier employment and better pay than he can obtain under present conditions and a regular income would in the course of time enable him to become a producer himself. His following would assure him of an audience and as he would collect the profits of management as well as the wages of an entertainer he would eventually find himself in a position to strike a blow for the economic autonomy of the Negro theater. For without economic autonomy the Negro stage can never become the flexible medium for the expression of the spirit of Negro people it ought to be.

A STRANGER AT THE GATES

By WALLACE THURMAN

NIGGER HEAVEN. By Carl Van Vechten. Alfred Knopf, Incorporated. $2.50.

When I first heard of the author's proposed novel of Negro life in Harlem I immediately conjectured that while the whites would relish it, especially since the current faddistic interest in things Negroid was still a flourishing reality, that Negroes themselves would anathematize both the book and its author. I predicated this conjecture on the fact that most colored people with whom I came into contact bristled belligerently at mention of the title. And some of those who had been most active in showing the author the sights of Harlem crowed about ingratitude, Nordic duplicity, et cetera, as long as the object of their wrath remained downtown, and promptly forgot it when he was uptown, which gave me a chance to speculate upon African duplicity. However, since reading the volume I find myself forced to cancel my first conjecture and come forward with another, which is, that whites may find it a trifle tedious at times, but that Negroes will accept it so warmly that even the detested "Nigger" in the title will be forgotten, and, I would not be surprised should some of our uplift organizations and neighborhood clubs plan to erect a latter-day abolitionist statue to Carl Van Vechten on the corner of 135th Street and Seventh Avenue, for the author has been most fair, and most sympathetic in his treatment of a long mistreated group of subjects. True, some of his individual characters may seem tarnished, but the race as a whole emerges as a group of long suffering martyrs, deservant of a better fate. No one in Harlem could have presented their case more eloquently and with more finesse. Truly, Gareth Johns, you deserve an especial Spingarn medal.

Yet once the characters cease discussing the "Negro problem," once they cease spouting racial equality epigrams, and anti-racial discrimination platitudes, the novel begins to move—begins to pulsate with some genuine rhythms peculiar (objections from Geo. S. Schuyler) to Harlem alone, and, thereupon holds the reader rapt until he reaches the dramatic climax.

Mr. Van Vechten seems at his best in the cabaret scenes, the charity ball, and the Black Mass (and let me insert a question here—where, oh where is this Black Mass in Harlem, for it is too good to be merely a figment of the writer's imagination—I mean too good in the sense that it should not be such a selfish, subjective creation, I, for one, would love to see).

"An invisible band, silent at the moment they had entered this deserted room, now began to perform wild music, music that moaned and lacerated one's breast with brazen claws of tone, shrieking, tortured music from the depths of hell. And now the hall became peopled, as dancers slipped through the folds of the hangings, men and women with weary faces, faces tired of passion and pleasure. Were these the faces of dead prostitutes and murderers? Pleasure seekers from tho cold slabs of the morgue?

"Dance! cried Laska. Dance! She flung herself in his arms and they joined this witches sabbath."

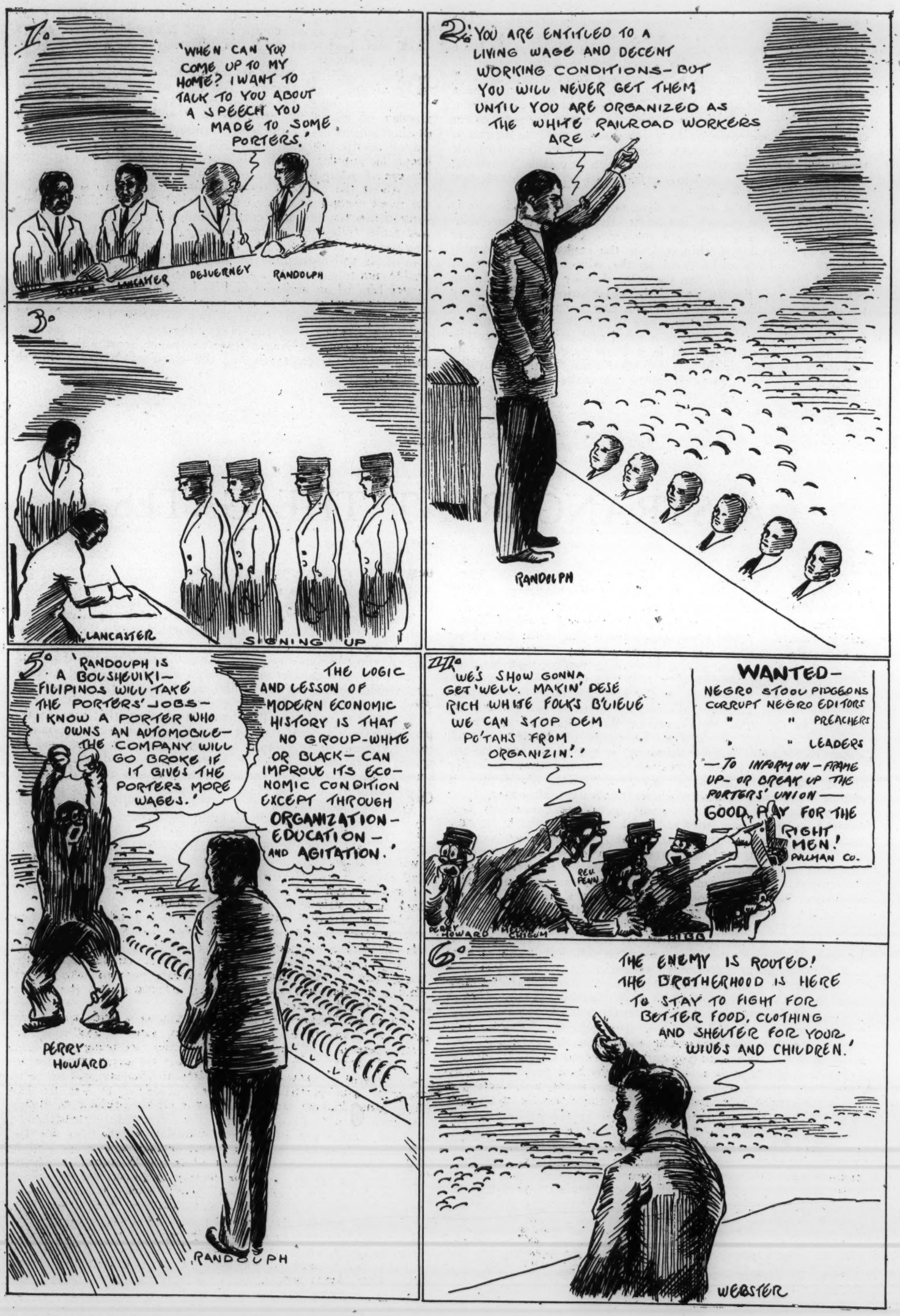
This all occurs in "a circular hall entirely hung in vermillion velvet" . . . with . . . "a flavor of translucent glass" through which flows "a cloud of light—now orange, now deep purple, now flaming like molten lava, now rolling sea waves of green."

And the two cabaret scenes surpass even the above in their realistic evocation of an individualistic setting, surging with soul shreaving individualistic rhythms.

I shall not dwell upon the chronicle of events that compromise the main motif of the novel proper. I found the trimmings and trappings more genuine and more gracefully done than the thesis. The affair between Mary Love and Byron Kasson struck me as rather puerile. Show me any normal pair of even cultured lovers in Harlem skipping down bridle paths in a park, and show me any girl in Mary's milieu who is as simple as Mary in the matters of an affair du coeur. The tragedy of the myopic Byron who wished to write but could find nothing to write about the while a veritable ocean of material was swirling about him, and his passionate plunge with the fiery and exotic Laska Sartoris into a pool of physical debauch is of sterner stuff and much more calculated to draw the reader back to the volume for a second reading.

"Nigger Heaven" will also provide high Harlem with a new indoor sport, namely, the ascertaining which persons in real life the various characters were drawn from. Speculations are already rampant even before a general circulation of the book, and I have heard from various persons whom each character represents with far more assurance than the author himself could muster.

All in all "Nigger Heaven" should have a wide appeal and gain much favorable notice. As I say, some "ofays" may find arid stretches in it, especially where they are being lampooned in good old N. A. A. C. P. fashion, but the pregnant picturization of certain facets of Negro life in Harlem will serve to make at least partial amends for that Mr. Van Vechten has done what Russett Durwood, in the novel, predicts to Byron someone would do—*i. e.*, beat the Negro litterateurs to a vibrant source pot of literary material which they for the most part have glossed over. And he has done it so well in places that despite the allegation of certain Manhattan sophisticates that he wrote the book merely to prove that there are Negroes who read, Paul Morand, Jean Cocteau, Edmond Gosse, Louis Broomfield and Cabell, and who can feel at home in sumptuous settings of tiger-skin covered beds, magenta and silver cushions, taffeta canopied dressing tables, Sevres china, and furniture which is a "Bavarian version of Empire," he has also laid himself liable to being referred to, in the provinces, as another Negro writer.


1.
'WHEN CAN YOU COME UP TO MY HOME? I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT A SPEECH YOU MADE TO SOME PORTERS.'
LANCASTER
DEJUERNEY
RANDOLPH
2.
YOU ARE ENTITLED TO A LIVING WAGE AND DECENT WORKING CONDITIONS - BUT YOU WILL NEVER GET THEM UNTIL YOU ARE ORGANIZED AS THE WHITE RAILROAD WORKERS ARE.'
RANDOLPH
3.
LANCASTER
SIGNING UP
4.
'RANDOUPH IS A BOLSHEVIKI - FILIPINOS WILL TAKE THE PORTERS' JOBS - I KNOW A PORTER WHO OWNS AN AUTOMOBILE - THE COMPANY WILL GO BROKE IF IT GIVES THE PORTERS MORE WAGES.'
THE LOGIC AND LESSON OF MODERN ECONOMIC HISTORY IS THAT NO GROUP - WHITE OR BLACK - CAN IMPROVE ITS ECONOMIC CONDITION EXCEPT THROUGH ORGANIZATION - EDUCATION - AND AGITATION.'
PERRY HOWARD
RANDOLPH
5.
WE'S SHOW GONNA GET 'WELL. MAKIN' DESE RICH WHITE FOLKS B'LIEVE WE CAN STOP DEM PO'TAHS FROM ORGANIZIN'.'
WANTED -
NEGRO STOOL PIDGEONS
CORRUPT NEGRO EDITORS
" " PREACHERS
" " LEADERS
- TO INFORM ON - FRAME UP - OR BREAK UP THE PORTERS' UNION -
GOOD PAY FOR THE RIGHT MEN!
PULLMAN CO.
PERRY HOWARD
REV. PENN
6.
THE ENEMY IS ROUTED! THE BROTHERHOOD IS HERE TO STAY TO FIGHT FOR BETTER FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER FOR YOUR WIVES AND CHILDREN.'
WEBSTER

A YEAR OF HISTORY MAKING

By FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

August 25, 1925, has become an historic date in the annals of the American Negro and a date of more than passing significance to the workers of the United States in general. On the evening of that day a handful of Pullman porters betook themselves proudly to the basement of the Imperial Elks Hall, New York City, to listen to the message of trade unionism as expounded by A. Philip Randolph, Geo. S. Schuyler, the writer and others, and, to launch what is now generally recognized as the most challenging bid for a man's chance ever made by the American Negro since his advent in the United States over three centuries ago. Facing what seemed to many as an insurmountable obstacle and an unbeatable foe, these men, on that eventful night "fired a shot" which has rivaled the one fired years before at Fort Sumpter in South Carolina. That shot from the South Carolina fortress was "heard around the world" and marked the beginning of the Civil War which was to end with the emancipation of the slaves. The one fired on August 25, 1925, by the Pullman porters, too has girdled the globe, carrying to all nations and races the glad tidings that a group of American Negroes had been introduced to the militant doctrine of trade unionism which would result in the direct emancipation of 12,000 Negro Pullman porters and maids from a condition of slavery but little removed from that of their forebears.

These Negro workers have been employed as porters and maids for nearly fifty-nine years. They have been known as the aristocrats of Negro labor. The actual condition of these workers does not, however, justify this claim. The movement to unionize them has brought to light the fact that Pullman porters and maids constitute the only group of workers whose position is so little removed from actual servitude and peonage that the difference is hardly recognizable. They are the largest and most outstanding group of unpaid workers of a race that is known as the unpaid workers of the world.

Not even in the convict labor-ridden Southland, or on the peon farms of that section of the country can one find workers who contribute anywhere from two to seven hours of labor without some sort of remuneration for the same, nowhere can one locate such a large number of workers, who are unable actually to tell what their wages will be five minutes before they receive it; nowhere are workers so thoroughly and systematically and so effectively exploited as in the Pullman service. They have suffered this fate at the hands of the Pullman Company which stands condemned before the world as having engaged in the wholesale and brutal exploitation of a race.

Nevertheless, these workers facing obstacles unprecedented in the long record of workers organizing, have accomplished great things in the short space of one year. They have squeezed out of the coffers of the Pullman Company a slight wage increase. They have removed much of the haughtiness and arrogance which characterized the attitude of even the white office boys in the employ of the Pullman Company toward the porters and maids. They have won a higher respect and a more humane regard from the traveling public. They have made an immeasurable, spiritual contribution to the cause of organized labor. They have accomplished an educational feat of great magnitude among the workers of the Negro race as well as among the whites. On the whole, the Nation is richer today because of the birth of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on August 25, 1925.

The experience of the Brotherhood during its year of infancy is not unlike that encountered by all other groups of workers making an attempt to win a fairer share of the product of their labor. The opposition of the Pullman Company was from the outset formidable. Having been permitted to exercise unquestioned the prerogative of wanton exploitation for nearly three generations, it was the most natural thing for the Company to oppose any attempt that would interfere with what had become to them their unwonted right to breed and brutalize their Negro employees. In a vain attempt to stop the Brotherhood, all manner of "tricks" familiar to employers were resorted to: threats of dismissal from the service and in many instances actual dismissal, substitution of Filipinos on cars considered "choice runs," the granting of a small wage increase, the harrassing of the men by "stool pigeons," "spies" and "spotters" all were called upon by the Company to do service for its cause. These having failed, the Company used what is considered among progressive trade unionists as the Bosses "ace in the hole." It attempted to do to the Brotherhood's organizer what it did to Eugene V. Debs, during the formation of the American Railway Union. Attempts were made to imprison him. Willing Negro tools were found who could (sic) do the trick; hastily drawn up indictments were secured only to be thrown out of court by fair-minded and honest judges. Efforts at bribery were also tried. The planting of men in the ranks of the Brotherhood to resign at what was considered "the strategic moment." The lavish use of money to purchase the pages of some Negro newspapers to spread the poison of suspicion among the porters and the outright subsidizing of others, and many other gallant, but unsuccessful maneuvers of the Company to rout the little band of Brotherhood men away from their leaders and their Union back into the cesspool of low wages, long hours, inhuman treatment, and the manhood destroying habit of depending upon tips.

Against these onslaughts of a soulless corporation, the ranks of the Brotherhood stood immovable, adding to its roster large numbers of awakened black freemen with each setting sun. When the efforts of the opposition was most feverish and its strength appeared overwhelming, it was then that the membership of the Brotherhood grew with amazing suddenness, for example, when Ashley L. Totten was abruptly dismissed from the service, over 1,400 porters joined the Brotherhood, when the hand-picked delegates at the so-called wage conference accepted the wage increase a score less than at Totten's dismissal became Brotherhood men. When the Filipinoes were brought in to displace veterans in the service on Club Cars, the various headquarters of the Brotherhood were literally swamped with applicants. When Mays—whose place in history is as secure as is that of Judas Iscariot—resigned (sic) the Chicago representatives of the Brotherhood kept National Headquarters busy shipping applications and membership cards and other paraphernalia.

The Brotherhood has withstood the first 365 days of storm and stress, it has passed its babyhood days, its leaders and membership are richer in experience than they were a year ago. We have forged every stream, crossed every bridge, and met every exactitude with resignation and unflinching confidence. Whatever the future holds in store for us, be it hardship, privation, persecution, yea even imprisonment WE WILL NOT SURRENDER UNTIL THE RIGHT OF 12,000 PULLMAN PORTERS AND MAIDS to a living wage, shorter hours of work and a higher appreciation of their services is won.

To our Comrades in the struggle, to the militant soldiers of the Brotherhood, throughout the Nation, on every train, on every road, in every home, by every fireside, we doff our hats and extend genuine felicitation on this our first birthday, and we say, great as have been our accomplishments in the past, rich as has been the harvest we have reaped, let us at the threshold of a new year take courage afresh and pledge ourselves that we will strive for loftier heights and greater achievements during the year that is opening ahead. Other races have done it, we can do it if we so will. UPWARD, ONWARD, and FORWARD to our second birthday, resolved that we will stand united, one for all, and all for our BROTHERHOOD.

FRAMING UP THE WAGE CONFERENCE TO HALT THE UNION

7a

'IT LOOKS LIKE THESE PORTERS MEAN BUSINESS THIS TIME- WE HAVE GOT TO DO SOMETHING'

PULLMAN OFFICIALS

8a

'WHY DON'T YOU WAKE UP AND GET TOGETHER FOR ONCE IN YOUR LIFE AND STOP BEING THE JOKE OF THE WORLD? ORGANIZATION AND EDUCATION ARE YOUR ONLY HOPES'

John FitzPATRICK of Chicago FEDERATION LABOR LEADER

9a

'I WANT YOUR PAPERS TO KNOCK THAT PORTERS' UNION

'SORRY- BUT WE DON'T PLAY THAT- A REAL NEWSPAPER MUST GIVE BOTH SIDES OF A QUESTION'

EDITORS

PULLMAN

10a

'YOU CAN FOOL SOME OF THE PEOPLE ALL OF THE TIME- ALL OF THE PEOPLE SOME OF THE TIME- BUT YOU CAN'T FOOL ALL OF THE PEOPLE ALL OF THE TIME'

DELEGATES AND PULLMAN OFFICIALS TO THE WAGE CONFERENCE

'NOT FOR ME'

11a

'YASSUM, YASSOH, YASSUH- JES LET US LAMP DAT LONG GREEN- WHITE FOLKS'

'DON'T PUT ANY OF THAT BROTHERHOOD STUFF IN YOUR SHEETS- GET ME!'

NEGRO EDITORS—

PULLMAN Co

12a

ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION

WE MUST STAND BY OUR MEN IN THEIR FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

LADIES AUXILIARY TO THE BROTHERHOOD

PREVIOUS STRUGGLES OF THE PULLMAN PORTERS TO ORGANIZE

By F. BOYD

Charged by our honorable General Organizer to give a brief outline of the history of the industrial unrest of the porters and maids employed by the Pullman Co., I wish first to urge for them the most earnest consideration, not only from the public in general, but from the Nation at large, to the end that the evils which threaten to defeat American ideals and to destroy the well-being of the Nation may be generally recognized and effectively attached.

I find the basic cause of the present unrest among the porters and maids, as expressed by their determination to organize, to be low wages.

This new movement is not a temporary outburst of enthusiasm, rather it is one more of the many efforts of this group of oppressed workers to free themselves of injustice and oppression, and acquire for themselves and their families that degree of economic well-being necessary for the enjoyment of those material and spiritual things which alone make life worth living.

I entered the Pullman service as a porter, March 15, 1907. At that time our pay was $25 *perhaps*, that is, perhaps you would get the $25, but most likely you would not because we were penalized for linen shortage, lost step boxes, combs and brushes, and what not. This system of exploitation was kept in practice until 1911, when our pay was raised 10 per cent, or from $25 to $27.50 *perhaps*. Does it not occur to the sound mind that some of the men so shamefully mistreated would, out of their desire to free themselves from such a debased degree of peonage, make some attempt to organize?

The first manifestation of the bitterness bred by the unfilled needs for sufficient food, clothing and shelter, for themselves, their wives and their children was in 1909, during the Yukon Exposition at Seattle, Washington. At that time I was operating on a through car from Seattle to Chicago where I had a two-day layover. During my two-day layover in the Windy City, a number of men running on other extra lines used to assemble and talk of our industrial conditions.

By the middle of the summer about twenty of us were well enough acquainted to confide in each other. We drew up by-laws, such as they were, and started a secret enrollment of membership—secrecy was the general order of the day—for any employee who dared to disturb the industrial peace of the Pullman Co., was subject to immediate dismissal.

Our membership was very rapidly increasing when at the termination of the Exposition at Seattle, October 31, 1909, those extra lines which had brought this group of men together were discontinued. This automatically dissolved our little Union.

The next expression of dissatisfaction was in 1910, on the North Coast Limited. This train is and was at that time operated over the Northern Pacific and is one of the most up to date trains for service in operation. When it was made an all sleeper train in 1910, the conductors' salary was raised $5 more, bringing their salary from $95 a month to $100. We, the porters, were overlooked as usual. Considering that then this train had only five schedule stops between St. Paul and Seattle, it is very clear that if trans-continental traffic was not heavy our income in tips was not large.

This act of injustice demanded immediate action, so after considerable discussion on the trains and street corners, two meetings were held at the residence of one of the porters. At the first meeting three attended. A program of procedure was outlined, all the men operating on the line were notified by mail of our purpose, of the next meeting, and also of what was being done to bring about economic relief.

At our next meeting ten days later six porters were present, the matter was gone over thoroughly and it was decided that we make a request for a $15 addition to our pay, making us receive $40 instead of $25 per month. This seemed very reasonable and we thought it would meet with the approval of management.

This request was put into writing, those present signed, copies of the same were left in popular barber shops, and the men operating the line were notified of what had been done. This request was for two purposes; one was to get the raise of $15 which we thought was possible, the other was to demonstrate to the local and foreign men the advantage of collective action. After two months time, when only five more names were added to the petition, it was moved to another part of the city with about the same results.

This was the last noteworthy attempt at organization until the advent of "The Railroad Men's International Benevolent Industrial Association," in 1918. The Association was sponsored by one Mr. R. L. Mays. By then the idea of organization had found fertile soil in the discontented and very much abused, overworked, and underpaid porters of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Ry. The Association proved to be a capital idea poorly sponsored, yet the idea was attractive inasmuch as it appealed to those its faulty constructed program was supposed to relieve and benefit, for its program was to cover all groups of workers in the railway service, ushers, or "red-caps" as they are commonly called working in the large passenger terminals were also included in its membership. A local was set up in St. Paul with Mr. Agustus Jones as executive secretary. I and a few more of the Pullman porters of St. Paul joined, hoping we could persuade some of the rest to follow suit. My card number was 4674, which I still hold as evidence of my membership.

During the latter part of 1917 a group of porters who were thinking in terms of improving our economical condition were working on their lay-over trying to determine just how widespread was the discontent; it was found to be general, but there was no spirit of action, and few men were willing to sign approval of organization.

The year of 1918 was a bumper year for organization on the common carriers and other public utilities necessary for the successful termination of the World's War. So with the approval of the Federal Government a large number of the porters felt free to speak in terms of Unionism. For the first time in all their existence as Pullman porters they could speak their honest opinion on one of the most vital issues of life, security. For once their constitutional rights to this extent were not invaded.

So Unionism became the topic of conversation among the porters, and after Walter D. Hines was appointed Director General of all the railroads the spirit to organize became general. Supplement No. 17 to General Order No. 27, April 14, 1919, stirred the conscience of the porters as never before. By this time every thinking porter was talking organization. I was and had been working on a program of industrial procedure, with a very close friend, B. W. Merriwether, and he was in touch with a very active group of progressive men in New York. They were, as near as I can remember, S. J. Freeman, E. B. Effortts, R. Stedman, O. T. Tebow, T. Bowen. In Chicago the active group were such staunch individuals as H. T. Pelkey, A. S. Barnett, W. D. Williams, C. H. Taylor and many others whom I cannot recall just now.

The New York group were much in advance of the rest of the porters. They were well organized and were fighting for recognition in the A. F. of L. and upon learning that their Brothers in the West were desirous of proceed-

ing in the same direction, offered a helping hand by requesting us to join them. This created a spirit of mutual aid that became so general that the Chicago and New York group met in New York, N. Y., in July, 1919, and became united in a Fraternity known as "The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' Protective Union."

During this decade of spontaneous outbursts of Unionism in the ranks of Pullman porters and maids, the Pullman conductors started a movement in June, 1913, headed by a Pullman conductor, name R. W. Bell, who was at that time working out of the Chicago West District under the supervision of Mr. Waite.

This movement which was short lived spread to the four corners of Pullmandom, and the porters became slightly inoculated with the spirit again, but Mr. Bell and several of his brother conductors were dismissed from the service in June and July, 1913 (a subject I will briefly touch upon in an early issue), and the few interested porters soon lost their enthusiasm. The reference to Mr. Bell and his brother conductors is a matter of record, in the Final Report and Testimony, submitted to Congress, by the Commission of "Industrial Relations," created by act, August 23, 1912, Vol. 10, Chicago, Ill., Tuesday, April 6, 1915, Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the Commission on Investigation.

A few words on the Employees' Representation Plan, as a Representative in its various capacities for five years. I was one year chairman of the local committee, two years committeeman. May I say that by a combination of circumstances peculiar to St. Paul during the five years of service, it was possible to arrange the election of the committees so that some of the best men in the District were elected. This was done for the purpose of making the Plan function, if possible. After five years of continual earnest efforts to that end and many conflicts with different officials of the management, I came to the conclusion after the last meeting of the Central Zone General Committee on which I served as committeeman, at Chicago, June 5, 1925, that further attempts would be a waste of time, and that the Plan was a form without the necessary substance to establish justice.

On September the 28th, I wrote my resignation and posted it in the porter's room. In the September number of THE MESSENGER, the announcement of the "Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters," was hailed as a special advent in the lives of all race men who had any knowledge of the ability, the integrity and the sincerity of purpose as well as of the determination of the man who had been chosen to pilot our ship of Brotherhood over the rough and troubled seas of organization.

This act was floundered at by the management, but it was soon evident that this move was more than a gust of wind, for the enrollment of membership was going forward in leaps and bounds. By October Pullmandom was much disturbed.

The anxiety reached St. Paul about November the 1st, and I was suspected of having something to do with the movement. I was called in the office by District Superintendent Mr. C. C. Healy and questioned as to my knowledge of the organization. I admitted my connection, and supported my plea with the declaration of the rights of man, which are written in the Fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution. Our conversation lasted about twenty minutes with a disagreement as to the rights and privileges of a Pullman porter.

In the meantime the Brotherhood was being well established in the east. So according to form I was called in for the second interview about the first week of December, 1925. This one was short and to the point. I was told by Mr. Healy that if I used my influence in helping to organize the porters in St. Paul, or his men as he called them, he would feel personally offended and would deal with me accordingly; thus ended our interview.

The Brotherhood held their first meetings January 13th and 14th at Welcome Hall, Farrington and St. Anthony Avenues. I spoke on the question of industrial relations and the right of American Citizenship in relation thereto, at both meetings. I was notified about 4 P. M. on the same date that I would not go out on my run. I reported at the office of Mr. Healy a few days later to find out why I was taken out of the service; he left his office and would not talk to me, and as I was leaving the station, the building in which his office is located, he was standing by the vestibule door.

He accused me of knocking the Company's Plan at those meetings, on January 13th and 14th. I replied that I had made no statement at those meetings that I had not made before at others held by the Pullman Co. under the names of *safety first*, Pullman Porters' Benefit Association, and the Employees' Representation Plan, meetings; and that as I was absolutely honest in my remarks I had the right as a man to exercise the freedom of speech decently and in order and would permit no man or group of men to tell me what to say and when to speak. His retort was that he could not do that, but he could send for me when he wanted me, which he would be pleased to do.

In spite of official statement of the Pullman Co. that all employees are permitted to become members of any organization that they desire, I, after nineteen years of service and in good standing, have been dismissed for participating in Union Activities.

To prove that my above statements are true, when I attempted to bring my case before the local committee of the Plan, I requested form No. 9151, upon which grievances are made out to the Committee, and was refused. According to the agreement which went into effect February 15, 1926, every employee has the right to a fair and impartial hearing at the earliest possible date as to the cause and justification of suspension or dismissal, providing hearing is requested. Registered letters have been sent to Healy, District Superintendent, and to C. Ross, the Chairman of Committee of Group C, of the porters, requesting a hearing, and no answer has been received from them.

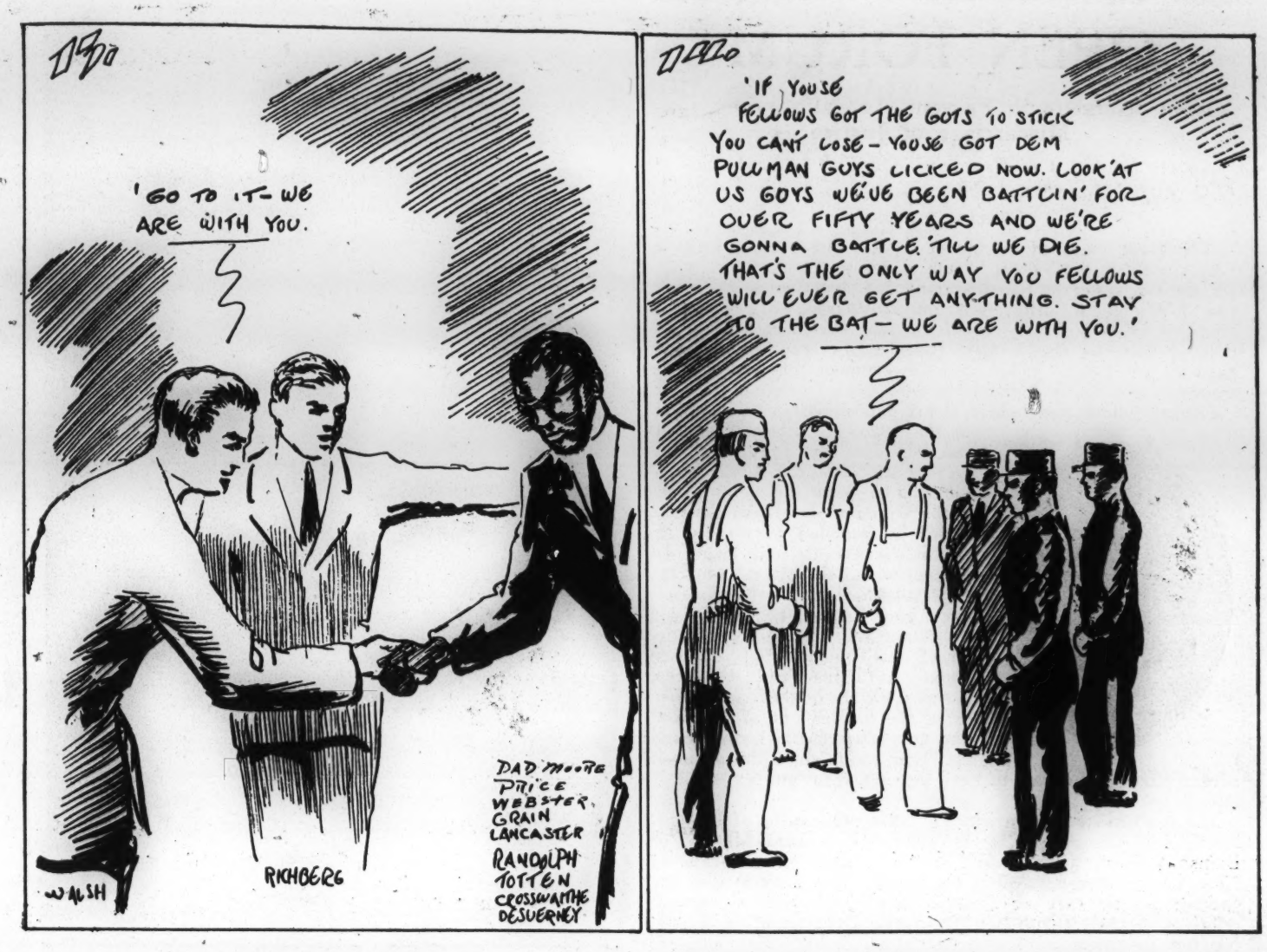
A few provisions of the Plan will serve to illustrate how impossible it is for porters to get justice through it. Rule 9, section 3, provides that should an employee subject to this agreement believe he has been unjustly treated, he may appeal to his district official (Healy). He may appeal. This appeal may or may not be recognized as the Superintendent pleases. In this case no notice has been taken of the appeal. Further (a) He may refer the matter to the local committee, A. Ross, Chairman, such a committee is to grant a prompt hearing. This was done. Again no provision for enforcing the appeal.

Failing a satisfactory adjustment the claimant may refer the matter to the Zone Central Committee and finally to the Bureau of Industrial Relations. All of which has been done in the regular manner in this case. Conference must be granted within ten days. Now, as I have been out of employment for seven months without a hearing waiting action on my case, this is conclusive proof of the bankruptcy of the Plan as far as the porters are concerned.

Epitaph

Within this grave I lie,
Yes, I.
Why laugh, good people,
Or why cry?
Within this grave
Lies nothing more
Than I.

J. CRUTCHFIELD THOMPSON.



Exposé of the P.P.B.A.

(*Continued from page 270*)

Treasurer of the Pullman Co., as is indicated, because of the opinion of Perry Parker and his Executive Board that Negroes cannot be trusted with it.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, believe that Negroes have proved themselves to be honest and qualified intellectually to operate the P. P. B. A. of A., without Pullman dictatorship, and it should be the duty of every member to revolt against the present administration and place porters in office who have the interests of their fellow-workers at heart.

Porters Advised to Vote Intelligently

Beginning October 1st and 7th, primary elections will be held at each district.

The poll clerks will approach each porter with a list of the complete roster of porters out of which he is expected to vote for nominees for the following offices: Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary-Treasurer, Delegate and Grievance Committee.

It is imperative that members use care whom they nominate to be delegate, while it matters little who they nominate as Chairman, Vice-Chairman or Treasurer.

The Grievance Committee herein mentioned is bunk. They must not be confused with the Grievance Committee of the Employee Representation Plan. They do not function anywhere.

At the close of primary elections at midnight October 7th, the ballots should be counted and the names will appear on ballots for the final voting October 15th to 21st.

It is again imperative that the members vote for one delegate who is a man with principle, stamina and manhood, and above all, not the same self seeker who was sent to the last convention.

There should be a secret campaign among the men so that the election should be conducted fair, and free from the persuasion and influence of Pullman officials and stools, and there ought to be a determination on the part of the members in each district to call another election if they believe it to be unfair.

This can be done if the members would remember that the Pullman Co., has no right to interfere, and that pitiless, publicity would be one of the weapons employed to stop this interference.

If there is one spark of manhood left in the twelve thousand Pullman Porters, that spark should flame during the month of October.

The annual convention of the Pullman Porters Benefit Association of America starts on the third Tuesday in November.

With the knowledge of these indisputable facts which are presented in this article every member of this Association ought to elect delegates who are able to make a solid front, stand by the courage of their own convictions, and be masters of their own opinions.

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OPEN FORUM

Virgin Islanders in Fervent Appeal Against Bold Miscarriage of Justice

Agents Interested in Humanity Asked to Intercede into the Persecution of Labor Leader.

(SPECIAL RELEASE)

The great wave of discontent against the present form of Government in the Virgin Islands is due to the treatment which the natives suffer at the direction of Judge George Washington Williams, an attorney from Baltimore, Md., where he emerged from obscurity when the late President Wilson appointed him to the Virgin Islands to serve in the dual capacity of Police Judge and Government Prosecuting Attorney.

Getting bolder and bolder in his determination to introduce in the islands southern race hatred, it is said that Judge Williams is permitted by the Civil Naval Officials to usurp the rights of the people and impose tyrannical laws which is intended to rapidly increase the exodus and make depopulations of the islands complete.

Rothschild Frances, Negro Editor, Labor Leader, Legislator, and a militant and outstanding character of St. Thomas, V. I., opposed Judge Williams and the few Naval Officials in their scheme to drive the natives out of the land that gave them birth, consequently the "czar judge" had him arrested several times and is said to have threatened to "get him dead or alive."

The story in connection with the latest persecution of Francis, briefly follows: A girl by the name of Zephera Mathias, a British subject, after failing in an attempt to emigrate to New York, entrusted $80.00 the amount necessary to pay her passage in the care of Francis, until such time when her relatives secured permission from the Department of Labor for her to emigrate.

In the meantime, Alton Adams, Negro Naval musician to whom the girl is employed as a servant, was actuated with a desire to make a loan of the $80.00 in order to meet one of his numerous financial obligations, he thereby, instructed the girl to go to Francis and demand the money on the afternoon of Wednesday, March 31st.

It is an old custom in the Virgin Islands to observe Holy Week very closely and when the girl asked Francis for the money, the banks were already closed, accordingly he gave her $50.00 of his own personal funds which she gladly accepted with the understanding that he would give her the balance of $30.00 on the following Tuesday morning when the bank again opened for business.

On the said Tuesday when Francis returned the money, the girl refused to accept it on the ground that her employer, Adams had already taken legal steps against Francis for embezzlement. Shortly after, Francis was arrested.

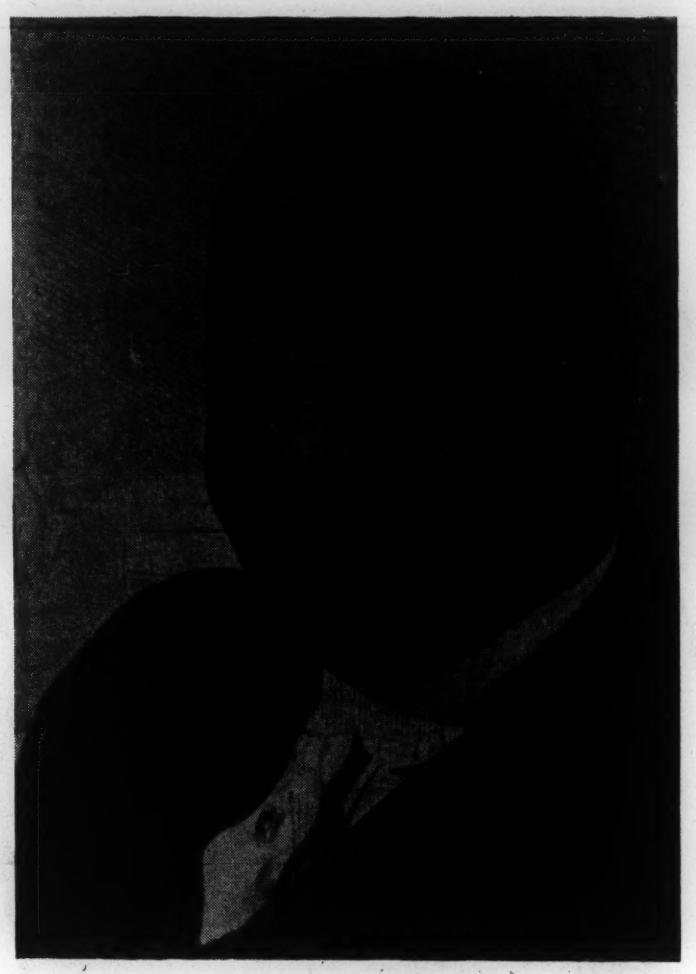
The prosecuting attorney, Charles Gibson, in addressing the Court, is alleged to have said, "Hats off, to Bandmaster Adams for bringing this matter before us," and it is further charged that Judge Williams and prosecutor Gibson disqualified the panel of Talesmen, after which they went out on the streets and brought in Danes, pro-Navy stand patters an ex-judge, and a Spanish Consul General, who constituted the jurymen in the case, despite the protests of the Counsel for the defendant.

Francis was hurriedly found guilty and sentenced by Judge Williams to serve one year imprisonment and $100.00 fine.

There is no Court of Appeals in the Virgin Islands so this remarkable case had been appealed to the Third Circuit Court at Philadelphia, and it is hoped that public opinion in America will be sufficiently aroused as to stretch forth its powerful voice across the Carribbean in order that Justice may be made to go hand in hand with the American flag.

To members of The B. S. C. P.

Be sure to notify this office, 2311 7th Avenue, New York City, of any change of address.



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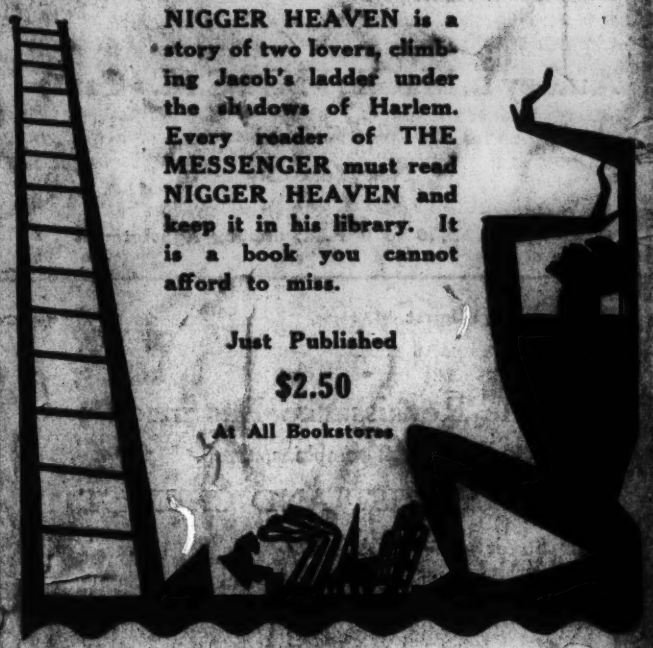
Editorials

(*Concluded from page 273*)

Of course, it is sheer nonsense to claim that the system of primaries requires three aspirants for the senatorial nomination to spend two million dollars to get a ten-thousand-dollar-per-year job for only six years. Senator Smith W. Brookhart, who in the primaries in Iowa smothered Senator Cummings, the Coolidge favorite, is reported not to have spent anything.

Besides, the history of political conventions stinks and reeks with the purchasing of delegates by cynical, hard-boiled politicians. No, the fault does not lie in conventions or primaries, but in the fact that certain business interests seek to dollar-mark public officials so that they will impose such legislation on the people as is calculated to inflate profits and dividends. It is obvious to the most credulous that the capitalists who finance these corrupt primaries, expect and get favors from the elected candidates in the form of government subsidy, such as protective tariffs, etc. Big Business is not as naive as the long-suffering, plain "p-e-e-p-u-l." It considers an election just like any other commodity with a price. Nor are the Old Guard politicians a sentimental breed. They sell to the highest bidder. And they know how to make the old decrepit magnates bid, too. They conjure up such lurid, though now hackneyed, scares as *"the rising red tide of Bolshevism in America."* Immediately and forthwith, the slush fund begins to swell. Then some honest-to-God servant of Gold is trotted out who is press-agented and glorified as one who somewhere at some time was known to have worn overalls, cut down trees, raised a family of a half dozen children, and never forgot to send a flower home to mother on Mother's Day. No, the system of primaries is not the thing! Neither primaries nor conventions would be corrupted if there were nobody to benefit from the corruption.

NIGGER HEAVEN
BY CARL VAN VECHTEN



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Editors:
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New Opinion of the New Negro

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VOLUME NINE
NUMBER ELEVEN

NOVEMBER, 1927

Price: 10 Cents a Copy; $1 a year in United States; $1.25 in Canada; $1.50 in foreign countries.

WHY HAS THE AFRAMERICAN PRODUCED NO CREATIVE MUSICAL GENIUSES?

By A DISTINGUISHED NEGRO COMPOSER

When one considers the title of this article one is quite apt to wonder who has the effrontery to put such a question. For is it not an accepted fact that the Negro is wonderfully gifted in music? And if one boasts of race pride one will proudly point to a few who are today in public favor, forgetting that there are approximately twelve million American Negroes under consideration. Moreover one is likely to know that practically all first class conservatories are open to Negro students and that there are several thousand Negro musicians who are making above the average "living." But the object of this article is to call attention to the meagre creative contributions to American Art that contemporary Negroes are making and this article is written in a spirit of helpful criticism only.

In the artistic growth of a people the work in any creative field should be taken up successively at its different stages by relays of innumerable workers. That is to say that, allowing for the equal opportunity for technical training and for economic encouragement which would give the Negro artist the leisure for creative work and starting, say, from the Negro Chevalier St. George who wrote string quartettes and concertos in France in 1760 it seems reasonable to suppose that by now the Negro should have many string quartettes, concertos and operas to his racial credit. As a matter of fact the Negro has only a handful of clever arrangers and song writers with a sprinkling of writers for choirs, choral bodies and melodious piano pieces with an occasional output of other instrumental pieces. Of course, there is a reason. In considering the reason let us sketch the life of the average Negro child of today with musical talent of a high order.

To begin with, he (we say "he" for convenience) is born of parents of the average mental and cultural equipment. The parents have grown up through the "nineties." They are perhaps graduates of a Negro college of this period. They have heard their own artists: Madam Sisseretta Jones, Flora Batson, Madam Selika, Sidney Woodward, Hamilton Hodges, Harry Burleigh among the singers and Joseph Douglass, Will Marion Cook, Samuel Jamison, Ida Platt, Harriet Gibbs (Marshall), Madam Montgomery and a few others among the instrumentalists. It will be seen that the singers were in the majority. With the advent of the Negro show a large number of talented singers for economic reasons went into these shows and the concert artist with a few exceptions, ceased to be. In short, about 1896 the Negro child was not encouraged to aspire to a musical position which was above the average "show musician." This then, was the musical heritage in America for the Negro child of this period. What was the result? There was scarcely any vocal preparation and only sufficient instrumental preparation to take one's place in a Negro show or in a Negro dance orchestra. From this condition grew the well-known and accepted opinion that this type of work paid more money than concert or solo work which could only come with longer years of technical preparation and of course, deprivation and sacrifice. The average Negro had so well absorbed the American faith that the dollar alone was the only thing worth while in life that the thought of giving over years to technical training for creative work was entirely out of the question. Consequently in this period of numerous smart Negro shows and a galaxy of clever but—for the most part—uncultivated vocalists the Negro's creative musical contribution was nil. So the musical child of this period may have had, and likely did have, all the imaginative and emotional qualities which all Negroes are supposed to possess, but his cultural environment, a product of forced isolation, furnished no incentive or stimulation or encouragement to exploit his possibilities.

Again let us assume that our hypothecated average Negro child of talent and ambition growing up at this period, went through the high school. His musical training in the elementary and high schools was almost negligible when measured by standards of today. He simply "took lessons." In other words, if he showed a bent for instrumental study he took piano or violin lessons after school at his parents' expense. Or if he displayed vocal talent, he just sang, the church or parlor entertainment furnishing stimulating applause. (The Negro's *natural* voice has always stood him in good stead among "friends of the family.") Perhaps he attempted to compose songs of the ballad or popular type and piano pieces of a like order. Few of the latter would be accepted by a reputable publisher because such compositions would be highly defective, resulting from the composer's lack of theoretical training and musical background. If perchance a few studied at first rate conservatories or under competent private teachers, economic conditions caused most of them to turn their attention to popular but quickly remunerative work. Few, if any, attempted compositions in larger forms such as string quartettes. Even today with the increased facilities for greater study, the sonata, concerto, and symphony seem to be beyond the pale of calculable probability.

Simultaneous with this period that we have roughly sketched, Coleridge Taylor was growing up in England under different economic conditions. Coleridge Taylor carried through a thorough course of study in theory and wrote string quartettes, a symphony or two and created works in the major choral forms. Of course we are justified in acclaiming Coleridge Taylor a genius. But our hypothetical Negro child of the period had neither the philanthropic backing nor the economic support to properly get this thorough theoretical training.

In the United States we find that the creative talent is not exhibited by a Negro until he is in his thirties or forties. He does not reach the leisure period much before this age when he can give himself up to any large degree of original composition. But what has happened prior to this phase of his development when he is attracting

(*Continued on page* 338)

THE NEGRO'S RECEPTION IN EUROPE

By J. A. ROGERS

As one travels through Europe, this singular fact will be noted: The closer the man of color gets to imperialism, the less brutal he will find it; indeed brutal is not the proper word in this case; friendly is by far the better one. In South Africa or in India, the Negro or the Hindu who must get off the sidewalk at the approach of a white person, can go anywhere his money will take him when in England, that white person's home. In South Africa, the Negro who would get eight years' imprisonment and a lashing to boot if caught with the lowest type of white prostitute, may, when in England, take a refined white woman to the best restaurant and cause little or no stir, or he may marry her. The Chinese or native Egyptian who would not be permitted in a white club in Shanghai or Cairo may also, when in England, be invited to the best clubs or to dine with the king.

Next to the United States, Belgium has the worst reputation for treatment of the Negro, yet personally, I know of no other country in Europe where a Negro, however dark, will receive a more friendly reception. Pretty much the same holds true of France, Germany, Holland, Portugal, Spain and the other European countries who have or had colonies with dark-skinned peoples. Of all these countries, England is the only one in which a Negro is likely to meet with discrimination and this, be it said, is largely due to the conduct of the Negroes themselves, for generally speaking, the Negro one finds in Europe, and most of all in England, is of a crude or a low type. I have yet to meet or to hear of a single case of color discrimination on the Continent, except by white Americans.

Yet are we not told by Nordic propagandists that there is an inherent antipathy between human beings with a white epidermis and those with a colored one; that antipathy increasing in proportion with the darkness of skin? Prejudice, modern psychologists declare, is caused by ignorance, by lack of acquaintance. Charles Lamb said something to the effect that it was very difficult to dislike a person whom we really knew. If this is true then we would expect to find the greater manifestations of color antipathy in Europe, where comparatively little is known or seen of the Negro, for in parts of Europe Negroes are still so scarce as to be a curiosity.

So, also, on the strength of the above theory one ought to find little or no color antipathy in say, the United States or South Africa for from the moment of birth till that of death the white person encounters Negroes in greater or less degree of intimacy. Further, as in the United States, there has been a fusion between white and black, while in Europe, the vast majority of Negroes one meets are what are known as full-blooded. Again, the Negro in the United States is, broadly speaking, of a much higher type, culturally and economically than the average Negro in Europe.

By all the laws of reason one ought to find less color antipathy in the United States and the other European colonies than in Europe itself, but, here the laws of logic seem entirely to have reversed themselves, to be topsy-turvy. For instance, a Negro, who has done a great service for America dines with half the crowned heads of Europe and then with the president of his own country. If *lese majesty* has been committed one would expect it in the former case. But no, it is the latter that causes the hue and cry. Why this great difference between the European at home and the European in the colonies?

Some time ago I put the question to a distinguished German writer and later to a French Negro of meagre education, and the reply in both cases was substantially the same. It was to the effect that the worst type of European, the greediest and most grasping went to the colonies, while the most cultured and refined stayed at home.

A rather sweeping statement this, but which when closely examined will be found to be full of truth. Peoples migrate from one country to another chiefly for economic reasons, that is, they go to the new land to get wealth, and since they are of the bolder, more adventurous type than the stay-at-homes, their spirit is to get that wealth by the shortest possible route.

For the acquisition of wealth the first essential is labor, cheap labor. In order to have a cheap labor supply a caste system is necessary, hence the European immigrant, who knew no color prejudice at home and is often himself a man of the lowest caste, on arriving among darker peoples in great numbers at once established a caste based on color. Quite often he arrives to find color caste so firmly established that he must conform to its dictates or life is made difficult for him by his fellow Europeans.

On arriving in what is now the United States, the white man brought his white slave with him, but he found a dark-skinned people, the Indians, and at once established a color caste and a system of enslavement. Later came the black man, and in order to establish the color caste more firmly, the white slave was finally freed.

Traditionally, the Negro in America is regarded as a slave—an emancipated one it is true, but who must always be in the servant's place. In the South one may see repeatedly a Negro seated beside a white woman in an automobile, but he is there as a servant. Let him be owner of the car, and the white woman his guest, and the result may be a lynching.

The laws of Georgia provide that if a Negro travels as a servant of a white person he may ride in the white coach. It is only when he travels on his own, so to speak, as his own employer, that he must ride jim-crow. In other words, if all Negroes remained servants of white persons there would be no need of separate coaches. What is true of Georgia is, in a measure, typical of the nation.

In Europe where as was said, one would expect to find a color discrimination, there is none. A black man finds no barrier against him. He may, and does, marry into the best families and moves in the highest circles. The cause? Negroes are not here in a sufficiently large number to form an exploitable labor supply.

It would seem to be clear then, that in spite of all that the Nordics have said on the subject, and of what so many Negroes have echoed in reply, that the so-called race question is merely one of cheap labor and how to secure it.

That, at least, is the conclusion that is becoming more and more rooted in my mind when, as I travel over the white man's country, I find blackness of skin is not an object of prejudice but of favor.

The Girl at the End of the Lane

By JAMES MICKLES

There's a girl at the end of the lane;
Not one of fashion, but plain;
Though her eyes seem to say,
"You may come on this way."
Her heart will not venture the same.

This girl at the end of the lane
Is as sweet as a rose, and unstained;
I've ne'er met before,
Such a girl I adore;
The world holds no other the same.

Oft' I pause at the end of the lane;
Enchanted, I plead there in vain;
Her smile then is grand,
But I can't understand,
Why her heart does not act just the same.

Immaculate girl of the lane;
She threw me a kiss from the train;
If I see her no more
I've lost treasures before;
But this one will not be the same.

Seeing the Light

By FRANCES SMITH BROWN

Who puts his wagon to a star,
  Shall drive it but a night.
For unseen things will only bar
  The ones that are in sight.

Every man may be alert and quick,
  But first he must be slow.
The world is not so hard to lick,
  But first a man must know.

A dreaming life is a wasted one,
  Look inwardly upon your soul:
The battle fought will then be won,
  And you have attained your goal.

Support your organization by paying dues regularly

NEGRO BUSINESS

Its Real Test Is Still Ahead

By ALBON L. HOLSEY

Secretary, National Negro Business League

Negro business may be grouped into five classes: personal service for white, personal service for Negroes, financial, retail, manufacturing.

The most important examples of the first class are the barbers and caterers, and in both of these fields our number is rapidly diminishing because of the white labor unions, chain hotels and the anti-Negro sentiment as evidenced in the recent attempt to pass laws in some Southern states confining Negro barbers to Negro trade.

Personal service for Negroes, which includes barbers, hairdressers, restaurants, hotels, taxicabs, etc., has made rapid gains for the same reason that personal service for whites has decreased—the isolation of the Negro race.

The financial group, including insurance companies, banks, real estate brokers, loan and investment concerns and endowment departments of fraternal organizations, has prospered because the convenient racial isolation has helped to save them from the sharp competition of an open field. In addition to that the race pride appeal has been more skillfully worked because the rewards, in desk or white collar positions with their attendant remuneration and freer access to the coveted privilege of handling money, have been quicker and more certain.

Retailers have encountered stiffer resistance than either group mentioned above for the reason that rapid changes in methods and standards in the entire retail field have more directly affected them. Our druggists have fared better than have the retailers of food and clothing because Negro physicians —another isolated group—provide them with a large prescription trade.

The mortality rate of Negro manufacturing concerns is excessive and too costly. Cotton oil mills, cotton mills, hosiery mills, shirt factories and a few others are listed among the efforts in this group which have perished because of the impasse of distribution. Anthony Overton overcame seemingly insurmountable handicaps and forced jobbers to handle his products. He blazed the way and made it easier for other toilet products to reach the retail trade through regular channels. Racial isolation has also helped the Tri-State Casket Company, the Waycross Casket Company and Charles Johnson, manufacturer of embalming fluid and other products for undertakers. Paul E. Johnson can "pass" so he works "both sides of the street" with his therapeutic lamps and is making good. Parker House Sausage, a meritorious product with an able executive, is also making forward strides. In Baltimore, New Orleans and a few other cities there are a few wholesale manufacturers of ice cream and candies, but their success is more or less localized.

Manufacturing is in the highest register of business. It embraces such factors as capital, organization, labor, and requires a thorough knowledge of distribution. It must follow our next great test which is mastery of the retail selling field.

Maiden of My Race

FRANCES SMITH BROWN

Your tears are wasted, maiden of my race.
There is no law that makes white kin to black;
And your lover swings there alone.
Your tears are wasted,
Maiden of my race.

Loud, boisterous yells of the mob;
Souless men who claim their blood,
And sell as souvenirs the lean bones.
The common and the noble herd are there,
Amidst a thousand tongues acclaimed brave,
And the leader sits high on his throne.

Brown maiden, you beat your bosom in despair,
And hang on the corpse of your beloved.
Your tears are wasted,
One of my race.

I asked twenty-five business leaders to tell me what proportion, in their opinion and from their experiences, of every dollar spent by the Negro for groceries, clothing and shoes went to Negro enterprises. The average of their estimates was *half a cent*. Pause and think of it.

In the absence of authentic figures I have deducted 20% from the average annual living cost for families of the entire country in order to arrive at the Negro's approximate annual expenditure for the three items mentioned above. The results are staggering.

For groceries the Negro race spends annually $2,200,000,000; for clothing $1,400,000,000; and for shoes $550,000,000, which gives us a grand total of $4,150,000,000. One half of one per cent of that amount is $20,750,000. It does not require much figuring and very little analysis to determine the great economic loss to the race in not sharing more largely in these annual expenditures.

It is unfortunate but true that the man-power of our retail grocery stores does not rate in training with the man-power in our insurance companies or even our drug stores. The reason is obvious. The young people of our race who leave our schools avoid the retail stores and prefer the insurance and allied fields because the rewards are quicker and because there is less capital required, less risk involved and less drudgery.

Ready-to-wear garments have left many Negro tailoring establishments with only cleaning and pressing. There are a few exceptions like the Buffington Tailoring Company of Memphis, which employs a large staff of cutters and fitters and maintains a field force of salesmen who cover several adjoining states. A few other enterprises like Elliott's of Muskogee, Hooker's of Tulsa, and Evan's of Laurinburg, North Carolina, are holding their own in the dry goods and clothing field, but their problems are many; not the least of which is keeping their staffs of salespeople filled with competent, reliable, trained young men and women who are willing to come in and learn the business from the ground up.

The retailers as a class have more difficulties than are found in the personal service field or in certain other types of business. The Negro retailer has to overcome the normal "consumer resistance" and in addition must face the resistance of his own people which expresses itself in such statements as: "Negro stores do not give the service that white stores give"; "Negro stores do not carry the variety that white stores carry"; "Negro stores charge a higher price than white stores charge"; and similar overworked phrases.

As the Negro race becomes more intelligent, it is more and more influenced by the advertising in magazines and newspapers and correspondingly is demanding a higher standard of merchandising service than the average Negro retailer has been able to supply. The discriminating Negro customer who prefers Beechnut Bacon or Earl and Wilson collars will not accept something "just as good" because a Negro sells it.

The next real test then for Negro business is in the retail field. In order to successfully enter this field the race must divert some of its better trained young men and women into the retail field and finance their enterprises with the surplus capital of Negro banks, insurance companies and fraternal organizations. The methods by which this rigorous test will be met include cooperative buying of factory outputs with specially advertised labels, cooperative advertising, such as the Negro Trade Week Movement sponsored by the National Negro Business League; group conferences, and a careful study of chain store methods. When this test has been met we can make a normal and gradual entrance into the field of manufacturing with well organized, efficient functioning units in the retail field to support and maintain the factories.

Until we, as a race, have so developed and expanded our business as to turn over through Negro business enterprises at least fifty per cent. of the annual expenditure for food, clothing, shelter, etc., or its equivalent in white trade, thereby establishing our ability to compete in the open field of advertising and selling, we can hardly claim, without some reservations, that the Negro has "made the grade" in business.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE RED CAPS

By ALLAN S. A. TITLEY

A Former Red Cap

In the September issue of the New York Central Lines Magazine an article entitled "Grand Central's Chief Red Cap Tells the World" gives a most inexcusable and flagrant misrepresentation of the work of Red Caps at Grand Central Terminal.

The publishers of the magazine take good care to write at the head of the article "By John R. Tunis, in the Elks Magazine." This leads the reader to believe that it is copied from the Elks Magazine and the New York Central publishers are free from any responsibility. It is not a question of who is responsible for the article. It is enough that such an article has appeared, and I am sure that within the breast of every Red Cap who possesses a speck of manhood the heated blood of resentment must rise to boiling point, checked only by the realization, that beneath the iron heel of a large corporation he dare not raise his voice in protest.

There is a vast difference between disseminating rumor and pursuing the truth. The writer seems to follow the former principle, and in some respects gives evidence of high powers of imagination. These imaginary powers rise to their highest point when he comes out with the statement: "For being a walking information booth, a human beast of burden, a guide to the city and the suburbs, a private detective and a friend and counselor to the traveling American, the Red Cap is usually paid by the Terminal Company a wage ranging from $40.00 to $80.00 a month." This is absurd; there is not a Red Cap in Grand Central Terminal, excepting the Chief, who receives $40.00 a month, unless he is doing extra work for the company. Captains receive $20 monthly, forty men receive $18 monthly, about one hundred men receive $1 monthly and the balance receive no salary at all. It may be well to inform the writer of the article that if every Red Cap received $40 a month there would not be five hundred men in the station. Not more than one hundred Red Caps were employed at the station during war times owing to the fact that every man had to receive a salary of at least $45 a month.

The writer also claims that in conversation with a Red Cap he was informed that men give more generously than women.

If this were investigated I am sure that there would be considerable variance of opinion. A great deal depends on the manner in which a porter presents himself to a lady. The cultured American lady pays in proportion to the intelligence of the porter who handles her baggage.

He also gives the time-worn joke about the Englishman missing a train, and claims that foreigners are not very generous to porters.

The article on the whole appears to be a feeble effort to praise the work of the Red Cap, but a statement of this kind is in reality detrimental to the Red Cap force, inasmuch as foreigners reading such a statement would be inclined to ignore the services of a Red Cap.

Tunis would probably be surprised to learn that the most generous travelers are Englishmen and Japanese.

After much childish and unnecessary writing, filling space rather than giving authentic information, the writer concludes with the most ridiculous and untrue statements regarding promotion and seniority. He should be informed that while a Red Cap is supposed to be well recommended this rule is not always adhered to. It depends on who sends him or who he knows in the Red Cap force and how these parties stand with the authorities. A Captain does not spend several weeks instructing a Red Cap, he merely shows him around the station and instructs him how to identify a trunk by check, and after that the new man is let loose in the station.

A Red Cap is supposed to be promoted according to seniority, but this is put into effect only in the case of an extra man becoming a regular man. This means that in the event of one of the forty regular men leaving the service, the oldest regular night man takes his place, the oldest of the men who receive $1 monthly takes the night man's place, and the oldest extra man becomes a one-dollar-a-month man. This is the only time that seniority is recognized.

Captains can be appointed at the will of those in authority whether they are in the service one year or twenty years.

If the writer had taken the trouble to investigate he would have discovered that some of the youngest men in the station are captains. Articles of this nature have appeared periodically in different magazines and as no protest has been made, the writers of these articles seem to be impressed with the idea that the Red Caps are benefited by such false information being given to the public.

In view of the fact that the working system of all other departments under the control of the company is always well represented to the public it seems unfair that the Red Cap force should be subjected to such ridicule. This is not only detrimental to the Red Cap but also to the company. It should be borne in mind that in the eyes of the traveling public a Red Cap is a representative of the company, and conclusions good or bad are formed according to how he presents himself to the passengers with whom he comes in contact.

Correct information concerning the Red Cap force cannot be gained by standing in a corner of the Grand Central Terminal, and seeing these men pass by laden with baggage, or by having a few minutes' conversation with one of the members of the force. Face to face with any problem, different minds respond to that problem in different ways, and the problem of making a living among the Red Caps is no exception to this rule. Six men will give six different answers if questioned on the subject.

When writing an article one should be familiar with his subject and be able to give correct information. If the writer of the article under discussion in some way could influence the authorities in order that better conditions may exist among the Red Caps, he would be doing that body of men a much greater and nobler service than writing articles which are not based on facts.

For the Shop Gal

By S. MILLER JOHNSON

She is a golden faery child.
  Her face is honey-colored, too.
She skips about her candy shop,
  While sunlight dances through
The door . . . . kissing my golden Sue.

She's everything the sun could wish,
  If form be everything.
If otherwise, then she's a fish;
  Her face, a keen warm sting.

A Monument That Mammy'd Like to View

By NATHANIEL WILLIAMS

They say old "Mammy's" services were great
From sixteen-twenty to eighteen-sixty-five.
And, even tho' they're starting rather late
Fond memories of dear Mammy they'd revive.

They would erect a statue in her honor
In the capital city of this nation, grand,
The lily whites suggest, they'll be the donor,
(The lily whites of Dixie—understand.)

So; to this mocking voice suggesting
That they build a statue to her as a slave,
We'll say, let Mammy rest while she is resting,
You can't reward the service that she gave.

Since all your childhood cares were lightened
By the smiles that Mammy gave you, always kind,
Cast light upon the paths that should be brightened,
By justice to the brood she left behind.

If you must build a monument for Mammy,
Don't build one out of granite, bleak and gray,
Just give her little Ephriam and Sammy
The same old sunny smile she gave away.

Give them the chance to know life's worth the living,
Give back some kindness Mammy had for you,
And you add a block, each day that you are giving,
To a monument that Mammy'd like to view.

THE AFRAMERICAN ACADEMY

J. E. Walker

Doctor Walker, a native of Mississippi, graduated from Meharry Medical College in 1906, and practiced medicine for 14 years. For ten years he was president of the Delta Penny Savings Bank, Indianola, Mississippi, the only Negro bank in the state, and a very successful one. From 1917 to 1923 he was president of the Mississippi Life Insurance Company whose assets increased from $60,000 to $470,000 during that period. He founded in 1923 the Universal Life Insurance Company, Memphis, Tenn., which was organized with a capital of $100,000. In 1926 the Universal Life purchased the Mississippi Life Insurance Co. from the Southern Insurance Company (white) to which it had been sold. Dr. Walker is a Director of the Fraternal Savings Bank & Trust Company of Memphis, Tenn., and is serving a second term as president of the National Negro Insurance Association. He lives in Memphis.

James B. Lowe

The star of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the Universal Film Corporation's production of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel of the same name, Mr. Lowe has suddenly leaped into fame as the foremost motion picture actor of the race. But recognition was a long time coming. Born in a Georgia town 47 years ago, he roamed up and down the country, often as a hobo, and lately staked claims in Alaska. Always he had the desire to act. Finally he landed in Los Angeles and began to get small parts in the pictures. Then came the role of The Emperor in "The Emperor Jones" in a Los Angeles theatre, in which he made a profound impression. It was quite natural then that Universal should have selected him to play the part of the immortal Uncle Tom, the greatest part ever assigned to a Negro screen actor.

S. Miller Johnson

In August, 1925, a short story "The Golden Penknife" appeared in THE MESSENGER and attracted wide attention. Numbers of readers wanted to know about the author, S. Miller Johnson. Since then he has contributed two long poems, "Variations on a Black Theme" and "The Hasting Holler," to our aspiring journal, and more curiosity is aroused. To still the clamor we give the facts. Mr. Johnson was born in Calhoun County, Ark., and is a graduate of Hampton Institute. At present he is attending the City College in Detroit while clerking in the local post office. He reports that he is "happily unmarried at the ripe old age of 25." An extraordinary short story from his pen will appear shortly in the columns of this great religious journal.

William Pickens

A powerful orator, a keen thinker and a forceful and prolific writer, William Pickens, Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is one of the most widely known Negroes in the United States. Born in South Carolina, he was raised in Arkansas where he attended school in Little Rock. A graduate of Talladega College and Yale University, he taught school for years at Talladega, Wiley University and Morgan College. He has traveled extensively in America and Europe. He is a contributing editor of The Associated Negro Press and the Philadelphia Public Journal and author of "The Heir of Slaves," "The New Negro," "The Vengeance of the Gods," "Bursting Bonds" and "The American Aesop."

Charles S. Johnson

A native of Virginia, a graduate of Virginia Union University and the University of Chicago, former Associate Executive Secretary of the Chicago Race Relations Commission and editor of "The Negro in Chicago," Director of Research and Investigations, National Urban League, and most capable editor of its monthly organ, *Opportunity*, the polished and erudite Mr. Johnson has been one of the most earnest and active protagonists of the artistic and literary renaissance among the latter day Aframericans. The literary contests he has inaugurated under the auspices of *Opportunity* have gained national attention and endorsement and have been the means of uncovering and introducing many capable Negro writers.

THE SONGS OF YOUNG BLACK JOE

Reviewed By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Negro Workaday Songs, Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C. Price $3.00.

Although this is a good book and worth every cent of the three bucks the publishers ask for it, it is comparatively easy to review. Critics, Bulwer-Lytton would have said, are like knaves. They are flies that feed on the sore part and would have no means of living if the body were in health. The Odum and Johnson opus is in the main a sound piece of work. In it I can discern no major faults, but it contains numerous minor flaws, microscopic skin fissures so to speak, which offer plenty of encouragement to flies.

Workaday Songs is a representative collection of the plaintive harmonies and picaresque ballads Negro floating laborers and road men ululate while laying down the section or waiting by the water tank for the fast freight. In getting the songs together the authors followed the field method of gathering their material at the source; that is, they adopted various means of getting up close to Negroes who felt for singing so they could catch the melodies rolling off their lips. Sometimes they would pay a rogue two bits for giving up his repertory while at other times they would merely sit still and listen to the darkies singing in the evening by the moonlight. Again they would disguise themselves as a pick and shovel and transcribe the melodies of the minstrels detained in the chain gang. Their method, as the results show, was probably as sound as any they could have employed; still their work is not without certain faults which might have been avoided.

Thomas Hardy once observed that it is a hard thing for women to express their feelings in a language evolved by men to express theirs. The same difficulty presents itself when the members of one race attempt to express their feelings in the speech developed by another race. For example I am having the devil of a time trying to make myself clear in this review, although the difficulty of the task is somewhat diminished by my knowledge of my limitations. I am really a sort of lilliputian Conrad trying to express myself in an alien tongue and further handicapped by the fact that I have no native speech to employ in the original formulation of my ideas. The unlettered maker of songs was in pretty much the same position. He found the President's English anything but a flexible medium of expression and in attempting to make it carry his ideas he had to work out a minature etymology and syntax of his own. That is, he invested words with new and peculiar meanings and arranged them in combinations handy to his own purposes. This work, of course, was done unconsciously, but as a result of it there has been developed a definite mode of speech which comes ready to the Negro's lips. It is a rich and musical variety of American and both educated and illiterate Negroes employ it in their common intercourse. It cannot be used in writing just yet because its subtleties would baffle the intelligence of linotypers and proofreaders, to say nothing of editors and critics.

The authors of Workaday Songs proceeded with their work fully aware of the peculiarities of Negro speech and commendably determined not to tamper with it. They set the songs down literally as they were sung or repeated by the darkies engaged for that purpose but they overlooked certain human factors which prevented the complete success of their work. Often, no doubt, the singer furbished up his song himself, feeling that since it was being sung for white folks it ought to be dressed up a bit; in which case he would insert words he would not ordinarly use. Or perhaps he was one of those by no means rare Negroes who harbor malice for all white men and take a secret delight in putting something over on them. Or perhaps he was a Negro with a sense of humor, and hence capable of any kind of impishness. Of course the probability of being victimized was not present when the authors simply sat by and listened to Negroes off to themselves singing for their own diversion, but here it is possible that they sometimes slipped into unconscious substitutions of their own, here and there writing words familiar to them instead of the ones actually sang. Whatever the cause, there are many places where the songs are marred by inaccurate transcription.

We come to examples:

In the songs of the Lonesome Road group, "Trouble All My Days" offers several opportunities to note the difference between the way a Negro would sing the song and the way the authors have transcribed it. The first four lines appear:

> Trouble, trouble
> Been had it all my days.
> Trouble, trouble.
> Got to mend this nigger's ways.

In Aframerican, with the melody adapted to the words rather than the words adapted to the melody, it would run this way:

> Trouble, trouble
> I've had it all my days.
> Trouble, trouble.
> Sure got to mend my ways.

The third verse as it is:

> But I's gwine away
> To rid trouble off my min'.
> But I's gwine away,
> To rid trouble off my min'.

Very rarely does a Negro use such a weak word as "but" in a song. He instinctively seeks a stronger or more emphatic term. He would sing:

> Lord, I's goin' away
> Get trouble off my mind.
> Lord, I's goin' away
> Get trouble off my mind.

This is how authors have written the fourth verse:

> Fair brown, fair brown,
> Who may your regular be?
> If you got no regular,
> Please take a peep at me.

(*Continued on page* 333)

TWO POEMS

By a Young Nordic Southerner

Raggetybag

I'm white as snow
But my new beau,
He's black.

Now my folks rave
And his behave
So bad.

As if they fear
We're dull or queer
Or mad.

Got lots of foes,
No plans, no clothes,
No jack.

No hope of gains,
For we've no brains
To sell.

We've got desire,
And youth, and fire;
That's all.

But I love him,
So black and slim
And tall.

And I'll tramping go
With my black beau,
To Hell!

The Circle

Feel on waking
Empty, aching,
Full of fear,
While I lie here
Train is taking
Him from me,
My black baby . . .

Riding down
To white folks' town,
Money making
Peddling gin
To Big Boss men.

Pulls his line
His monkey shine,
Bowing, scraping,
Clowning, faking,
Raking in
Caucasian tin . . .

Is he breaking
Even, eh?
I'll say!
Watch him shaking
Blues away
At end of day
With his ofay!

"BEST" EDITORIAL FOR SEPTEMBER

Selected from the American Negro Press

By EUGENE GORDON

Noted Journalist on Staff of Boston Post

This matter of selecting the "best" one of any class of things is always full of risks for the foolhardy who attempt it; however, those who explain their methods more often escape wrath than those who do not. As a matter of necessity, especially if one person makes the selection, the method must *be arbitrary. If it be arbitrary it* must *follow certain lines of guidance — certain rules from which no appeal is allowed. Moreover, the word "best," as used nowadays in our appraisal of qualities in stories, books, newspapers, plays, and so on, is far from being an absolute term; at best "best" as thus employed is merely relative, and its relativeness becomes apparent in proportion as the selector of the "best" be a "committee" of one person or of several. For that reason no story or editorial or book or play selected as the "best" should be considered as unqualifiedly perfect; it should be considered merely as having met more thoroughly than any other story or editorial or book or play* that was read by the selector *the arbitrary rules or tests applied to it.*

As there are in other literary forms certain elastic principles which govern them, so are there in the newspaper editorial. For the purpose of this new department, however, the elasticity must be removed. The principles made hard and rigid. If this were not done the rules would not be arbitrary, and arbitrary they must *be, to be effective, in this particular undertaking.*

I have made for my use a standard rule by which each editorial read during the month will be measured. That one which adjusts itself most nearly perfectly to this standard will be chosen as the best *of all those examined. A newspaper's editorials may be selected more than once.*

The best of the September editorials that came to my attention were only fair. There was a vast deal of mediocrity, some evidence of righteous indignation properly expressed, and, here and there, an approach toward excellent editorial writings. But the goal was never quite reached by any one of them.

In my opinion the Chicago *Defender's* editorial on the Locke-Stoddard debate in the October *Forum* is the best comment thus far published. Both gentlemen were arguing beside the point, and the *Defender* editorial clearly shows why.

This editorial (which might have been briefer), called "To Mr. Stoddard," was printed in the *Defender* September 24th, and follows:

TO MR. STODDARD

If Lothrop Stoddard thinks the subject of Social Equality, Cultural Equality and the numerous other equalities mentioned by him in the October Forum, is closed by his answer to Alain Locke's statement in the same issue of that magazine, he is doomed to the biggest disappointment of his life! Standing on the sidelines, watching with eager interest the word battle waged by these two distinguished representatives of America's major race group, are millions of others—Americans all—and all eager to have the last word. We'll have ours now!

Mr. Stoddard is not unknown to readers of the Defender. He came into uncertain fame and questionable popularity about seven years ago when he published his first book on the world's race problem under the title, "The Rising Tide of Color," wherein he exposed his opinions concerning the subject which seems nearest his heart. Since that time he has burst into the limelight through various publications dealing with the same theme. And now, speaking with authority and the force of assurance that what he says is indisputable, he closes the subject in what he must consider a "masterful fashion."

The only thing wrong with it is that there is nothing right about it. White supremacy itself is a myth—a term coined for silly bigots and sentimental spellbinders. There is such a thing as white dominance—a condition in which those who like to think of themselves as white people have imposed through superior numbers upon others. White America, likewise, is a doubtful term.. More than 300 years have passed since the first group of Englanders, composed chiefly of dissatisfied workers, prison inmates, religious fanatics and slaves—white slaves—landed on the shores of what is now America. In that group were few who could command any sort of recognition in their native country.

Since that time representatives of those same classes have poured into this country from every country in Europe. They have come to mix their bloods with what they found here, and give rise to the race that now inspires Mr. Stoddard with his reverence for the word white. Since that time, also, 4,000,000 natives of Africa have mixed their blood with the blood of Mr. Stoddard's race, until today there are fewer than 2,000,000 persons in this country who can be called pure Africans, 9,000,000 of mixed African and white extraction, and the Lord knows how many so light that they have gone over entirely to Mr. Stoddard's race.

Who, we should like to ask Mr. Stoddard, is responsible for this condition in "White America"? Can the African, who was the under dog through it all, be accountable for the intermixture? Again, what does this prove to Mr. Stoddard's scientific mind, we should like to know?

"Even if we entirely disregard the weight of scientific evidence which clearly tends to show that crosses between white and Negro are biologically undesirable," says Mr. Stoddard, "we must be guided by one fact which has been scientifically determined beyond all doubt —the fact that such crosses produce highly disruptive effects."

Here, again, the gentleman is either deliberately falsifying or taking gross liberties with science, for science has proved no such thing. Rather it has proved the direct opposite—that is, unbiased, unprejudiced science. Not only has the opposite been proved by science, but history—white history—has shown that racial admixtures have been the saving graces of civilization wherever it has been saved! Even England has had its mixture!

Did not Hannibal, the black Carthaginian, take thousands of soldiers with him on his jaunt over the Alps to the mouth of Rome, and are not the results of this expedition seen today?. What happened to the 30,000 fair-haired, blue-eyed soldiers that followed Alexander in his conquests, and where are the fair-haired, blue-eyed Greeks today? Did not the Moors overrun Spain at one time? What about the tribes of Goths that swept down out of the mountains to conquer what is now France and to form the nucleus of what is now the French race? Did not "William the Conquerer," who defeated the Briton, Harold, at Hastings in 1066, mix the blood of his followers with that of those he subdued?

All along the line from pre-Biblical times to the present are these mixtures, and all have contributed their bits to what we now know as civilization. They will continue, call them whatever you will, Lothrop Stoddard to the contrary. America is a small segment of the whole that is our civilization, and America divided into black and white is infinitely smaller.

Whether we want amalgamation or whether we are silly enough to believe that two races can make up a single great nation and still remain separate and distinct within that nation, will not alter the ultimate results. Amalgamation is proceeding now; we who can see through unbiased eyes can attest to this fact. It is proceeding along the most unsatisfactory lines, to be sure, but it is happening, as science must have told Mr. Stoddard. It will proceed with or without the consent of society.

In passing, we should like to ask Mr. Stoddard whether he has ever heard of Alexander Dumas, an example of the mixture he deplores, who, through equality of opportunity and free social intercourse with those of his day, attained distinction that makes him the envy of Stoddards the world over? And Dumas was just one of the multitude!

The trouble with Mr. Stoddard is that he is a propagandizing romanticist. He states as facts things that he desires, and deludes himself into believing that they are true. But he will find that he can no more stop the course of events than he can stop the course of the sun; both are completely beyond his control. America will be a great nation in spite of Lathrop Stoddard, and the time will yet come when all races in America shall be as one.

(*Continued on page* 338)

THE BLACK MAN'S BLUFF

By LEE SELMAN

I MUST confess that I am somewhat disappointed with the literati of the New Negro. True enough, he has taken the lowly chitterling and has elevated it beside the royal caviar; and he has softened the harsh brayings of the jackass until now it is musical as the whimperings of a young filly in a field of clover. But the greatest mine of all has been left unexplored—the humble but highly utilitarian overalls. Occasionally the word does find its way into print through the medium of some of the World's Greatest Weeklies, but always this is in the nature of an admonition; Remember the overalls, and leave them at work.

Perhaps, though, the great journalists are too prone to forget that when the laborer was transplanted from the barren wastes of hate to the verdant fields of love, the old psychology would follow. This psychology has been sixty years in the making and is not to be treated lightly. It started when the white man willed that blue denim was the uniform of servitude.

They even extended their fiat to include little children, perhaps cognizant of the fact that as the child, so is the man. Thus it was that most of the so-called Race leaders paddled to school, clad in the regulation overalls. Sometimes into the spacious pockets, an apple was dropped—lagniappe for the teacher. Not infrequently, however, they were used to secrete an ugly toad which at the most opportune moment was used to spread consternation among the lassies; here, also, reposed the sling shot and the chinaberries.

Perhaps, though, overalls are too modern to be immortalized in poetry and song. The Spirituals were the heart throbbings of a race burdened for scores of years, but it has remained for men like the Johnsons to reduce them to intelligible English and readable music.

At the time when the Spirituals were being crystallized overalls were unknown. The slaves might have their "jeans," but for ordinary wear there was not infrequently a garment of unbleached material resembling very closely the artists' smocks of today.

Natchitoches, La., has a statue of a good darkey, presumably the antebellum type, and his lower garments are unmistakably pants. This then has been the cycle: shirt-tails, frock-tails, and overalls. From the cotton fields, through the legislative chambers, to the street corners were the routes. Then it was that the Negro discovered that he was of no economic value to anyone except himself. Thus, then following the lines of least resistance, came the overalls.

Six days do they labor: from the wash-day to the breakdown. But on Sundays when men turn aside to attempt to reconcile themselves to their positions in society; when men seek to change their environment, even if only temporarily, then the overalls are laid aside.

This time the preacher calls the bluff and draws in the pot. Such is Life! On the morrow the oxen are again goaded to desperation. And, since it is far easier to side step than to face the issue; and experience having taught that bluffing is as creditable as honest labor, they bluff.

Roughly speaking, Negroes may be divided into two classes: the white collar, and the overalls. The white collar class embraces the professionals—the doctor, the teacher, and the minister. Perhaps, here too may be classed the commercial group—the grocer, the undertaker, and the insurance man. But not infrequently, having been denied the advantages of that higher training, they are somewhat careless of their appearances; from inattention and use their celluloid collars are seered as brown as autumn's leaves. The overalls group takes up the remainder. There is the mill worker who lives across town, and who wades through mud and water to reach his work. And there is the professional loafer who lives in the "quarters," and who has an aversion to any sort of labor.

Long since, though, he has learned that attired in a suit of overalls he needs no passport anywhere; overalls, of course, being the laborers' garb—in short, the black man's bluff. In Atlanta he may know just where there are "ofays"; in Memphis he may try to interest one in finding the little red card; in Dallas he may be a walking saloon, but ever and anon, attired in his suit of blue denim, no one questions his comings, and his goings. Perhaps, if some Negro from Chicago or Cleveland were to have the foresight to don overalls before returning to "ole Miss" he would, indeed, be given a grand ovation. Overalls, to the Caucasian signify obeisance and servility; to the Negro, the gentle art of getting by. Sometimes this theory is practiced ad nauseam. A few years since the principal of a southern school used overalls as the uniforms for the members of his band. Thus, attired, they toured the state gathering in the shekels.

Perhaps, every one has heard the classical remark of the servant:

"More rain, more rest."

His employer inadvertently hearing him demanded sharply, "What's that you say?"

"More rain, more grass, boss."

Thus it is with the overalls brigade, always proclaiming from the housetops:

"More rain, more grass!"

Of course, it would be inaccurate to class the Negro as shiftless, but it is a fact that long association with the whites and their policy of doing nothing that can be conveniently postponed, his using the same text books which are masterpieces of the southern propaganda, and the gentle spiritual caresses of the same white God have given him the same inclinations. Since, however, he is supposed to work, he has adopted the overalls.

This idea of overalls and the Negro laborer being correlatives has permeated the very woof and warp of our innermost life. Go to any cabaret or theatre, presently before the footlights, there amble the colored comedians, clad in the regulation denim. Then a dephlogisticated tenor with belladona in his eyes will wail a nostalgia for his beloved "Bam."

The critic will write in his *feuilleton*, "It is a work of Art—a verisimilitude of reality." But ever, and anon, it is the black man's bluff.

Alas! the old order changeth. Democrats are stealing the thunder of the Republicans and in the innermost councils are speaking of a protective tariff. Republicans are moving into the Bourbon south, and are proving themselves political chameleons. Why? Economists call it the industrialization of the South. Birmingham is already making bids as the greatest steel producing center. Atlanta is extending itself, and is advertising extensively in the North for more industries. Quite naturally these changes will give a different interpretation to the wearer of overalls. And when this metamorphosis is achieved; when the cocoon finally emerges from his web of indifference to extend himself in the balmy atmosphere of industrialism, with all the potency, and charm be gone from the overalls? Will there then be intoned a solemn requiem for the departed glory?

"Alas! poor Yorick, I knew him well."

The White Man Passes

By ROBERT WHITAKER

The Dark Folks stir with quick complaint
Against the White Man's rule,
No more is the Caucasian saint,
The other man a fool;
Nor Nordic myth, nor Saxon blood,
Nor yet the Christian creed
Can stay the swiftly swelling flood
That knows no race nor breed.

The White Man's word has set the pace
The White Man's deed denies,
He has proclaimed to every race
The right of all to rise,
Has gloried in his own revolts
Against the ruling few,
And taught how mightier than bolts
The light that shineth through.

And now no canting talk of grace
Which he would fain bestow,
Can save for him the upper place
While others take the low;
No color line of any shade
Can justify his rod,
Nor any people now be made
To think of him as god.

The White Man's day is all but done,
And what his fate may be
One only knows, who drives the sun
And walks upon the sea.
But if men reap as they have sown,
The White Man well may crave
The passing of the Sword and Throne,
Or else—an early grave.

Support your organization by paying dues regularly

THE LITTLE VIRGIN

By LANGSTON HUGHES

The "West Illana" dipped slowly through the green water seven days out from the port of New York. But in a week at sea even a crew made up of Greeks, West Indian Negroes, Irish, Portuguese and Americans can become pretty well acquainted. When the weather is warm and sailors lounge on the after-deck of evenings telling stories, men learn to know one another. The sea breeds a strange comradeship, a strict fraternity, and many a time I have seen the most heterogeneous crew imaginable stick together like brothers in a sailors' fight in a foreign port. Nor is there ever any separation in that vast verbal warfare all seamen wage against all chief stewards over the always bad food. The sea is like a wide-armed mother and the humble toilers of the sea, blood brothers.

But sometimes there comes one to whom the ways of the water folk are strange. . . . The sailors called him the Little Virgin because they discovered that he had never known a woman and because of his polite manners. He was a blond boy, sixteen or so, probably a runaway from some neat middle-class home in an inland village. He came looking for adventure at sea. He admitted he had not worked on ship before but he proved an apt apprentice, and soon learned to chip decks and scrub bulkheads with the rest of the ordinaries. But he didn't learn their way of talking so easily and he was very shy. He didn't grab for the potato pan at meals and try to snatch the largest potato. Indeed, if he got no potatoes at all he said nothing.

"O, give us some time to
Blow the man down!"

On the hatch in front of the after-deck house in the early evening, dinner over, the talk had been of sailing ships and the old days of the sea. Paddy, in a deep Irish brogue, was telling his wild experiences on whalers. Over against the rail the Swede sang, to himself, a chantey which some of the steamship men had never even heard:

"What do you think
We had for breakfast?
Wey, hey!
Blow the man down!"

The warm wind came from the South and the faint throb of the engines and the chug, chug, of the propeller accompanied his song:

"A monkey's heart
And a donkey's liver.
Give us some time to
Blow the man down!"

"Yez," said Paddy, "When the old John Emory went to Rio, them was the days."

"O, they sailed us down
The Congo River
Wey, hey!
Blow the man down!"

One of the A. B.'s on watch passed with a lighted lantern, went up the iron stairs, and hung it over the stern of the ship. It was getting dark. The blue depths of the sky began to be dotted with stars and the little waves below lapped languidly, one on the other.

"And O! I'll sail
The seas forever.
Give us some time to
Blow the man down!"

"Say, was everybody in your town as dumb as you?" Eric demanded suddenly of the Little Virgin.

"Heck, no!" the kid answered. "My father——"

"Why don't you say, 'Hell, no,' you pink angel?" Jerry drawled.

"Hell—no," said the boy slowly for he hadn't yet learned to swear with the facility of the sea.

"Women won't think you're a sailor 'less you learn to cuss better 'an that there 'Gol darn' and 'By heck' you got,—like some country hay-seed 'stead of a seaman."

"Yes, sir," said the boy.

"Hombre! Who ever says he was a seaman," laughed Porto Rico.

"And we're gona show you some women in Horta next week. I been there before, Virgin, and I know 'em. They're wild and they'll lead you to slaughter. Show us how you make love, kid."

And then the torture of the self-conscious and embarrassed boy began,—he who was the daily butt of sailors' jibes and vulgar jokes. The men liked him and the cleanness of him, but the fun of seeing him red and confused was too great to resist. So everything the youngster did or said by day became a subject for ribald wit and ridicule at night on the after-hatch. And the lad, who was unable to banter jokes and obscenities, looked lost and alone and very miserable. Everyone seemed his enemy, no one his friend. Words can be terribly cruel when a person does not know how to construct a defense or laugh at a joke.

"I don't know how to make love," the boy said.

"O, you Little Virgin! Mama's nice baby!" Chips sang in falsetto.

"Pretty Percy!"

"What kind a sailor is this?"

"Now he was all
Most twenty-three.
But still sat on
His mother's knee.
He'd never . . ."

"Say, kid, tell us . . .," began one of the Greek firemen.

"Don't tell that Greek nothin', Virgin." It was Mike from Newark speaking. "Get up an' sock him in the eye!"

The absurdity of this command brought a gale of laughter from the men on the hatch. Chips rolled over and over. But for some reason or other it angered the fireman.

"What a hell you tell da kid to hit me for? You would ain't do it yourself," the Greek yelled.

"Stand up an' see if I won't," countered Mike. There hadn't been a fight on board for three days now and the ship plowed slowly and calmly through the water under the starry darkness. Things were dull and quiet like the slow move of the steamer. "I'm tired o' you guys ridin' the Virgin anyhow. You must think he likes it. He's a good kid and he don't bother none o' you."

"He's no you brother," said the Greek. And he made a sudden plunge at Mike from Newark, but in an instant the fireman was going backward toward the bulkhead sent there by a blow from the New Jersey man's fist. Then, before the Greek could recover his balance, the bo'sun sprang between them.

"Stop this fight," he commanded. You dumb fools!" And two or three sailors grabbed each of the combatants by the arms.

"Damn!" said Eric. "The bo'sun's always stoppin' fights."

"That's dirty," I agreed, because I wanted to see the fight go on, too.

But Mike and the Greek were held apart until, each struggling nobly to get at the other, their vocabulary of insults in both the language of the Hellespont and Newark were exhausted. Then Mike, with a final oath regarding the parentage of all Greeks, turned to the frightened Little Virgin and said, "Come on, kid, let's go inside. I'll teach you to play pinochle." And the two of them left the deck.

"Sure, that's the best you can do is play pinochle," somebody jeered, while the fireman began to talk rapidly to a fellow countryman. An hour later when I passed the mess-room door on my way to bed I saw the Little Virgin and Mike from Newark leaning on the wooden table deep in conversation. And the young boy looked happy for the first time since leaving New York. He had seemingly found a friend.

So the days passed filled with sunshine and the slow roll of the little waves. And the nights passed warm and starry as the old freighter steamed unhurriedly through the black waters toward Africa. And the dawns came pink and gold, strangely cool and calm with a magic vastness about them lying softly on the wide circle of the waters. Then the sun would shoot up, disturbing the colorful quiet. And some mornings there would be flying-fish lying on the deck which the third mate, coming down from the bridge, would pick up and take to the galley to have cooked for his breakfast. At eight bells the watch changed and the Little Virgin, along with the rest of the ordinaries, would come out for work.

The Virgin and Mike from Newark were boon companions now. They worked together during the day and played cards or talked at night. From Mike the kid learned how to tie sailors' knots, how to do the least work with the greatest appearance of effort, and how to lower a life boat during fire-drill. He began to learn, too, the vocabulary of the sea, to pick up a varied

string of true seamen's oaths, and to acquire an amusing collection of filthy stories. Everything that Mike did, the Little Virgin tried to do, too. Before the village boy this young sailor from Newark seemed a model of all the manly virtues. And Mike had lived a life which the Virgin envied and wished to emulate. He, like the Virgin, had left home without telling anybody and in his three years away from the paternal roof had visited half the ports of the world. Furthermore, to hear Mike talk, there had been many thrilling and dangerous adventures in the strange places he had known. The Little Virgin would sit for hours, with the greatest credulity, listening to the Newark boy's stories. Then he would dream of the things that would happen to himself some day and how he would go back home and tell the fellows in his little village about them while they stood open-mouthed and amazed around this wanderer returned.

So the days passed and the "West Illana" put in at a port in Senegal. That night after dinner almost everybody went ashore. There was good business in the French wine shops where seamen and native women gathered before the night grew late. Porto Rico, Jerry and I were sitting at a little table in the crowded Bar Boudon when we saw Mike, the Virgin, Chips and Paddy enter. They were accompanied by four little dark girls and they all sat down at one table at the far end of the room. Drinks were brought. There was much talking and noise,—a tangle of languages and sounds. A smell of beer, wine and smoke floated under the murky yellow lights. The blue blouses of seamen, the white coats of the native waiters, and the black faces of the little girls spotted the room.

An hour of drinking and laughter must have passed when suddenly there was great turmoil at the other end of the place and somebody yelled, "Fight!" I climbed on a chair just in time to see Mike from Newark strike the Little Virgin full in the face and send him sprawling backwards among the tables and the feet of sailors. Then I saw a black woman spring at Mike, her fingers like claws, and in her turn fall backwards, struck in the face, among the tables and the feet of sailors. Then somebody threw a bottle and the free-for-all began. The lights went out. And I went out, too,—into the cobblestone street and safety from the flying missles. By and by I saw Chips emerge from the mêlée and I asked him how the fight started.

"Over nothin'," said Chips. "All them darn fools drunk and one of the girls knocks a glass o' beer over on Mike and gets his pants wet, so he up and slaps her face and she crys. Then the Little Virgin hops up and says no gentleman would hit a woman so Mike up and hits him, too. The kid tries to come back at him but he knocks him sprawlin'. Then the girl tries to come back at Mike and he knocks her sprawlin'. Then somebody throws a bottle and hell breaks loose. And I comes on out. . . . Paddy is carrying the Little Virgin back to the ship now and the kid's cryin' like a baby and sayin' over and over, 'No gentleman would hit a woman. No gentleman would hit a woman.' He's drunk. But Jesus! All that fuss over a African gal! And Mike and the Virgin being such good friends, too. . . . Licker'll cause anything,—the rotten slop. . . . Let's go down the road and get another drink." And the carpenter took me jovially by the arm.

"No," I said. "I'm going back to the ship. I'm tired o' this stuff." And I went off alone through the quiet street toward the dock where the ship was lying under the stars against the vast blackness of the harbor, infinitely calm and restful.

I met Paddy staggering down the gangplank, returning ashore to join the drunken sailors. I said hello to the man on watch as I went aboard and crossed the deck toward the bunk house. It was very quiet on ship and the seamen's quarters were warmly lighted but empty save for one figure,—the Little Virgin who lay sobbing as though his heart would break, face downward on his dirty pillow. It was strange to see someone crying in that room.

"What's the matter, kid?" I said.

"He oughtn't to hit a woman," sobbed the Virgin. "Mike oughtn't to hit a woman." And the young boy kept repeating the phrase over and over and cursing between sobs, awkwardly like a child. "He oughtn't to hit a woman." His breath smelled of wine and beer and his face was flushed, damp and warm.

"You're drunk," I said. "Go to sleep. . . . Mike was drunk, too." And I pulled off his clothes, put a blanket over him, and went to my own quarters to bed. But for a long while the sobs of the youngster disturbed the quiet of the empty fo's'cle and I could not close my eyes for strangeness of the sound.

The next day, when we sailed, the Virgin was unable to rise from his bunk. His head ached. His hands were hot and he felt dizzy. That afternoon at sea, he began to sob again deliriously. Someone told the steward that the boy was ill and when the chief mate came back to take his temperature, he pronounced it a severe case of tropic fever and ordered him removed at once to the hospital in the forward part of the boat. As soon as the bunk was ready Mike picked the boy up and carried him there himself. And for three days, during hours off duty, Mike sat near the Virgin as he tossed and moaned, and turned from side to side, or sobbed, or talked aloud when the delirium returned.

Meanwhile the "West Illana" steamed slowly through a tropic sea. On the third morning the ship anchored at Calabar, the French doctor came aboard, and the sick boy was sent ashore to the European hospital. As they carried him down the gangplank in a blanket at high noon while the sun blazed, he kept sobbing over and over in the raucous voice of delirium, "Oughtn't to hit a woman. . . . No, no, no. . . . Mike oughtn't hit a woman. . . . God knows he oughtn't . . . hit . . . a . . . woman." And the blanketed figure trembled with chill in the heat of the African day. And his voice rose shrill against the rattle of the cranes lifting cargo, "He oughtn't hit a woman. . . . Oughtn't . . . never to hit a . . . woman."

Letters

Dear Mr. Owen:

Your contribution to the current number of THE MESSENGER, "Toy Business Men," is indeed a timely and illuminating treatise. I am in hearty accord with its tenor and the proposed program it sponsors. They fall within the category and are eminently the task of "The National Business League." The executive officers of the league should essentially be business men, chosen for their definite fitness who have had active participation in or successful contact with business.

As the league is presently conducted and the relative disregard displayed in the selection of its guiding personnel, I can't see a wider and larger service accruing to Negro business in general. If the league is to function as a clearing house of practical information, expert business counsel and constructive directorial service to Negro business, now is the time for an executive house-cleaning.

The scope of such an organization is broad. In our midst almost a score years up to the present there are only a few phases of several interests stressed or regarded. The surface within its realm hasn't hardly been scratched. Every business man knows the need of an organization in our midst of such a character and a dire need too. It should have its own mouthpiece—an informative publication presenting the problems and interests of Negro business and assist in devising means and ways to combat and intelligently countenance them. Wider concern should be directed by business interests among our group to get the league operating on a sound, broad and constructive basis, an organization to reckon with and its existence an influence for promoting and elevating Negro business on a progressive, profitable and higher plane in the economic firmament.

BERNARD H. JACKSON.

New York City, August 19, 1927.

To the Editors of THE MESSENGER:

Each month I notice THE MESSENGER is advancing in literary quality. I admire immensely the individualism displayed in the short stories written by our folk poet, Langston Hughes. The striking cartoons by Holloway are also a distinct contribution. I wish especially to congratulate Mr. Holloway. I see a marked improvement over the first things which appeared in THE MESSENGER.

LEWIS ALEXANDER.

Philadelphia, Pa.

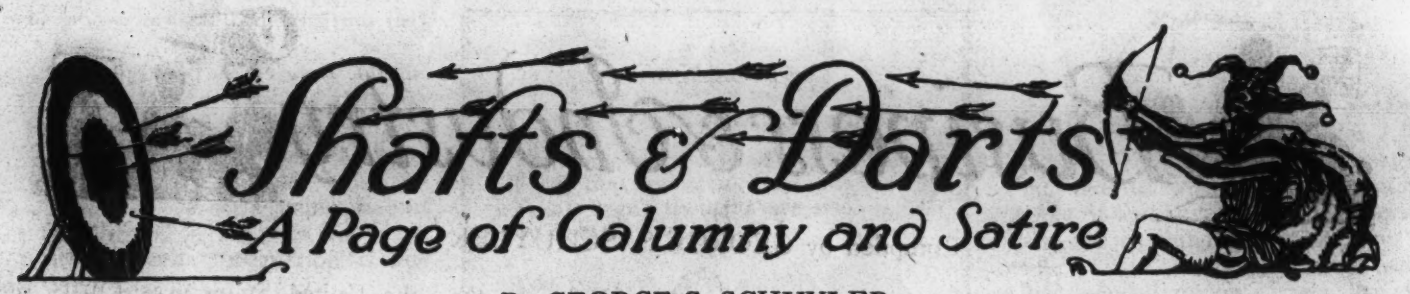
NEXT MONTH:

The Negro Proletariat

By THOMAS L. DABNEY

Religion and the Working Class

By GEORGE S. GRANT



By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

The Monthly Award:—This month the beautiful cutglass thundermug, decorated with red, white and blue ribbons, goes to that stalwart journalist, politician and fraternalist, Prof. Benjamin Jeff Davis, editor of the renowned "The Atlanta Independent," for the following gorgeous, if modest, contribution to the mirth of this unbelievably solemn nation, which appeared in the issue of his famed newspaper dated September 29, 1927:

"We do not believe the public would call us presumptuous if we should say the Independent is the best edited Negro paper in America and from the standpoint of good English, style, diction, simplicity, logic and common sense, takes high rank among American newspapers."

A Fraternal Suggestion:—The Americano, living amidst the dullness and drabness of a democracy and the machine age, thirsts for color and ceremony. Here in the land of Pittsburgh Plus, Service and E Pluribus Unum, are no bespangled feudal nobility to strut and canter up and down the thoroughfares on gaily caparisoned steeds and followed by smartly uniformed retainers. Yet the human soul of small dimensions craves these appendages of monarchy even in a republic. To march and perform in fine feathers is the desire of all but the intelligent minority, and not the least among those entertaining this desire are the sable brethren.

As a solution to this problem, we have had with us for some time, the fraternal order. Therein even the lowliest janitor, bricklayer, waiter, street sweeper or counterman, can satisfy his cravings by paying down a small initiation fee, going through the imbecility of a fraternal induction, and thus gaining the privilege to cavort in a uniform that would turn an Italian admiral green with envy. How proudly they prance down the streets with their tin helmets and breastplates, multi-colored capes, patent leather boots, prodigious swords, purple pantaloons and dyed ostrich feathers. What a pleasure for the longshoreman or tunnel builder or dishwasher's helper to return home from his toil, bolt his ham and cabbage, don his field marshal's uniform and suddenly become Right Honorable Grand Protector of Cuckolds, Supreme Custodian of the Kotex or Holder of the Royal Forehead!

It is no wonder, with all of their inducements of an exhibitionist nature, that the fraternal orders have attained huge memberships and increased in number like bedbugs in a Bowery lodging house. There seems to be no withstanding the blandishments of a pretty uniform, weird ritual and a loud brass band. Even Garvey with his moronic schemes was able to get stalwart janitor-soldiers in his resplendent African Legion. We have a fraternal organization now named after almost every animal known to man and half of the prophets of the Bible. If the number of organizations continues to increase we shall have to start in on the insect world, if indeed some headway hasn't already been made in that direction. We have the Elks, Moose, Buffaloes, Antelopes, the sons and daughters of this, that and the other, and the knights of God knows who and what.

It seems passing strange, however, that none of the shrewd organizers of fraternal societies have ever thought of starting a society named after the plodding and dependable jackass. Certainly no more appropriate name for a fraternal organization could be invented than The Ancient and Honorable Order of Jackasses, nor could any name more accurately describe the members that would flock to it in large numbers. This society could have such titles for officers as The Right Worthy Supreme Jackass, The Exalted Royal Custodian of Jackasses, the Imperial Haunch of the Jackasses, etc. As a business proposition such an organization could not help but be a success. Ninety-nine out of every one hundred persons would be eligible. Of course there is a bare chance that numbers of people would not care to be known as Jackasses, even if they were quite eligible for admission, but it might be spiritedly argued that not only is the Jackass just as good as the elks, owls, buffaloes, reindeers, giraffes, antelopes, camels, eagles, and other members of the animal world after which fraternal societies are named, but is a more useful animal in the bargain. He is par excellence the apotheosis of Service—and what American, black or white, can resist the appeal of Service?

Aframerican Fables No. 12:—It was Sunday evening and the First Washfoot Baptist Church was filled to capacity. Aframericans in all of their finery crowded every pew. It was an auspicious occasion. The learned clergyman, the Rev. Yelp, was to read the report of the Board of Trustees. Everybody was on the alert with expectancy. After the usual social announcements and a brace of hymns the sable dominie got down to the business of the evening. What he had to say, in part, was as follows:

"Brethren, it affords me great pleasure this evening to announce that the Board of Trustees after considerable study of the situation has decided to stop the policy of depending on collections to pay off the various bills that confront us each year. Believing that it is not only a burden on the members of the congregation but is very unbusinesslike in addition, the trustees have decided to have no more collections taken up in the church. In order to maintain the church in the future and pay all current expenses, the Board has decided to sell the present property and with the money we already have in the treasury, erect a modern apartment house, with a church auditorium on the ground floor flanked on either side by a cafeteria, drug store, grocery store and meat market. There will be 50 modern apartments to be rented to members of the church at fair rentals. The Board has determined that the revenue from the apartment rentals and from the co-operative store will not only pay for the maintenance of the church and pay the pastor and his assistants, but it will put much more in our treasury than we have ever had before. I want to take this occasion to congratulate the Board of Trustees for the excellent manner in which they have solved the difficult problem of church finance and removed the burden from our congregation."

Now isn't there a fat chance of *that* being true?

Things You Never See: (a) A Negro fraternal organization that economically benefits its members; (b) A health clinic supported by undertakers; (c) A mob of crackers refusing to lynch a spade because doubtful of his guilt; (d) A pretty gal who has never received a proposal of marriage; (e) A Negro newspaper editor who is not subservient to theatre managers, the manufacturers of blues records and the makers of face bleach.

THE NEGROPHOBE

A soul-stirring drama translated from the *Mississippian* by Hiram Hootchhound, a noted literateur of those parts.

The Cast

General Hemptoter, the Senator.
Marjorie Moron, his secretary.
Hatton Hand, his butler.
Brownie, the Child of Mystery.

Scene:

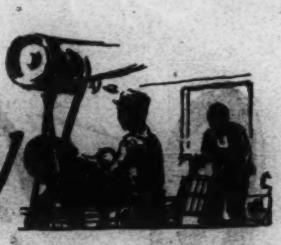
The Library of Senator Hemptoter's home in Cretinville, Miss. As the curtain rises the Senator is seen reading his morning mail at his large library table. Seated near him is his secretary, a tall, rangy Nordic blonde, waiting to take dictation. She is industriously chewing gum and dangling one leg across the other, thereby exposing a very sightly limb at which the good Senator glances furtively from time to time. The Senator is grey-haired, plump, mustached, tall and on the bright side of fifty.

Senator Hemptoter: Awl right, Miss Moron. Ah guess we can staht naow.

Miss Moron: Yassah.

(*Continued on page* 331)

Business & Industry



Compiled by GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Ace Forman, Negro aviator, has started a school of aviation in Los Angeles, California. *The Negro, it seems, is rapidly, and literally rising.*

Ernest C. Hutchinson, a Harlem Aframerican, has opened the "Hutchinson Recreation Academy" at 685 Lenox Avenue, corner of 144th Street, in the Mecca of the New Negro. The establishment represents an outlay of $50,000 and is reported to be the finest billiard parlor in the entire world. The place is beautifully appointed and there are accommodations for ladies as well as gentlemen, and seating arrangements for spectators to billiard contests. In addition to the billiard room with its array of $1,000 tables, there are eight bowling alleys, the finest that money could furnish. *This is pooling our money with a vengeance.*

The Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad has honored Mr. Lawrence Warner, a boilermaker employed by them, for his thirty years of service in that capacity. Mr. Warner resides at 3207 Market Street, Houston, Texas. He was presented with a gold button and a letter of commendation from the company. *And yet it is rumored that the Negro is not a dependable worker!*

Ludwig Baumann and Company, the largest furniture dealers in New York City, have retained the Negro law firm of Watts, Griggs and Flagg, located at 200 West 135th Street, New York.

Mrs. Laura Nutter Clark has opened the Blue Bowl Tea Room at 1743 North 22nd Street, Philadelphia, Pa. The new place is one of the best of its kind in the City of Brotherly Love, *a town where many beverages besides tea are drunk.*

The People's Finance Corporation formally opened its doors to business on September 17th, at 307 Bank Street, Newark, N. J. The first issue of stock totals $100,000 and sells at $12.50 a share. Dr. Roscoe W. H. Buckner is president and Wm. M. Ashby is manager. *A project that merits your support.*

Dr. Albert Banmann of Los Angeles and Clarence Mills of Pasadena, California, two far-sighted Aframericans, have started a farm to raise silver black foxes for the fur market where such pelts are much in demand. *Foxy fellows, these!*

In New Orleans a new Negro-owned business has started operations. It is the Tranquil Hand Laundry with address at 840 Governor Nichols Street. It is equipped throughout with the necessary modern machinery. Rev. E. J. Morgan is general manager. *Well, the race has washed enough clothes to know the business thoroughly.*

The Prudential Bank of Washington, D. C., of which Prof. John R. Hawkins is president, is making a strenuous drive to get in the million-dollar class. In July, 1923, it started with deposits of $47,000, and now it has deposits of $388,000. There are over 5,000 depositors. *There is no reason why Washington, the self-admitted home of Negro culture, should not also be the home of Negro finance. Ethiops are sufficiently plentiful there.*

Mrs. May Vesha has opened the Vesha Elite Shoppe at 1009 Texas Avenue, Shreveport, La., which will specialize in dressmaking and a complete line of ladies' wear. *A good field and a good location, and since the comely damsels of Shreveport (and they are really comely!) dress very well, the shop ought to be well patronized.*

The union and non-union longshoremen of African derivation recently attempted to settle their disputes on the waterfront of New Orleans by the time-honored method of staging a brawl in which a dozen or more shots rang out, and though the shots were not heard around the world, three of them took effect on two black toilers, killing one and wounding the other. The dispute is still unsettled.

Harry H. Pace, president of the up-and-coming Northeastern Life Insurance Company, recently contributed an article to the Savings Bank Journal, in which he pointed out that the first savings bank depositor in the United States was Curtis Roberts, a Negro, of Philadelphia, Pa.

Mrs. Josie Taylor, an exceedingly comely matron, has opened the Josie Taylor Chapeau, an exclusive millinery shop, at the corner of San Felipe and Bagby Streets, Houston, Texas. Mrs. Leon Bennett, another charming young lady, is the manager. *With an attractive line of hats they should have no difficulty in getting ahead!*

B. J. Hearn, manager of the Hearn Grocery Company at 1724 Davis Street, Jacksonville, Fla., recently reported at a meeting of the Jacksonville Negro Business League that several Negro merchants have started cooperative buying of staple and fancy groceries, at a great saving to themselves and their patrons. *Are these fellows really Negro business men?—this action seems almost too intelligent for that!*

John E. Skinner, a Negro, has been appointed manager of The Bamboo Inn, one of Harlem's great centers of night life. Mr. Skinner will have an all-Negro staff. The Bamboo Inn recently re-opened after being closed for a considerable period following a disastrous fire that mysteriously came after an unprofitable season. The place was formerly managed and staffed by Chinese, now become the principal restaurateurs of black Harlem. It is to be hoped that the Negro help will be more courteous than the Chinks were.

The Poro Company has opened up a branch in Chicago, Ill. It will be headquarters for the Chicago agents, and have available many assembly rooms, beauty parlors, and tea rooms for the public.

Miss Emma Lue Sayers, Mrs. Zella King-Taylor and Mrs. Anna E. Guess, three well-known Aframerican ladies of the City of Angels, have started a stenographic service bureau in Los Angeles. The girls are typists, stenographers, bookkeepers, mimeographers and accountants.

The Insurance Commissioners of Missouri have turned their thumbs down on Heman Perry, president of the Standard Life Insurance Company of Missouri. He must, say they, step down from his office if the company is to continue doing business in the "Show Me" state. So the company is looking for a new president.

Colored women in the canneries of Delaware work from 70 to 80 hours a week, are housed like cattle and get an average weekly salary of six dollars. *Hooray for democracy!*

Mr. Thomas H. R. Clarke, a prominent Aframerican realtor resident in the national capital, is authority for the statement that mortgage companies are more profitable than banks for Negroes at this stage in their economic progress, because of the paucity of mercantile establishments among the Sons of Ham.

Dr. James E. Shepard, president of the North Carolina College of Negroes, announces that a school of business adminis-

My Choice

By JAMES MICKLES

Were I to shape the soul that speaks within,
  And mount each wave of thought expelled,
And take with ease, exotic manners in,
  Or master other forces none has quelled.
Then live amid the splendor of the monarchs,
  And speak of things the sages never knew,
And ride upon the tempest on the high seas,
  Or stay within the rose, like sparkling dew.

Were I to charm the heart that lives unconquered,
  And weave enchantment no maid could repel,
And bate the knight who reigns undaunted,
  Or sing a song no tongue excel.
Then listen to quaint birds among the bowers,
  And fly with vagrant eagles near the sky,
And tender sweet perfume like fragrant flowers,
  Or imbibe its whisperings as the wind go by.

Were I to these things tied, and born inherent,
  And you devoid of life and tender love
And all possessions looming but deterrent,
  I'd shape a soul with wings to fly above.
But let each power drift to paths untrodden,
  And lofty goals to me obscure the view,
And let me choose, though left unpardoned,
  This Platonic love that gives me you.

tration will be opened at his institution this term.

Mortimer M. Harris, well-known Washington, D. C., realtor, announces that the city of school teachers and government employees is to have a new $75,000 hotel for Negroes, which will be the last gasp in modernity. The owner's name is not given but the office of Mr. Harris will manage the hostelry when construction is finished.

The Alhambra Theatre, 126th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City, has "gone Negro," is putting on brown skin productions, and has hired a "race" manager and staff of Negroes. This theatre formerly was widely known for segregating its Aframerican patrons.

What has become known in and around Harlem as "The Job You'd Love to Grab" has been given to Roscoe Conkling Bruce, Harvard graduate and former superintendent of the jim-crow schools of Washington, D. C. This fat position is director of the Rockefeller Foundation's housing project in Harlem. This project consists of 541 apartments, housing 2,000 persons, and covering an entire city block. Mrs. Bruce will assist him and there will be a capable staff of Negro workers, clerks and janitors.

Nail and Parker, prominent rent and lease men of Harlem, recently secured an option on an exclusive colony near Bar Harbor, Maine, consisting of 1,200 lots, which it is said they may develop as a summer colony for affluent Aframericans.

The Pea Island Coast Guard Station outside Elizabeth City, N. C., is officered and manned by Negroes, being the only Negro Coast Guard Station in the world. Captain George E. Pruden is the Negro in charge.

Mr. Edward C. Berry of Athens, Ohio, recently sold his hotel plant there for $100,000, and retired from the hotel and catering business that he has conducted for 35 years.

The Brotherhood of Dining Car Employees is seeking a new contract with the Dining Car Service of the Boston and Albany Railroad.

The National Association of Colored Waiters and Cooks which recently held its annual convention in Harrisburg, Pa., has changed its name to the National Association of Hotel Employees. C. H. Brown of Chicago was elected president.

The era of handshaking, idle boasting and mutual admiration in the National Negro Business League seems to be over; or almost over. The league is now getting down to business. It has established an information service for Negro business men where they can get all sorts of information on how to run their businesses more profitably and economically. The service is free to all members of the league.

My Dear Mr. Lancaster:

In renewing my subscription to THE MESSENGER for another year I want to congratulate you on the excellence of the publication.

During the past several years I have been making some special study and observation of Negro life, and I want to say that THE MESSENGER has been of great help to me in forming conclusions.

I cannot endorse and agree with everything appearing in the magazine of course, but that is neither here nor there—the fact remains that it is one of the most outstanding exponents of Negro life and of human rights in America. I treasure very much some of the articles written by Mr. Randolph, Mr. Owen, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Rogers and Dr. Henderson.

Whenever I come in contact with people of your race I commend THE MESSENGER to them, and I have been regularly loaning my copies to a young Negro boy of my acquaintance. I have also taken pleasure in showing the publication to prejudiced white acquaintances as an Exhibit A in Negro achievement.

Kindly do not neglect to see that I receive a copy of the rotogravure picture of Mr. Randolph, which you are offering to subscribers.

Yours very sincerely,
C. Warren Gutelius.

Northumberland, Pa.
August 31, 1927.

To Randolph

By MATTIE MAE STAFFORD

You come to us now
From the wonderful East,
Where men's thoughts are said
To live the best.

You come to us now
Bringing words of truths
To gladden our hearts
And to strengthen our youths.

That tells, they no longer
Are "worms of the dust"
That hearken to men
Who say, "you *must.*"

Be ruled by them
In things, that are (?) best
To grow and develop in strength
For life's tests.

Indeed, its not true
For God hath said,
That in this age,
All must labor for head.

By the sweat of his face
By thought or by deed
That men are brothers and
Must help each in their need.

With this divine truth
Growing bright in your soul
We hasten you on
To the God given goal.

With faith in His word
In which, He declares
That men should love peace
And not wrangle for wars.

Then, would hasten the day
As He also hath said
The "swords would be ploughshared"
And the hungry be fed.

Where houses would join
Each other in love
And God, blessing all
Through His blue sky above.

Would feed all and His children
With a tenderness rare—
From an earth-freed curses
All sorrow, all care.

Shafts and Darts

(*Continued from page 329*)

Senator H. Take this letter: "Col. Hefttie Flask, Ginhaven, Miss.: My dear Colonel: Your letter of recent date at hand. You and all of the self-respecting white people of this great state can always depend upon me to uphold our common interests while I sit in the United States Senate. As a life-long champion of morality, our white women and our family life, I have always strenuously fought any measure or action calculated to impair the purity of races. Above all, the integrity of the white race must always be safeguarded. To this end I am now drafting a resolution to further strengthen the barriers between us and the inferior race in our midst. I intend to introduce this resolution in the Senate at my earliest opportunity.

Assuring you that I shall ever be on the alert to protect the interests of our race and paticularly the morals of our women, I am, Sincerely yours,

U. C. Hemptoter.

Enter Hatton Hand.

He is about sixty; black, shrewd looking, slightly bowed and white haired.

Hatton Hand: Gen'l!

Senator Hemptoter: Yes, Uncle Hatton.

Hatton Hand: That 'ere boy Brownie is out there an' wants tuh come in.

Senator Hemptoter: Dad rat that 'ere boy. Ah bet he's lookin' fer some money. Er—ah Miss Moron, just step outside a moment 'til Ah see what this 'ere boy wants.

Miss Moron: Yes, Senator.

Senator Hemptoter: Alright Hatton, let that boy in.

Hatton Hand: Yassah. (He goes to the door and calls) Brownie! Come on in, son.

(Brownie enters. He is a handsome brown boy about 14 years old and strikingly resembling Senator Hemptoter. He rushes over to the General and embraces him.)

Brownie: Daddy!

Senator Hemptoter: Hello Son! (calling to Miss Moron in the next room) Bettah get that lettah off right away, Miss Moron.

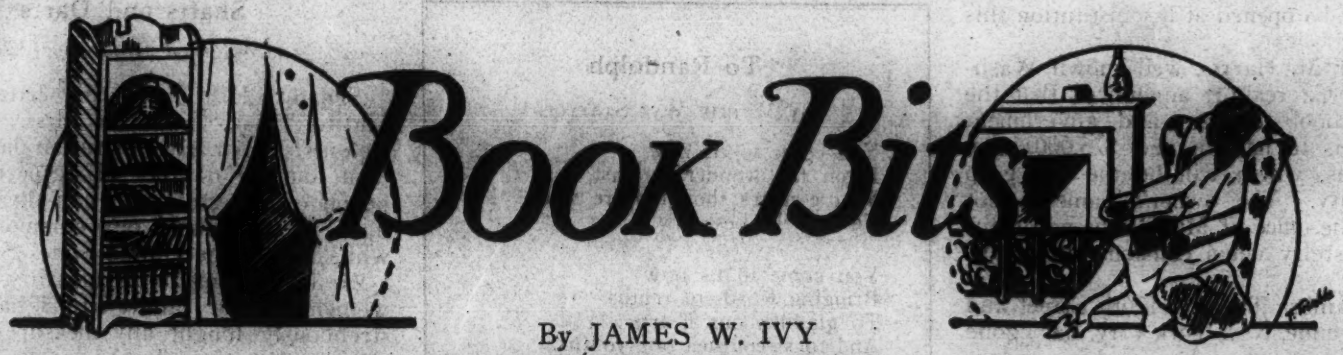
Curtain.

Prize Puns of The Month: The following, I believe, will be of interest to the millions of readers of this inspiring page:

1st: When Frank J. Harrold, Chief Atlantic County (N. J.) Detective, investigating the Lilliendahl murder was asked whether he was still seeking the two Negroes whom the murdered doctor's wife claimed had committed the crime, he replied with the following unconscious pun:

"We long ago discarded the idea that two Negroes committed this crime. That was nothing but a smoke screen."

2nd: Do Do Green, the Negro comedian was offered a part in "Porgy" the recently opened play of Negro proletarian life in Charleston, S. C. Upon reading the manuscript he discovered that the word "nigger" was used 101 times, and so he handed the manuscript back to the lady with the comment, "There are too many 'niggers' in that for me (meaning the epithet). Whereupon the good Nordic lady replied, "Why there are only four, Mr. Green (meaning the actors)."



By JAMES W. IVY

In Europe there has always been a large number of excess women; and the late war merely accentuated the problem, intensifying it to the point where several French writers came out boldly in favor of polygamy. Georges-Anquetil wrote a book, "La Maitresse Légitime," in an effort to abolish the French law against bigamy. Even before Georges-Anquetil, Dr. Binet-Sanglé had advocated the *Haras Humain* as a probable solution of the problem of excess women. Dr. Binet-Sanglé's idea is merely a modernized version of the idea, first set forth in Plato's *Republic*, that the best men in a community should be set aside for breeding purposes.

Yet none of these books have had as wide a circulation as the social novels of Victor Margueritte. The explanation is easy. Margueritte in his passion for social reform turns his head strenuously to the seamy side of life, and gives us Zolaesque details by the myriad, and this method always gets the readers.

Among the first of these novels is *La Prostituée*, a study of French prostitution. This book has never been translated and is consequently not known on this side of the Atlantic. Most Americans made Margueritte's acquaintance with the appearance of *La Garçonne*, a book which sold over half a million copies in France, was barred from sale in England, and circulated quite widely here in a thoroughly Bowdlerised edition. This story, we all remember, was that of Monique Lerbier, the bachelor girl. —*la garçonne*.. After *La Garçonne* Margueritte wrote two more novels on the new woman in her search for freedom: *Le Couple* and *Le Compagnon*. These three formed a trilogy under the general title: *La Femme en Chemin*.

Some of the problems of the new woman which were merely adumbrated in his first trilogy are now to be amplified in a new trilogy with the general title: *Vers le Bonheur*. Their titles are: *Ton Corps est à toi, Le Bétail Humain*, and *Le Chant du Berger*. The first of these novels has now appeared: *"Ton Corps est à toi" (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, Editeur: 12 frs.), par Victor Margueritte*. This is a book which the general reader will probably never see, for I doubt that it will be translated, and if it is it will circulate in a Bowdlerised version. This is a powerful, realistic story of the problem of abortion. As Paccaud says, "Perhaps it is the truth of tomorrow! Perhaps, instead of secret abortions with their attendant risks . . . doctors will be legally authorized to practice abortion simply upon the request of the mother, just as they do today when the mother's health or life is at stake. You know that it is not abortion that I censure, but the dangers to which filthy hands and faulty knowledge now expose those women who have recourse to it. To safeguard the future, henceforth, women must be mothers at will." Then he goes on: "The right to abortion, as the right to vote, must be the goal of every woman." This is the thesis of the book. Now for the story.

The first three or four chapters of the novel are taken up with the childhood and the family life of Spirite Arelli, nicknamed, Spi, a beautiful, gifted girl, the daughter of parents of Italian extraction who are farmers in the Southern part of France. Spi is not looked upon with pride by her parents; she is so eccentric, so outspoken, so bold in some of her childish pranks. Although her parents fail to understand her, she is understood by her uncle Paccaud, a widely traveled bachelor and an intelligent man of the world. Spi falls in love with François who does not care for her at all, but another girl. Yet this does not stop her from telling him that she still loves him with all her heart. Later Spi becomes a maid to a loose living woman of the smart set who owns a chateau near her home. She is disgusted with the dissolute life of her mistress and her friends and decides to leave, but not before she attracts the eye of a *lion*, who makes up to her and is repulsed for his pains. He tells her that he will see her again. She does see this unknown one again as he said: one day while working in the stable he comes in, and finding that she is alone, violates her. After a few months she finds that she is pregnant; what must she do? she must not let her mother know it; so she finally decides to carry the sad news to her uncle, Paccaud. He was shocked. She told him the whole story. Then she told him she had tried to get the name of an abortionist in Marseille from Rosa, who has already had two miscarriages. Her uncle shows her how dangerous a thing an abortion is, begs her not to do this. Tells her to have the child, for "a child is a pain but not a dishonor." At home she is often sick, but no one suspects the true cause. One day she makes an unsuccessful attempt at suicide. She has taken rough-on-rats. But her uncle's prompt administration of an emitic saves her.

With her uncle's encouragement she desides to live. She is still in love with François, and one day she gives herself to him, tells him how she has been raped, that she is gravid, and begs him to keep it a secret. He assents. But he lets the secret out and it gets to the ears of her mother and father, and they drive her out, telling her never to again darken their door, for she has disgraced them. She goes to Marseille, tries unsuccessfully to get a job. She writes her uncle, he sends her money and advises her to go to a maternity hospital for her *accouchement*. Since her baby is not wanted she puts it in a foundling asylum. After many failures she finally succeeds in getting work, and eventually finds herself on the road to happiness and success. Wishing to keep other women out of the pitfalls into which she fell, she carries on a birth control campaign and distributes anti-conceptional literature. A friend of hers has an abortion produced and dies; the authorities are aware of her birth control activities and in consequence arrest her as an accomplice. She is innocent however, and manages to secure her freedom after her uncle comes to Marseille and unearths some old scandal on the judge. Like most of Margueritte's novels this one, too, abounds in many good phrases. "We need a new Christ," he tells us. "We must wash the soul as well as the body." Paccaud tells Spi. "Ton Corps est à toi" is a good story with all the conviction of artistic and real truth, vivifying the fate of the woman with the unwanted baby, and the crime that it is to bring such an unfortunate and unwanted one into the world.

"Walls and Bars" (Chicago: The Socialist Party: $1.50), *by Eugene Victor Debs.* This book is the fruit of Debs' brief term of imprisonment at Atlanta. Debs has seen the inside of American jails once or twice before he was sentenced to Atlanta for a term of ten years. In this book we find the very essence of Debs: his loving kindliness of nature and his quickening sensibilities for the downtrodden and the oppressed.

Truck Garden

By GRACE G. RICHARDSON

Lovely things I saw today,
Smooth round hills that rolled away
From closely planted sloping squares
Of multi-colored garden wares.

Strontian celery buds appeared
Dazzling brighter as they neared
The dull opaque of cabbage heads
That pushed through soil of earthy reds.

Blades of grass from recent rains
Sprang between the dead remains
Of weedy growths from years before,
Recarpeting the valley floor.

Buildings square, with angle roof,
Starkly stood, a bit aloof,
To shelter tools, a horse, the cow,
Browned men, their wives, and products of the marriage vow.

This book of Debs touches and thrills me, and I cannot help but think that it is the best book of prison experiences that America has produced. It is immeasurably above Alexander Berkman's "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist"; for there is more love and more humanity in Debs' book. Take Debs prison creed:

"While there is a lower class I am in it;
While there is a criminal element I am of it;
While there is a soul in prison I am not free."

Many men of Debs' standing would have requested preferential treatment (which millionaires are accorded by right of class) while in prison; but Debs in a talk with the warden, Zerbst, said: "I gave him to understand that I neither desired, expected, nor would I accept any privileges or favors that were denied to other prisoners. All I asked was that I be treated like the rest, neither better nor worse."

"My feeling toward the prison from the hour I entered it was such that I rejoiced in the departure of each of those whose terms had expired, and I was saddened by the entrance of every man whose shadow was cast upon its grim portals."

Although sorely used by his fellow men, Debs remained the same kind hearted, smiling, loving Debs, and this book shows it clearly.

"Co-operative Democracy" (*The Macmillan Co.*: $3.00), *by James Peter Warbasse.* However one may regard Socialism in general, there is one form of Socialism—or perhaps I may say semi-Socialism—to which the most rabid Capitalist cannot refuse a welcome, not even Mr. J. P. Morgan, namely Co-operation and Co-operative Societies. These voluntary associations for Production, Distribution, and Exchange can carry on their operations, and flourish, without any formal disturbance of the established order. They are free industrial societies within the larger society, the State; framed to delight the heart alike of the communist Bob Minor and the conservative Mr. Hearst. Co-operation has provided a unique opportunity for the interchange of courtesies between the Capitalist lion and the Communist lamb. It is patent to all competent observers that sound economic benefits are conferred on the wage earning classes where these societies are in operation; it does not reach the poorest, unfortunately, but the thrifty middle class man and woman gets his goods better and cheaper when he takes shares in a Co-operative Society.

Says Mr. Warbasse in his preface:

"Co-operation is not found to be a palliative for smoothing the path of the poor, nor a scheme for softening the conflict between Capital and Labor. While it does, to a degree, ameliorate present ills, it is not a method of reform for patching up the existing order of society.

"A Co-operative society is a voluntary association in which the people organize democratically to supply their needs through mutual action, and in which the motive of production and distribution is service, not profit. The primary hypothesis of Co-operation is that the consumers are everybody, and that all of the machinery of industry and the organization of society should be for them.

"Consumers' Co-operative societies are usually formed by people who live in the same community and have neighborly interests. They organize a society to run a store, bakery, bank, or other business. Usually it is incorporated to limit the liability of the individuals. The members elect a board of directors and often other committees such as an advisory board, a committee for auditing, recreations, education, etc. The directors appoint a manager and other employees. Usually directors give their time gratuitously. Some societies pay them for the meetings they attend. In large societies executives are salaried and give all of their time to the business of the society. The meetings of the members observe the parliamentary principles that make for democracy of control and administration. They are usually held quarterly, although some societies hold only an annual members' meeting while others meet as often as once a month.

"It would be difficult to mention any useful business or service that is not undertaken by the Co-operative societies. Naturally the most common business is the distributive retail store. These stores are found handling all the things the people want, from pins to automobiles."

I give these lengthy quotations from Mr. Warbasse's book because I firmly believe that in co-operation and co-operative societies lies one of the solutions of the Negroes' present economic plight. We could have grocery stores, clothing stores, coal yards, and what not, run on the co-operative basis. They would save us money, give more of our people employment, and lay the foundation for a sounder economic order. We have a few co-operative stores scattered about the country, but not many.

Every Negro consumer should read this book. Mr. Warbasse discusses co-operation in all of its details, and almost every imaginable problem is examined in its relation to this movement. His study, too, is not confined to America, but to the civilized countries of the world.

Black American Reveille

By GEO. S. GRANT

Black Man! Bid your manhood waken,
  Build your strength, regain your might;
Prizes by the strong are taken,
  Earn your place, demand your right.
To the Service Summons harken,
  Duty's call, do not neglect;
Let no cloud of fear-doubt, darken,
  Black Men! Earn your self respect.

In this world with millions teeming
  Black Men! Play your hardest game
Nor content yourselves with seeming,
  Pretense wins no lasting fame.
Only by true worth and merit
  May you rise above the crowd;
Naught can stay a dauntless spirit,
  Black Men! Make your women proud.

Thru the ages read the story
  Deeds will live, tho' men may die;
Choose the path that leads to glory,
  Black Men! Sound your battle cry.
In the lists of competition,
  Force your charger, break your lance,
Winning with cooperation.
  Black Men! Give your sons a chance.

Young Black Joe

(*Continued from page* 324)

The way I sing it:

Fair brown, fair brown,
Who may your regular be?
If you ain't got no regular
Just take a look at me.

In the Bad Man Ballads I find a phony verse in Bad Man Labarus. It goes:

They began to wonder,
Lawd, they began to wonder,
Lawd, they began to wonder
Where Lazarus gone.

A Negro would express the same idea like this:

Nobody knows, Lord;
Nobody knows, Lord;
Nobody knows, Lord,
Where poor Lazarus gone.

Or perhaps like this:

Everybody wonder,
Everybody wonder, Lord;
Everybody wonder
Where poor Lazarus gone.

Running through other songs I find at

(*Continued on page* 336)

Wonderful Ethiopians of the Famous Cushite Empire

THE MOST THRILLING STORY OF THE AGES

By Drusilla Dunjee Houston

Educator, Author, Journalist

Claude A. Barnett, Director, Associated Negro Press: "We feel prouder of our heritage as Negroes since we read the things you have discovered."

Robert L. Vann, Editor, Pittsburgh Courier: "We know of no book published during the past quarter of a century which offers such irrefutable inspiration to the black peoples of the earth."

J. A. Rogers for the New York Amsterdam News: "The book shows a tremendous amount of research on the part of Mrs. Houston. The book grips you from the first and makes mighty interesting reading."

Rodger Didier, Critic, Associated Negro Press: "In no other book is there so much of the gold of Negro History. She has attained a hitherto unperformed service."

Cornelius Edwin Walker, white author, lecturer and psychologist: "You prove your contention that civilization came from the black race from the very first. Whoever, in either race, disputes your assertions has some task indeed."

Frank R. Crosswaith, for The MESSENGER: "Mrs. Houston has done what few other Negro authors have had the necessary patience and perserverance to do—viz., to gather from the record written by white men facts to prove that there is no such thing as a white man's civilization. She has delved deep to show that art, music, religion were all permeated in ancient days by Ethiopian influence."

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Or Box 332, Oklahoma City, Okla.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

ACTIVITIES OF THE MONTH

NEW YORK DISTRICT

National Headquarters, 2311 Seventh Avenue

Roy Lancaster, General Secretary-Treasurer, reports that the membership in the New York district has increased by 45 during the last month. The majority of these new men came directly to the national office and joined the Brotherhood. There has been a marked increase in the payment of dues and a gradual increase in the payment of assessments.

W. H. Des Verney, Assistant General Organizer, recently moved to Richmond, Va., from Norfolk, Va., where he worked in the interest of the Brotherhood for about three or four weeks.

On December 9th, the New York District will hold its second annual grand ball at the Manhattan Casino, 155th Street and 8th Avenue. The ball last year was a very successful affair. Reservations may be made at the National Headquarters, 2311 7th Avenue.

It is reported that the company union elections will be held on October 15th, although they are supposed to be held the 2nd Tuesday in November. All of the members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters have by this time received their instructions as to the proper procedure to thoroughly protect their interests.

Meetings of the New York Division are now being held at frequent intervals at the Coachmen's Union Hall, 138th Street, near 8th Avenue, and they are being very well attended.

Every Pullman porter and maid is invited to visit the National Headquarters, 2311 Seventh Avenue, when in New York, for the purpose of hearing the latest news and seeing the great work that is being done.

More and more porters and maids are subscribing for their official organ, THE MESSENGER. Every porter and maid so subscribing can obtain a life-size portrait of Mr. A. Philip Randolph, the General Organizer.

TWIN CITIES DISTRICT

(Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.)

Paul L. Caldwell, Secretary-Treasurer

1399 Sherburne Avenue

The city is afire with enthusiasm that Mr. Randolph and Mr. Totten are nearing this district and the plans are laid for the most rousing mass meetings ever held in any district in the country.

Arrangements for opening up the local headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are going apace, but have not been completed. It is hoped, however, to have them open and hold a series of meetings before the arrival of Mr. Randolph, and also to entertain he and Mr. Totten there during their stay with us.

The Colored Women's Pioneer Economic Club of St. Paul under Mrs. W. J. Roberts, president, and the organization of the same name of Minneapolis under the leadership of Mrs. J. S. Wright, president, have combined to socially entertain Messrs. Randolph and Totten with a banquet and other features at the Phyllis Wheatley House in Minneapolis.

The heads of all the local organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, the Elks' lodges and the Colored Women's State Federation of Women's Clubs are vying with each other to make our mass meetings a success.

The determination of the men in this district is expressed by the paying of dues and assessments, and the enthusiasm with which they are assisting in putting over the Brotherhood's programme.

Every member of the Brotherhood in this district should be a subscriber to our official organ, THE MESSENGER. It costs a dollar a year and each subscriber can, on request, get a life-size photograph of Mr. Randolph, the General Organizer.

JACKSONVILLE DISTRICT

J. W. Darby, Secretary-Treasurer

2029 Davis Street

The men of Jacksonville are on the firing line for the success of the Brotherhood and are doing their duty wonderfully.

All of the summer conditions have been unusually difficult and hard in regard to working conditions because of the fact that a large number of trains have been taken off and the men transferred to various districts to the east and west. However, the men are now returning to the district and the prospect of doing considerable work to further the interests of the Brotherhood in this district, are very bright.

Mr. Darby reports that he hopes very soon to bring the Jacksonville District up to the level of the best districts in the country, financially and otherwise. He says: "The real red-blooded men here are doing their bit and I am doing my best to bring the slackers around to see the light."

Jacksonville members are urged to subscribe to their official organ, THE MESSENGER, and keep abreast of the doings of their union. The cost is only one dollar a vear, and a life-size photograph of Mr. Randolph, the General Organizer, is being given with each new subscription from porters and maids.

OMAHA DISTRICT

Bennie Smith, Local Organizer

2522 Patrick Avenue

Despite the torrential rain, an immense audience turned out recently to hear Brothers Randolph and Totten tell the story of the struggle of the Pullman Porters for economic freedom and a living wage. The meeting was held at St. John's A.M.E. Church. The next evening another large meeting was held and a citizens' committee was organized to cooperate with Brother Bennie Smith, the local representative of the Brotherhood, in creating favorable public opinion and greater interest.

During the visit of Brothers Randolph and Totten, they were entertained by the Women's Economic Council of the Omaha District, and the entire membership was present at the meeting.

The Ladies' Auxiliary has begun to function 100 per cent and various committees have been appointed to devise ways and means of raising funds to assist the Brotherhood in its great battle of the century.

On October 1st the primaries for the election of candidates for local offices and delegates to the company union convention, were begun in Omaha, attended by the usual forms of intimidation and coercion. Stool-pigeon W. R. Estell, present chairman, is passing out ballots and will no doubt succeed himself since he is on the election committee or performing the duties to keep and count the ballots. It is not expected that he will count himself out. The outcome will be closely watched and his defeat is certain if any degree of fairness is displayed. The above refers to the P. P. B. A. Payment of dues is steady; a great number of men having paid up to January 1st, 1928. Ninety per cent (90%) of the members intend to be paid up to January 1, 1928, by November 15. Omaha members of the Brotherhood are prepared for a fight to the finish with the cooperation of the Ladies' Auxiliary and the Citizens' Committee. The bulldog spirit displayed by Brother Randolph was just what Omaha needed. It has never been so stirred.

Members of the Omaha Division are urged to subscribe to their official organ, THE MESSENGER, and get the authentic news about the Brotherhood activities. A subscription costs only $1 a year; 50c for six months.

ST. LOUIS DISTRICT

E. J. Bradley, Secretary-Treasurer, Organizer

Room 208, People's Finance Building

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has witnessed a very unusual change in conditions relative to the spirit and general attitude of the citizens as well as the porters of the St. Louis division. Men are joining daily; six joined one day. E. J. Bradley, Local Organizer, says he is now averaging two new men a day.

The Mass Meeting at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church on September 18th, was largely attended, and proved a huge success. Mr. A. L. Totten, Assistant General Organizer, gave a beautiful explanatory lecture on the unfairness of the Negro Press, Stool-pigeons, Uncle Toms, Snitchers, and the Pullman Company officials, especially in St. Louis. The audience was so enthused over

facts as given by Brother Totten that his voice was drowned in applause many times. Mr. A. Philip Randolph, General Organizer for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was the next speaker on the program, and deliberated as only Randolph can. He brought out many points of interest, and many heretofore unknown facts were revealed. Hon. Holmer G. Phillips, a prominent lawyer of our race, and recently elected president of the Negro Bar Association, presided and performed the duties of a master of ceremonies exceedingly creditably.

The citizens at this meeting were aroused to action and held a citizens' meeting at the Y. W. C. A., Tuesday afternoon, September 20th, and there discussed plans to assist the Brotherhood in any manner desired to combat any opposition that now confronts it. The said Citizens' Committee held its second meeting Sunday afternoon, September 25th, at the Pythian Hall where a goodly number of citizens were present. The Local Organizer, E. J. Bradley, exhibited data as proof of the Brotherhood sincerity as well as activities. An answer from Mr. George B. McGinty, Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission of Washington, D. C., was read at the meeting and the citizens were overwhelmed with enthusiasm and demonstrated same by their loud and continuous applause. The Citizens' Committee is secretly planning a series of meetings in preparation to a determined attack on the opposition. These activities have inspired many porters to join the Brotherhood and have caused many slackers to begin paying their dues and assessments. All indications tend to show that the Brotherhood has at last begun to get power in St. Louis. We can daily see Burr and his forces weakening. The porters are using the slogan that the monkey used when the automobile cut his tail off: "IT WON'T BE LONG NOW."

Take the enemy, the St. Louis *Argus*, off your reading list, and subscribe for your official organ, THE MESSENGER. Learn the truth about your union activities.

BOSTON DISTRICT

S. M. Taylor, Secretary-Treasurer, Organizer

922 Tremont Street

The members in the Athens of America are doing their bit admirably. News of the flank attack of the Brotherhood of the Pullman Company by way of the Interstate Commerce Commission was hailed with delight and enthusiasm. The spirit is running high, and while there is the usual minority of slackers, even some of them are beginning to see the light.

The following news item will be of interest to Brotherhood men and women: Recently when Mr. Freeman addressed the P. P. B. A. he is quoted as saying:

"One time there was a meeting, and at this meeting there was somebody sleeping and at this present time there was somebody asleep when I started to make this present speech. In the presence of the superintendent and the other officers who happened to be present, this man began to snore."

Someone in the audience said, "Why didn't you wake up this man who disturbed them?"

"No, don't," replied Freeman. "I was referring to that man right over there. Don't wake up that nigger. If you do, I will break up this meeting."

Many Boston men, realizing the necessity of getting authentic and first-hand news about Brotherhood activities throughout the nation, have subscribed to their official organ, THE MESSENGER, at $1 a year.

Think This Over!

Since its formation in August, 1925, The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has:

Distributed 12,000,000 pieces of literature.

Its organizers have traveled 75,000 miles.

It has mailed more than 225,000 letters and 90,000 postcards.

It has held 3,500 meetings.

Over 2,000,000 people have been addressed in these meetings.

It has nearly 8,000 members.

It maintains offices in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Mo., and Kansas City, Mo., and Oakland, Calif.

Its National Headquarters in New York City occupies an entire floor on the principal business thoroughfare of the Negro community.

It has representatives in Washington, D. C.; Salt Lake City, Utah; St. Paul, Minn.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Norfolk, Va.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Denver, Colo.; Seattle, Wash.; Portland, Ore.; Omaha, Neb.; Oklahoma City, Okla.; Boston, Mass.; Oakland, Calif.; Cleveland, Ohio; El Paso, Texas; Pittsburgh, Pa.; San Antonio, Texas; St. Louis and Kansas City, Mo.

It employs 1 General Organizer, 2 Assistant General Organizers, 1 Special Organizer, 1 Field Organizer, 1 General Secretary-Treasurer, 21 Organizers and representatives and 10 stenographers.

Its accounting and statistical work is done by the Labor Bureau, Inc., New York, N. Y.

Its money is banked in the Corn Exchange and Federation Banks and the Terminal Trust Company in New York, the Lincoln Bank in Chicago, the Omaha National Bank in Omaha, Neb., and in prominent banks in other cities.

Those handling its monies are bonded by the Fidelity and Casualty Company.

Its attorneys are Donald R. Richberg, Frank P. Walsh, Henry T. Hunt and C. Francis Stratford.

Its official organ is The Messenger.

It is supported by the dues and assessments paid by members; thus if the members do not pay their dues the whole structure falls.

LOS ANGELES DISTRICT

George S. Grant, Organizer

1315 E. 12th Street

The Porters of Los Angeles District held a huge mass meeting upon Mr. Randolph's arrival in that city. The new Lincoln Theatre, which is the last word in fire-proof theatre construction and which has a seating capacity of two thousand, was crowded to hear the General Organizer, Sunday, October 2nd. On Tuesday, October 4th, a dance was given in honor of Mr. Randolph and Mr. Totten at the Lawrence Dance Studio and was an overwhelming success. Mr. Randolph delivered several lectures while in this city, one of them before the student body of the University of California on Monday, October 3rd, and (another at Pomona College tentative). He was also entertained at a reception given by the women of the Economic Council and at a breakfast given by the Presidents' Council of the Federated Women's Clubs. These affairs, together with four membership meetings, kept the General Organizer and the Assistant General Organizer very busy during their week's stay in Los Angeles.

Brotherhood Members, Attention!

The Brotherhood has sent out a book of gifts to every member of the organization in connection with the Emergency and Welfare Fund Campaign. Every member will receive his choice FREE of any article in the catalogue for disposing of one of these books. It is earnestly requested that the members call for more books and enlist the members of his family and friends to dispose of books.

By special arrangements with the manufacturers a superior line of gifts has been secured for this drive. The slogan has been adopted "At least one book will be sold by every member of the Brotherhood." Those members who have already sold a book are loud in their praise of the wonderful gifts they have received.

A Special Headquarters for the campaign has been opened at Nos. 67-69 West 125th Street, Room 40, New York, N. Y., where all money will be turned in and premiums will be given out. Those members outside of New York will receive their gifts by express, all charges paid.

CHICAGO DISTRICT

M. P. Webster, Organizer

George Clark, Secretary-Treasurer

Headquarters, 224 East Pershing Road

At the meetings of the Chicago Division during the last two weeks, every available bit of space was occupied by the Brotherhood members, anxious to get the latest developments.

Membership of the Chicago Division has increased at the rate of one new member per day. The latest check-up shows a total membership for the Division of well over 1.400 men.

The news of the filing of the Brotherhood's case with the Interstate Commerce Commission and subsequent action of the Commission was very joyfully received by the Chicago membership, as well as visiting Brotherhood men from foreign districts.

Since these events have happened, every member smiles as soon as he comes in the door.

Every daily newspaper in Chicago carried an account of the filing of the Brotherhood's case with the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is rather interesting to note that not a colored paper in Chicago mentioned this fact. Apparently, nothing about the Brotherhood is considered good news by the local brethren of the press, unless it is unfavorable. Fortunately, the back door editors have spent their strength.

Clippings received at Local Headquarters from out-of-town papers show that most of the Southern newspapers are writing some strong and favorable editorials on the Brotherhood's fight.

The Ladies' Auxiliary of this Division had a very enthusiastic meeting September 8th, at Division Headquarters. About forty women were in attendance. A Reorganization Committee was appointed and plans made to carry on the work of the Colored Women's Economic Council on a more comprehensive basis.

The Local Organizer was presented with a wonder photograph of Dad Moore. It portrayed Dad in one of his "fighting moods." It has been framed and placed in a conspicuous place in our meeting room.

Special field committees have been organized by the Chicago membership. There is a committee in each of the fifteen railroad yards in Chicago, under the head of a captain. Although still young, the committees are getting good results.

The most enthusiastic reports are being brought into local headquarters by men from the West, on meetings being held by Brothers Randolph and Totten on their Western tour.

The Organization Committee has completed plans for the formation of a Credit Union in the Chicago Division. We expect to be ready to do business at a very early date.

A group of students from the universities surrounding Chicago visited the Brotherhood Headquarters Saturday afternoon, October first. They were addressed by the Local Organizer on "The Growth, Object, Scope and Purpose of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters."

Just as these items were completed, we received a pamphlet, apparently circulated by the champion "has been" of colored Railroad Men's Organizations. It contains the same old bunk about the insincerity of Brotherhood leaders, and the regular stool-pigeon stock arguments about the plan, etc. Those of us in Chicago who know this "old boy" and tried to make him a success and loaned him money when he was hard up, are glad to see him inject a bit of humor into the situation, and believe it is just another attempt to get another new winter overcoat.

There has been national interest displayed by Brotherhood members in this monthly resumé of the activities of their union. In order to be sure to get the authentic news each month, hundreds of members are subscribing to THE MESSENGER at $1 a year.

* * * *

WATCH FOR THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BROTHERHOOD'S BIG MASS MEETING IN CHICAGO

Young Black Joe

(*Continued from page 333*)

random: "I rather be daid in six feet o' clay" which should be "I'd rather be dead *'neath* six feet of clay." "No one to pay my bail"; it ought to be "*Nobody* to pay my bail." "Thursday I was tried" for the stronger "Thursday they tried me." "Bandit" for *bad man*, "ill" for *sick* and "coon" where a Negro would say either *nigger* or just *man*. In these comparisons it will be noted that the text employs thin words that incline toward the abstract while the words suggested are fuller and heavier—words able to catch a sound and hold it. At the same time they lean close to the concrete, which is a distinguishing trait of Negro thought.

To me the most interesting part of the book is the section devoted to folk minstrel songs, but here the authors have compounded the fault of inaccurate transcription by printing inferior and corrupt versions of the songs when they could have easily obtained better ones. Their "Good Evening, Mr. Epting" is actually banal when compared with the original "Good Evening Miss Epps" which I remember as far back as 1908. In "Raise a Rukus Tonight" the third line of the chorus should read "Come along down by the riverside"; out side of that specimen A is all right, but it would be better if the law would let them print the rabelaisian verses. But specimen B of the same song has been confused with "Way Down Yonder in the Cornfield," a short harmony of sufficient merit to stand on its own. "Wring Jing Had a Little Ding" is a corrupt mixture of "Raise A Rukus Tonight" and another and more modern song called—well let us say it was called "I Want A Little Loving," only they didn't sing it "loving" back in 1908. It was arranged in couplets which were sung in connection with the short refrain, "I want a little loving." Here is a sample:

Loving once, loving twice,
Oh, My God that loving was nice.

I want a little loving so bad,
I want a little loving I never had.

Wear my dresses to my knees,
Give my loving to who I please.

I want a little loving so bad,
I want a little loving I never had.

If I live to see next fall
I ain't going to wear no drawers at all.

I want a little loving so bad,
I want a little loving I never had.

These alley songs of ours have certainly contributed their share to the increasing Restoration spirit so noticeable in American life.

Perhaps the authors deliberately excluded well known songs from their book, preferring to devote the space to saving some almost vanished ditty from extinction; still I cannot help regretting the absence of "I Don't Bother Work," a little beauty which many a Negro, wringing wet with sweat and twirling a pick over his head, had sung with great gusto. I miss, too, "To Be a Deacon in My Church" and "She Told Me Not to Be A Soldier." The first two songs are clean enough to be included in a Methodist hymn book, but the third, I'm glad to say, is not. All three are splendid harmonies. Most of all I miss that supreme classic of rabelaisian folk songs, "Uncle Bud." But the authors are not to be blamed for excluding that glorious ballad.

Mr. W. H. Des Verney, Assistant General Organizer, writes in:

Dear Mr. Schuyler:

Tomorrow will find me in Richmond for at least three weeks or more just according to how the men line up, I landed all but five here in Norfolk, and I think the organization will be better off with these men outside. Last week I spoke at the Booker Washington High School two days; first to Seniors, then to Juniors. . . The Longshoremen are well organized here and these men get the same wage as they do in New York. I spoke to them the first week after I landed.

You never forget your place here as there are signs always to remind you everybody is white but Negroes. I don't care how fair they come they are colored, yet the Greek, Jew, Chinaman and Japanese all sit up front and look back at you.

With regards to all, I am, etc.

Norfolk, Va. W. H. DES VERNEY.
October 6, 1927.

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of the operatic masterpieces. The so-called idiom of the Negro spiritual and Negro labor songs abound in material for sonatas, string quartettes and symphonies. Study for a moment what Rimsky-Korsakoff and Tschaikowsky did with like material in Russian folk lore. Let us ask ourselves honestly and frankly if within at least sixty years a dozen out of twelve million Negroes should not have produced something worth while in these larger forms of creative work? If this lack of original work is caused by economic conditions, how are these to be remedied?

For the present period the Negro's acquisition of wealth has increased in an amazing degree. At what time are we to begin to think seriously of creating the social and economic environment which will best enable the gifted Negro boy or girl to acquire musical technique and to crystallize in song the imaginings, the surging emotion and the inhibited ambitions of a submerged race. The so-called "New Negro" has awakened to a powerful race consciousness. Is it not now high time that our men of some wealth contribute to this development? May we not create a "Fontainebleau" or hope that some Negroes of wealth will express a devotion for music akin to that of Julliard who left $20,000,000 for musical training of Americans?

The recent decision of the judges in the Harmon Foundation Awards that no Negro was found whose efforts warranted an award in the field of music was, to the mind of the writer, a terrible arraignment of our boasted musical achievement. White philanthropists are too busy aiding their own budding geniuses to give serious consideration to their Negro brother. The papers are full of the search for the great American genius of lighter hue. (It is fair to state that the National Association of Negro Musicians is trying to help their own along this line, but in a small way. One other case but that of a white philanthropist, is the assistance which George Foster Peabody is giving to Ballanta Taylor, the African.) A splendid example for us to follow is that of the American Jew who, not only makes it a religious duty to seek out the exceptionally talented members of his race, but sees to it that they get the best possible training and in many cases launches them upon successful careers and the world knows the result.

Ruskin said, "Great Nations write their autobiography in three manuscripts; the book of their words, the book of their deeds and the book of their art. Not one of these books can be understood unless we read the other two, but of the three, the only one quite trustworthy is the last. The acts of a nation may be triumphant by its good fortune, and its words mighty by the genius of a few of its children, but its arts can be supreme only by the general gifts and common sympathies of the race." What are we going to do about it?

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Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Holds Meetings Weekly

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All Meetings Begin Promptly at 9 P.M.

It is the duty of every porter and maid to attend these meetings and avail themselves of the privilege of hearing A. Philip Randolph and the other brilliant speakers who are guests of the Brotherhood from time to time.

If you want to know what the Brotherhood is doing and why it is doing it, you must attend these meetings.

At these meetings there are facilities for the payment and collection of dues and the issuance of membership cards. THE MESSENGER, official organ of the Brotherhood, is always on sale.

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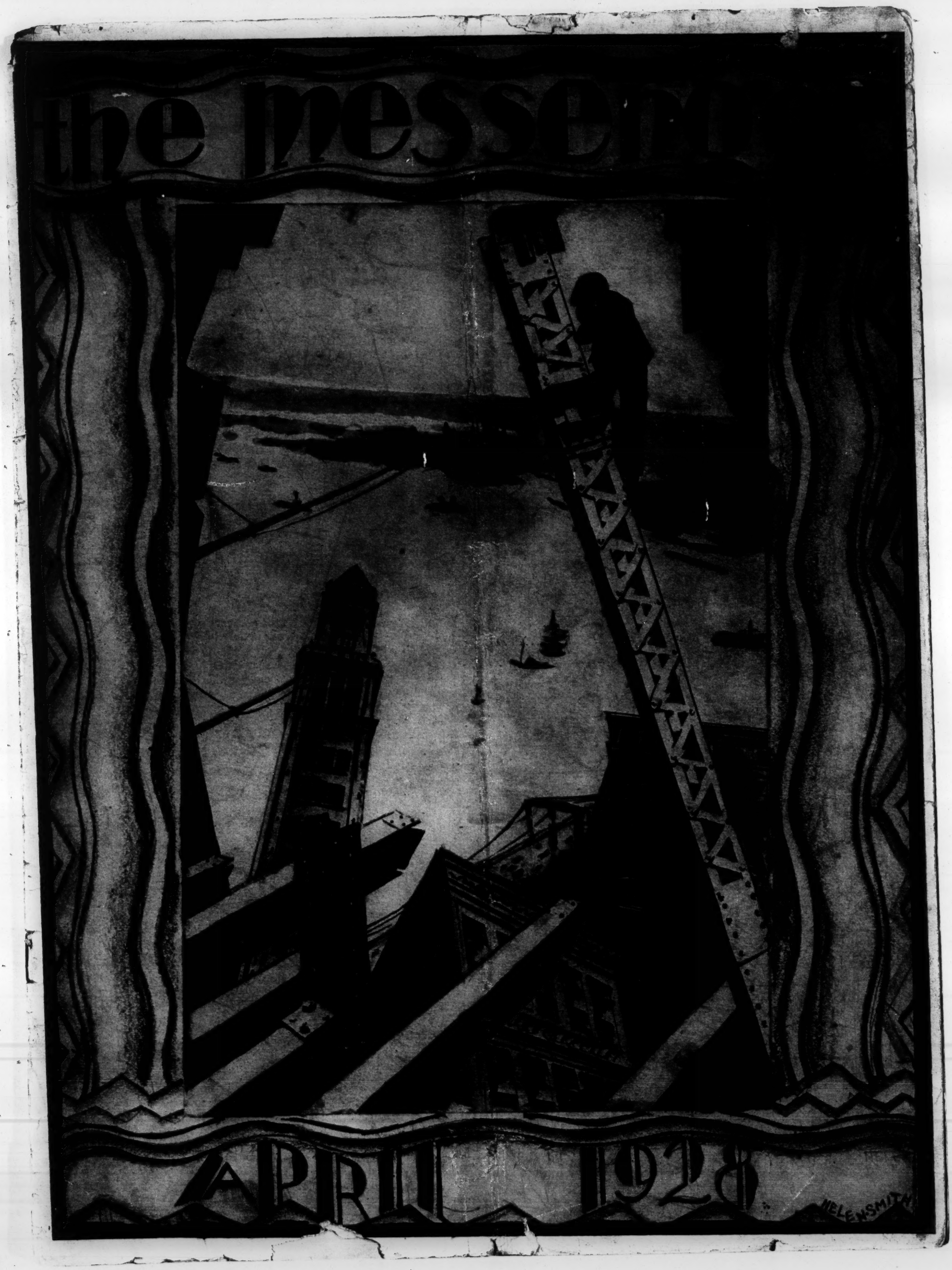
the messen
APRIL 1928
HELEN SMITH

Founded in 1917

The Messenger

New Opinion of the New Negro

Editors:
A. Philip Randolph
Chandler Owen

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George S. Schuyler

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THE MESSENGER is the recognized mouthpiece of the more advanced section of the Negro group in the United States. For ten years it has spoken intelligently and eloquently in behalf of organization of labor, white as well as black, believing, as it does, that the questions of wages, hours of work, safeguards on the job and proper representation of the worker, are the most important items confronting the majority of the men and women, white as well as black, in the United States. For two years it has been the official organ of The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters whose organization it espoused and whose battles it has consistently fought.

Announcing

THE

James E. Shepard Awards

For Negro Children's Art

At the suggestion of THE MESSENGER, Dr. James E. Shepard, President of The North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham, N. C., Chairman of the Durham Stock-Taking and Fact-Finding Conference, and one of the outstanding Negro leaders in the United States, is sponsoring a monthly award of valuable books on Negro history and achievement to Negro school children who submit each month the best work in drawing and water colors. Altogether there are eight prizes, four for water colors and four for drawings, all carrying awards of equal value.

THE MESSENGER is handling the contest, judging the work submitted, making the monthly awards and reproducing in its pages the art work of the winners. Over 5,000 Negro schools, mainly in the South, and all newspapers, Young Men's and Women's Christian Associations, and other agencies, have been notified and are urged to cooperate in this effort to stimulate the artistic spark in Negro youth.

The Awards

For each of the FOUR best Drawings submitted—One Copy of "The Negro in Our History" by Carter G. Woodson, and THE MESSENGER for One Year.

For each of the FOUR best Water Colors submitted—One Copy of "The Negro in Our History" by Carter G. Woodson, and THE MESSENGER for One Year.

Rules

1. All art work should have the name of the pupil written on the back, also the name of his teacher and the name and address of the school.
2. A border of at least two inches should be left all around the work. Drawings and Water Colors should be mounted on stiff cardboard and *MAILED FLAT*.
3. No work will be returned unless accompanied by stamped and self-addressed container.
4. The contest will last during the three remaining months of the school term—April, May and June, and the winning art work will be announced and reproduced in the May, June and July numbers of THE MESSENGER.
5. Entrants for April must arrive at THE MESSENGER office not later than April First, 1928; those for May not later than May First, 1928, and those for June not later than June First.
6. All work must be addressed to: "The Children's Art Editor," THE MESSENGER, 2311 Seventh Avenue, New York.
7. Contest is open to all Negro children in the Grammar and High School grades, either in public or private schools.

The Messenger

New Opinion of the New Negro

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CAN NEGRO BUSINESS SURVIVE?

BY THOMAS L. DABNEY

Graduate of Virginia Union University and Brookwood Labor College, Member of The American Negro Labor Congress and Recent Visitor to Russia.

There has been more boosting of Negro business within the past ten years, perhaps than at any other time since the emancipation. The prosperity psychology popularized by President Coolidge is being extended by Negro business groups throughout the nation. Major R. R. Wright, president of the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Co. and president of the National Negro Bankers Association is promoting prosperity psychology among Negroes. The Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity conducts an annual "Bigger and Better Negro Business" week to stimulate interest among the youth of the race in Negro business. Negro newspapers and magazines are carrying more articles on Negro business at the present time than ever before in the history of the race. Prizes and awards once limited largely to artists and educators are now being offered to successful Negro business men. Throughout the nation there is a tendency to hold up Negro business men as examples worthy of admiration and emulation.

This boosting of Negro business since the world war is explicable in terms of the increased race consciousness of the Negro and his desire to be independent and self-supporting as a group. This is the psychology of the matter. Deeper and more potent than this, however, is the fact that Negroes as a group are experiencing many hardships in the matter of securing employment. Many young Negroes who have prepared for positions in the business world find the door of opportunity closed to them. Realizing that this situation may be exploited as a means of popularizing business among the race, ambitious Negroes, who wish to accumulate wealth and achieve social distinction and power thereby, are turning to business as a career and profession.

The desire of the Negro to escape unemployment and poverty, on the one hand, and to provide positions for our high school and college graduates, on the other, is certainly a lofty one. The desire of the Negro to be independent and self supporting is also highly commendable. But the possibility of achieving these ends by means of Negro businesses on the profit basis is quite another matter. Aside from this consideration and more in line with the title of this article is the problem of establishing and maintaining Negro businesses as such.

The writer wishes to emphasize at the outset that the question of the survival of Negro business is not a racial question; it is an economic question. When a Negro fails in business, he does not fail because he is a Negro, anymore than he succeeds because he is a Negro. The failure of a Negro business, therefore, is not a count against the Negro as such, despite what prejudiced and ignorant persons may say.

Success or failure in Negro businesses is contingent upon the same economic and financial forces that are involved in the success or failure of white businesses. The average Negro's lack of business experience, of course, plays a part in his business failure. But over and above this factor are certain economic and financial forces which in the last analysis exert the determining influence on Negro businesses. To overlook these forces is to take a superficial view of the matter leading to an indictment of the race rather than an understanding of the problem in hand.

In order to discuss with intelligence the factors involved in Negro business one must have a fair grasp of the whole range of business and industry in America as related to the business world. Moreover, one must keep in mind the potent fact that 1928 is not 1828, and that business can not be established on mere desire and sentiment, however praiseworthy, but must be based on social need, on the one hand and the technical and economic development of society, on the other.

During the homesteader period of American history, any ambitious boy might reasonably hope to rise from a boot black to a millionaire, for there was ample room for the development and expansion of business. Competition in business, for the most part, was not keen. Moreover, if an ambitious man could not succeed in one line, there were many other undeveloped fields awaiting him. Or if chances were slim in one locality, he could easily move to another. The great undeveloped west offered almost unlimited opportunities in those days for the ambitious young business man.

What do we find today? How do the opportunities of the ambitious business man of 1928 compare with those of the sturdy hustler of 1828? In the first place the former faces an entirely different situation. He lives in a well developed country. He finds businesses of all kinds, in some cases overdeveloped, and well capitalized. To illustrate: Railroad development in America has reached its limit. Only in small, poor sections of the country can railroad lines be built, and it would require a larger capital to build lines in such sections. When this is done, therefore, it will have to be done by rich groups with ample capital at their disposal. Again the automobile industry has reached the point of marginal utility; it can be developed further only at a loss to the business interests—at the expense of profits. In fact the productive capacity of our automobile industry exceeds by far the demands of the market. The same is true of the textile, coal, steel, lumber and other industries. We are already producing or can easily produce as much of these commodities as the traffic will bear.

This is the age of mass production—of cartels, trusts, mergers, and gigantic combines. Buying and selling, retailing and wholesaling are being done more and more on the larger scale by means of chain stores. The order of the day in the business world is chain stores and nation-wide businesses of one kind or another. While this phase of business has not yet entered all fields of industry, the trend is a permanent part of the modern business world. Hence the field of the small business man has been limited; and competition among those who are thus forced to confine their businesses

within a small sphere is becoming ruthless and acute. It is needless to say that the majority of Negro business men fall in this group; and their difficulties and problems are the same as those of all others in the group.

While competition among small business men is growing more acute, it is being eliminated among large business concerns by combinations. Many small business men who will not take refuge in combination, or who for one reason or another, can not do so, go down defeated in the great struggle for survival. There is no alternative in the business dilemmas precipitated by economic forces. The small fry must accept death through business failure, or remain on the map through combination.

Another difficulty facing small business men is the fact that big concerns are continually encroaching on their territory. Chain retail stores have entered the fields once exclusively covered by small business men. Through mass production and large scale buying these concerns can sell at a lower rate than the average small concern and still reap huge profits. Unless he is favorably located, the average small business man can not hope to compete with these large concerns. These conditions add to the difficulties of all small concerns among Negroes.

Negroes operating small businesses in many cases must either accept failure or seek protection through combination. Through combinations some Negro businesses may succeed, but again this possibility is seriously limited due to the fact that larger concerns are already supplying the market with goods in which these concerns are dealing. To buy out certain concerns in order to eliminate competitors would require a greater outlay of capital than the average Negro business has. Of course credit is available for business ventures of this sort, but this can be secured only if sufficient and acceptable security is given. The average small business man can not produce sufficient security.

The fields of business which are farthest removed from the influence of combines and trusts and in which small concerns operated by Negroes have the best chance of development, are so few and of so little social value that the Negro can not hope to achieve the desired goal in such business lines. Barber shops, hair dressing parlors, peanut stands, boot black stands, restaurants, millinery shops, bakeries, laundries, cigar stands, newsstands, boarding houses and other small businesses in which Negroes are engaged, offer little relief for unemployment among the Negro masses. Neither do they begin to offer clerical positions for our high school and college graduates.

Many small Negro business men, limited within a narrow field as they are, still experience keen competition. Negro small business men like white small business men are always more or less up against the wall. Some are being forced out of business by larger concerns entering the retail business. *Bradstreet's Journal* listed 20,265 business failures for last year. These figures do not include failures among the smallest business men who began two or three years ago, and could never get well established.

In view of the foregoing facts the attempt to establish businesses among Negroes by an appeal to race pride and race consciousness amounts to little. The encouragement of thrift and economy among the race, while productive of good results, will not to any great extent benefit Negro business. Negroes like other people are influenced more by prices and convenience than by race in the matter of buying. This practice is dictated by every consideration of economics and finance. Hence the appeals to race pride, while strong and feelingful, give way sooner or later to financial and economic conditions of the consumer, no matter who he may be.

The problem of business development is practically the same for all undeveloped groups. None can hope to begin at the beginning and develop step by step according to the general industrial development of the human race. Each racial group must adjust itself to existing industrial conditions and enter into the business world at the present stage of the capitalist system. The foundation of the wealth of the various groups who hold the strategical positions in industry and business in America was laid during the pioneer and nationalization periods of American history. Although these groups and others have acquired vast fortunes within the last twenty-five years, it can not be successfully denied that most of these groups were able to accumulate their recent wealth in virtue of their fortuitous political position and power based on years of economic ascendancy.

The Negro has had neither sufficient political strength to secure favorable action and aid from the government in business ventures nor the advantageous economic conditions so favorable for the development of industry and business during the nationalization period of American history. While the Negro was fighting for the mere rudiments of an education, social justice and a livelihood as a free laborer, white groups who held political power were using the government to gain wealth, on the one hand, and to keep the Negro in a state of dependence and wage slavery on the other.

Having entered the business world when the most developed businesses are monopolized by other groups, the Negro must strive to penetrate into those fields of business which are most promising to newcomers or begin to establish businesses on an entirely new basis. As has already been shown, it is exceedingly hard for the small business man to achieve success in those lines which are now being entered by larger business concerns with unlimited capital at their disposal. This opening, therefore, offers very little in the main to the small concerns among Negroes.

The situation which spurs certain Negroes to strive for a business career is enough to arouse any thoughtful group to action. The Negro rightfully spurns the idea of being merely a consumer and a buyer. He yearns to become a producer and a seller. Of course, the Negro has always been a producer in the most important meaning of the term as a worker. But accepting the bourgeois meaning of the word, the Negro longs to be a producer of respectable rank. In other words the Negro wants to become an employer and owner.

The Negro section of many cities both north and south is interspersed with Jew retail stores usually dealing in groceries and dry goods. The Greeks, it seems, have a monopoly on the restaurants in Negro sections, and Italians fill in the odd places. Here and there are Chinese laundries, while Negroes concentrate more or less on barber shops, shoe repairing shops and hair dressing parlors.

The Negro has made some headway in the insurance business. Having a long historical background in secret and fraternal orders, the Negro has been able to establish successful businesses as adjuncts to such organizations. Here the denial of membership to Negroes on the part of white fraternal societies opened and necessitated the development of social organizations among the race. The success of Negro insurance companies like the Southern Aid Society, Victory Life Insurance Company, American Woodmen, and the North Carolina Mutual Association are due in part to the fact that encouragement was given to the ambitious Negroes to start such companies in virtue of the success of Negro fraternal societies.

Because fraternal organizations, insurance companies, and banks are largely today dependent upon the state of the basic industries, it is obvious that these businesses can not thrive unless industry in general is in a good condition. It is this underlying fact which sets limitations on the larger types of Negro businesses. This applies as well to white businesses.

Negro business is limited, therefore, in the first instance by all the forces inherent in the profit system as such and further by the unfavorable position which the Negro occupies in the business world. The last factor offers no final obstacle to the development of Negro business. It is a real factor and obstacle because it is related directly to the first factor. In other words, as the profit system evolves through combinations and trusts, businesses founded and operated on the old competitive basis are gradually eliminated. The Negro business man, being in many respects the weakest and the least experienced in business, finds himself pushed out of the business world or crushed by the great sweep of corporations and large chain stores.

The point of this article is that the idea that Negroes can escape unemployment, exploitation and poverty by building up a

(*Continued on page* 92)

Family

By Laura Tanne

My sister Mathilde is wed to a Norwegian carpenter;
Their babies are scoops of red fat lost in cream.
My brother met a young Jewish girl—
She drinks disillusionment like a good soldier.
Cousin Helen divorced an Irish Catholic who beat her—
Their brown-eyed boy justifies all murder and poetry.
My Swedish grandmother danced too long
With a Russian pedlar passing through the Dalarne forests—
Today her youngest girl dances in alleys of calumny's whispers.
They are good people . . .
That is why they locked me out,
Cast me out of home and refuge . . .
I love a Negro poet.

DEATH AND DIET

By HEBA JANNATH

What most impresses a newcomer to Harlem (or any urban Negro community) is the amazing frequency of funerals. In other sections of the city one's attention is only at rare intervals called to the sobering realization that life is uncertain and capricious but in Harlem one is almost daily presented with the thought. And the sudden deaths recently of such prominent Negroes as Florence Mills, Tiger Flowers, Hubert Harrison, James Randolph, Eloise Bibb Thompson and Henry F. Downing—with the exception of the latter all of them in the prime of life and individuals who from every point of view should have continued to enliven and ennoble the Human Drama—perhaps moves one to investigate the suspicion that has been gathering in one's mind. And the more one does look into it the more certain is one that public attention should be directed to the following facts:

Although the colored birthrate per 1000 is 107 as compared to 104 among the whites, the colored infant mortality rate is six per cent higher.

That is:

In 1917 to every 91 white infants to die at birth there were 151 colored.

In 1922 to every 73 white infants to die at birth there were 110 colored.

It is to be noted that there is a marked reduction in both races over this five year period and more of an improvement among the negroes than the whites—and certainly they need it.

Startling Comparisons

Did you know that at the age of twenty-two:

White males die at the rate of 4.97
And colored males at the rate of 13.04
White females at the rate of 5.37
And colored females at 10.73?
While at the mellow age of sixty-two they fall out at the rate of
White males 30.45
Colored males 48.71
White females 27.54
Colored females 50.21
Whereas the mean age at death for the last three decades
Was for white males 48, 50, and 54 years
As compared to 33, 34, and 41 for colored males
White females 51, 54, and 56
To colored 35, 38, and 42.

After seventy-five the Negro death rate becomes less than that of the white; apparently by this time everyone except those of herculean stamina has been eliminated. So if you have survived to this venerable age your chances for continuance not only equals but surpasses for the first time that of your white contemporary which isn't terribly encouraging inasmuch as the only satisfactions that remain to be enjoyed at this period are boasting about your longevity and attending the funerals of your friends. I have noticed that in most southern sections the oldest person in the country is usually not a white but a Negro. Having a more formidable gauntlet of destructive powers to run his survival is a distinct achievement in endurance and suggests the fact that were all things equal he would be a better physiological machine than the paler citizen. And indeed this is the conclusion drawn by medical authorities from military examinations of both races for the draft. 31.74 per cent of the Negro registrants were accepted for full military service as against only 26.84 per cent of the whites examined. And according to a report that appeared in the Journal of the American Medical Association for May, 1919, the Negro is constitutionally the superior of the white man having better eyes, a more resistant skin, more stable nerves and better metabolism. Now, in view of these facts how is it then that the average Negro enjoys fifteen years less of life than his not nearly so well equipped white neighbor? This difference is laid to bad sanitation and undernourishment with the former stressed, but to my mind undernourishment is far more to be feared than dirty back yards and lack of proper household plumbing, for undernourishment signifies physical uncleanliness and faulty body sewerage. But it is a characteristic of today to emphasize outer rather than inner qualities, to be concerned with the appearances rather than actualities of things. The philosophy of an age colors all of its activities and for the same reason that we believe politicians can cure social evils we believe physicians can cure bodily ones. We rush to the polls and to the pharmacy and try to solve our problems with legislation and laxatives. We argue from the outside in rather than from the inside out and this has its advantages but also its disadvantages. It has given us clean streets and private bathrooms; it has given us Democracy and Wage Slavery and the Germ Theory, the greatest hoax the Human Race has ever fallen for, and this is saying a lot. These comparisons may seem extraneous to an article on health but they are not for the reason that we approach the subject of disease today from the same angle as we do trade or transportation and herein lies our error. We are given to believe that if machinery can facilitate the cultivation of the soil, move cargoes swiftly and safely from place to place and erect great edifices, mechanical aid can with the same fine result be applied to digestion, assimilation and body building. We think that because we can dynamite a mountain that interferes with the traffic of a city and haul it off we can with equal gain remove an appendix, or a tonsil or a tooth and improve our working order. We forget that we are dealing in entirely different mediums.

Germs: The Evil Spirits of Today

With all our boasted scientific progress in medicine we are no more sound in the deduction that because certain germs are present during a disease that they are of necessity the *cause* of it than the magic association of ideas which leads an Australian Bushman to believe that his fever is the result of a spell that has been cast upon him by an enemy or to assume that because he has come under the power of the Evil Eye any physical pain he thereafter suffers is due to it. To believe we are the victims of malignant germs and to gravely drink potions concocted for us in mysterious secrecy by white coated alchemists to drive them out is on the same level of intelligence with the sick native who hastens to his medicine man when he is ill to have his evil spirits cast out. Tuberculosis, the disease that has been most intensely studied, talked and written about, and which is said to be the work of tubercle bacilli "caught" through infection—that is, as we parade the avenue or sit in the subway invisible swarms of these deadly Germ-Devils are supposed to pounce hungrily into our mouths or fly craftily up our nostrils and the battle of death is on. But twenty-five years of research does not at all prove this to be the case. (See the Tuberculosis Game by Maurice Fishberg in the February *American Mercury*.) "No responsible investigator," says Mr. Fishberg, "has ever found living tubercle bacilli in street dust." And even in the rooms inhabited by coughing and expectorating consumptives germs were hardly ever found capable of infecting an animal. When, about five years ago, a German medical journal sent out a questionnaire to the most eminent authorities on this subject it was discovered to the general dismay that hardly one learned gentleman agreed with another on the mode of infection—the basis upon which the whole theory of disease rests.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

1. Why is the Negro death rate so much higher than the white?
2. How much do physicians know about sickness?
3. Is the Germ Theory of Disease a lot of bunk?
4. Have we really made medical advances?
5. Why do more people die in Winter?
6. How much is really known about Tuberculosis?
7. Should Pneumonia be aided or hindered?
8. Do most physicians' patients prefer dope to the truth—insist upon it?
9. Do you know how and what to eat?
10. Are you always giving part of your pay to the druggist?
11. How long can you stave off the undertaker?

In this article and those to follow the general public is given for the first time in this country, the truth about diet, disease and death, and their relation to each other.

Really, for your own good you cannot afford to neglect reading this and the subsequent articles.

Reading these articles can add many, many years to your life.

YOU may die next year because of your ignorance.

To quote Mr. Fishberg further: "In round numbers, only one out of ten people dies from tuberculosis, despite the fact that all the other nine have also been infected with tubercle bacilli . . . . in fact, it appears that actual tuberculosis disease is the exception rather than the rule after infection." Now, if one has no medical horn to blow nor professional "ethics" to maintain it ought not to be difficult to conclude from this that disease germs are not the cause but the result of certain bodily symptoms.

Modern Medical Advance Largely a Myth

We have had a lot of unctuous prating about the curbing of disease; the press is always carrying some long winded article about doctor So-and-so who has just discovered the cure for Cancer or Bright's disease or Syphilis, yet they continue to be on the increase. Such positive statements have news value and get space and everyone is eager to believe in them because optimism is a human failing and everyone wants a short cut to health as they want it to wealth. Hence there is a widespread belief that we are much healthier today than any of our ancestors ever were. Yet who do you know that has not something the matter with him? What has really happened is that we have had a decrease of one kind of disease and an increase of another due to change in habits. We have less tuberculosis and more diabetes; less malaria and more cancer; less typhoid fever and more syphilis; less acute diseases and more chronic ones. More people live to reach middle age, but this does not necessarily mean that as a whole we are healthier; certainly we have a greater percentage of hospitals today and more doctors than ever before and they're not here for looks or love. Plagues have been partially done away with—or more accurately they have been run under cover. Certainly each winter the country suffers an epidemic of influenza which is just another nicer way of saying plague. However, the greater diversity of occupation in modern life and the abundance and variety of foodstuffs prevent symptoms from concentrating in a single form and sweeping an entire population. Plagues in the past can always be laid to improper diet and always occurred after a war or during periods of drought or crop failure; that is famine and plague have always gone hand in hand. To say that Smallpox swept a city is of course inaccurate for it presupposes some malignant external force swooping down from nowhere to prey upon innocent human flesh and then again disappearing into nowhere. The more rational explanation is that a large number of human beings who have been eating the same thing and living the same way have in consequence gotten their bodies in very nearly the same state of ill health, exactly as a dose of strychnine given to a hundred people will have a more or less uniform effect, they succumb at more or less the same time. Also there is a psychological basis for an epidemic, seeing others capitulate and being full of poisons which the body is eager to dispel, our mental resistance to sickness is both prodded and placated and we "take ill." That the physical condition and not the fierceness of the presumably attacking germ is the root of the malady is proved by the fact that many people remain immune during an epidemic either because they have had a more healthy heredity or have access to better food or because they are already suffering from some chronic form of disease. This brings us to the difference between an acute and a chronic state of ill health. It may truthfully be said that there is no such thing as perfect health today nor for that matter probably has been since the human race first built cities and lived together in large numbers. However, there are varying degrees of health.

The Benevolent Theory of Disease

It is now believed by an increasingly large group of scientific observers that acute disease is the valiant effort of a moderately healthy body to throw off the accumulated poisons in the system. Therefore, that the attitude to adopt toward sudden sickness should not be one of fear but rather of cheerful patience—if your body has strength enough to throw off its poisons, recovery will be an easy matter if left alone and when the discharge is over you will enjoy much better health. And this elimination through the skin and lungs whether it be in the form of smallpox or pneumonia should be aided not hindered. Whereas under the medical hypothesis it is assumed that the body is being attacked from the outside and that everything should be done toward putting the enemy to flight and stemming the process of disease. If you have a breaking out of the skin medicine is applied to dry it up; if a gland like the appendix or the tonsils is inflamed it is blithely whacked off in the belief that the camp of the enemy is being destroyed. With the same reasoning they might cut your nose off because you have a cold and if it wasn't such a decorative organ—for even the worst nose is better than no nose at all—some energetic young medicine man would undoubtedly have long ago proclaimed nose amputation as the only sure way of avoiding colds. And this is just as reasonable as the present custom of extracting neuralgic teeth in order to keep them from poisoning the system. (Compare this to the vogue in the 18th Century of bloodletting.) A pain in the tooth or an abcess at its root is evidence of a general and not a specific toxic condition and pulling out your only set of teeth is not going to remedy the situation one whit but it's going to make you a lot less easy to look at. The successful checking or frustration of an acute attack of disease results either in sudden death or in creating a chronic state of ill health. The overflow of mucus which has been concentrated for elimination is balked and if the patient does not literally drown in his own humours some form of chronic catarrh is the aftermath; that is, there is an ineffectual daily dribble of poisons out of the system. If statistics reveal anything it is that although there are less deaths from acute disease today, chronic disease is on the increase. This seems to mean that the checking devices now used are on the whole less drastic than even twenty years ago, for in spite of theory intelligent innovations in diet are being prescribed by physicians everywhere. Though there are many who still seriously, or at least gravely, prescribe alocohol as a system "toner." The gradual filtration of food knowledge even into the ranks of those who trade in sickness is probably at the bottom of the general increase in life expectation; among Negroes it was thirty per cent greater in 1922 than in 1910, among whites twenty-two per cent. But as previously stated this need not mean that we are more healthy. This increased but uncomfortable longevity is very profitable to the insurance companies, to the drug manufacturers, to the physicians, but not to the race nor probably to the individual. Though I suppose that most of us would rather live in misery than completely cease to live. We owe the present increasing dissemination of food knowledge largely to the efforts of the insurance companies to whom individual longevity means money, at one time you could get absolutely nothing in the press that discredited even patent medicine advertisements and such a little thing as the mention of whole wheat bread was outlawed because the flour manufacturers feared a loss in business, but since the insurance companies are now more powerful than any food or drug group dietetics are coming into their own. And it is only a question of time till the country will begin to have a rational idea of what and what not to eat. Our conceptions of the subject are still vague. We believe that we should eat more fruit and less meat, but we don't know why. Some of us know enough to say "meat is toxic" and that floors most people into silence because it sounds so learned. The only reason why we should eat more fruit and less meat is because we usually eat fruit raw and meat cooked.

Food Heresy

It is too bad that the first people to flock to any new idea are as a rule misfits, inferiors, not superiors as they flatteringly assume, to existing conditions; and this gives onlookers the impression that the Idea is as unsound as its advocates. This is especially to be regretted in the field of health where new advances should be of greatest benefit to those worth saving, rather than to those who are already burnt out and are only alive on sufferance. But new modes of cure naturally attract those who are most in need of health and the crowd of unfit and low in spirit that swarms around all places of health culture is enough to shock and repel any nearly normal human being, and the conclusion jumped to is that if this is the effect of these new notions, one had best flee.

The individual who does not eat the orthodox menu is generally looked upon with suspicion and derision. Either his preferences are a reflection upon our own table habits, or—if we are adamant in our self-assurance—he is simply a fool. However, if he just announces that it is not because he wants to eat differently or to be original, but because it's "doctor's orders," all is forgiven and he regains his prestige. The psychology behind this reaction is interesting. The more civilized a country becomes the more decadent it grows for the reason that all natural external avenues of adventure are made unlawful and our craving for excitement and need of drama limits us to self-abuse. We cannot without immediate penalty destroy anything but ourselves. We can no longer exhibit our prowess in warfare, in hunting or in feats of endurance, but we can out-drink and out-eat each other, hence the profound respect with which the "hard-liver" is regarded and the secret contempt felt for the ascetic who is uncon-

(*Continued on page 92*)

SOME DISADVANTAGES OF BEING WHITE

BY A. H. GORDON

Professor of History, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C.

So common is the idea that it is a disadvantage to be a colored person, that it will doubtless seem surprising to our white friends and may even seem strange to our own colored people for us to announce that there are some disadvantages in being white in this country today. Nevertheless, this is a fact. The burden of our message today is to point out the absolute truthfulness of this rather unusual statement. Like the well known disadvantages of being colored, the less advertised disadvantages of being white also grow out of the fundamental injustice of race-prejudice.

Let us enumerate and explain some of these disadvantages that one experiences in our country today if he is too unfortunate as to be born white. Before we begin this enumeration, however, it is only fair to say that many individuals of the white race have escaped the disadvantages which we shall name.

The first great disadvantage of being white today, especially in America, is that it places one in a prejudiced environment and so makes it extremely difficult; in fact almost impossible for one to maintain the "scientific attitude" toward the facts of life whenever those facts touch the far-flung, complex ramifications of race relationships. The white man is unfortunate from this point of view in that he is completely surrounded by people and traditions, which forever prevent him from accepting the facts of life as they are, but compel him to twist the facts so as to bring them in accord with the views of the other white people. For example, take the question of the educational needs of the South.

In considering this question of the average white person must pass over common sense and scientific reasoning and arrive at the conclusion that most of the funds of the state should be spent for the "higher education" of the white people and very little for the same kind of education for the colored people. That this is actually being done can easily be seen by a study of the appropriations for Negro and white State Colleges in practically all the southern states. This injustice the white legislator must carry out to keep in harmony with the prejudices of his "Race." The result is that most white people in the South seem to have a perverted idea of the real meaning of democratic public education. So we see that to be born a white man is practically tantamount to being born an intellectual Slave!

This same prejudiced environment is the chief cause of many other limitations or disadvantages that the white people suffer in America today simply because of their unfortunate color. *It is unfortunate to be born white in America these modern days for the reason that it causes one to be limited in his opportunity to make friends.* The white man, simply because of his "bad luck" color is not allowed by the traditions of his white neighbors to make real friends among other people of different colors. He is not allowed to invite any one to dinner at his house unless he be white or of some other color determined by his neighbors. So, besides being an intellectual slave, one has his PERSONAL FREEDOM FOR WHICH HIS FATHERS FOUGHT TAKEN ruthlessly away from him simply because of the paleness of his skin.

Still another disadvantage of the white man is the habit his neighbors of like color have of limiting very definitely his knowledge and appreciation because he is white. For example, one of the greatest poets that ever lived in America, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, is little known and scarcely appreciated at all by white people in America simply because he was a Negro and according to their theory it would never do to recognize the Negro in the realm of the "Fine Arts." *It is a great pity that one's knowledge must be limited and his soul shriveled because his skin happens to be white.*

Furthermore, to be born white in these United States today is unfortunate because being white tends to develop in one bad or undesirable traits of character. For example, the average white person certainly has, or claims he has (which is just as bad) a totally wrong conception of personal worth: he thinks he is honorable *because he is* WHITE and so he develops a false pride and takes himself with a seriousness that is altogether out of proportion to his real worth to the human family. He is burdened down with an unnecessary responsibility.

It is also injurious to one's reputation to be born White. Especially is this true in a group sense. Certain groups of people in the world today, in some instances whole nations, have the "bad reputation" of being oppressors and despoilers of other peoples. Most of these despoilers of other peoples' wealth (as in China, Africa, Haiti, Nicaragua, etc.) are white. So if you are born white you inherit all the odium that these people have acquired.

Finally, to be born white is a misfortune to any one so ill-fated in that such a mishap places him in an artificial position which he can hold only by ignorance, injustice, prejudice and "racial superiority," with nothing but the bubble "color" to support him and there he sits "forever blowing bubbles." He sits there constantly fearing that the shelf will fall from beneath him and break his bubble. This fear is altogether justified. Hence to be born white means to live a life of fear and dissatisfaction, a life of blowing bubbles.

In short as it seems to us, it is little less than a calamity to be born white in America in the year of Our Lord nineteen hundred and twenty-eight. *It means that you are born an intellectual slave, ushered into the world to be presently robbed of your personal freedom in selecting your friends, harassed with the impossible burden of artificial racial worth, hampered by ignorance and lack of appreciation of the artistic and beautiful if it happens (as it often does) to be black, doomed to a futile life of fear motivated only by the gloomy hope of "blowing bubbles" of race superiority.* We are grateful that good fortune has spared us this mishap. And let us be patient and sympathetic with our white friends seeing that they labor in the face of a misfortune which doth so easily beset them here in the "Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave."

STICK TO YOUR POST AND WIN

By FRANK B. HOOD

Are you discouraged, my brother,
  Do obstacles stand in your way?
Are you longing for a brighter dawn,
  Wishing for a happier day?

Remember, as obstacles grow higher,
  They can never reach the sky;
Proceed with untiring energy,
  You'll succeed by and by.

Do friends pass by quickly,
  Is life a tedious race?
Are the buffeting winds of adversity
  Trying your patience, your grace?

Then try and try "much harder,"
  'Twill mean more in the end;
Hardships are not to discourage,
  Eventually you'll win.

Does the sun "set" too quickly,
  Is there a lack of precious Time?
Or, are you idly waiting to hear
  Fate's merry bells chime?

If the sun doth set, my brother,
  You need not in darkness grope;
Remember after "its setting,"
  May still shine the star of Hope.

So don't give up, my brother,
  Because of your now slow pace;
Remember 'tis not always the swiftest
  That win in Life's thrilling race.

BARRIERS

By LAURA TANNE

My dark boy, you have the gift of rest
When I am weary and sorely pressed
For rest and joy and dreams —
You are a bringer of tender laughs
Which ride the jeweled stars like uncrowned kings—
(Where shall I find sorrow that softly sings?)

When I go home to pale prejudice
I beat the walls for wild release
And weep until my voice bleeds—
For hunger and cold and Nordic whips
Lash my soul where your dreams were spent—
(Is it for us that passion prays its dolorous vent?)

HISTORY AND PROGRESS OF LIFE INSURANCE

Extracts from Address Delivered at Fisk University, December 5, 1927, by Dr. J. E. Walker, President National Negro Insurance Association

I have been looking at these upstanding young men and cultured young women, coming as they do from the most refined homes in different sections of the U. S. A. and my conclusions are that the development and destiny of the people are safe in their hands, for there is no doubt in my mind that Fisk University furnishes fertile soil in which to plant the seed of progress.

It is not the purpose of the National Negro Insurance Association to teach the practice and principle of Insurance, but to enlighten you on the History and Progress of Life Insurance.

The modern form of Life Insurance was introduced in England during the seventeenth century and gradually extended to the whole continent of Europe. Its development in Europe was gradual and it was the nineteenth century before it gained a foothold in America.

The economic condition of the United States and the popular prejudice against Life Insurance at first retarded its growth. The real beginning of modern Life Insurance in America dates from the organization of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York in 1843, which was quickly followed by the organization of other companies in different sections of the country. These organizations have attained proportions until they are today transacting business in every quarter of the globe and are the most important financial institutions in the land.

The oldest company owned and controlled by Negroes is less than thirty years old. The year 1912 was the first time an Old Line Legal Reserve Company was authorized by our people.

There is no safer and better managed business in this country than the business of Life Insurance. It is the most substantial in its organization, for it is practically free from the fear and perils of failure. It is the most modern in its operation for it substantiates the financial needs of human society. It is the most detail in its operation, because of the perpetual demand for the most intricate clerical system. It is the colossus of all organizations because it controls the finance of the world.

The Life Insurance business rests upon the disposition to work and save; it represents the protection of the American home, the responsibility of the bread-winner, the care of loved ones—wife and children.

The amount of Life Insurance carried by a people is an index to their commercial activity, an interpretation of their care for home. The people of the United States of America and Canada carry seventy-five per cent of the Insurance carried by all peoples of the world.

The Negroes of the United States carry more Insurance than the four hundred million Chinese in the Empire of China; more than the citizens of Austria and New Zealand; more than any of the republics of South America; therefore, the progress made by our people in commerce is substantial; however, the following outline will reveal that there is much work to be done by companies controlled by our people.

According to statistics the amount of insurance outstanding is eighty billions of dollars, with assets fourteen billions of dollars. Of the eighty billions of dollars in Life Insurance carried by the people of the United States of America, about two billions are carried on the lives of Negroes. Of the two billions carried on the lives of Negroes, less than three hundred millions are carried in companies owned and controlled by our people, or in other words, eighty-five percent of Negroes who carry insurance carry it with other than their own companies. A herculean task is before us because our people must be educated to the necessity of doing business with each other.

There are forty Negro companies, more or less, doing business in the United States. These companies are doing and must continue to do a legitimate insurance business, being supervised as they are by State Governments.

For your information I have made a comparative statement of the Negro companies as of December 31, 1920 and December 31, 1926.

	1920	1926
Gross Assets	$ 940,081	$ 11,170,000
Income	1,900,000	13,846,000
Surplus-Reserve	729,600	8,824,000
Insurance in force	5,360,000	245,000,000

From these figures you will note the wonderful growth made by our companies over a period of six years.

The insurance business is the largest reservoir of wealth that we have or the country has. In no other business and by no other acceptable agency can such a vast sum of money be pooled for the protection of a people against emergency, old age and death, and to render the many forms of constructive service in the paying off of mortgages, building of homes and giving decent and profitable employment.

A race must become economically self-sustaining and independent if it would enjoy the freedom guaranteed by the constitution of the United States. To become independent our dollars must be circulated in sufficient quantities within our own institutions that will give us strength and security. Life insurance as a profession is the peer of any. Its development for the past ten years is without parallel in any other line of business.

The life insurance companies controlled by our group gather up from over two million Negroes a little weekly, monthly, quarterly or annual premium and combine these little sums into great units of $300,000,000 in force carried by our companies. These sums are given back through the avenue of credit to help build a church, a school house or a factory to increase the deposits and reserves of our banks, to pay the mortgages from farms or build a home, everywhere stimulating enterprise and aiding Race development.

The result of the above accomplishment is carried on by a systematic effort of a sales force. Salesmanship is a great art as well as an asset. It is honorable as it is great. We are all salesmen. The president of a unversity sells his ideas to the faculty and students. Bankers sell courtesy to their customers. Insurance agents sell the benefit of protection to families.

The goods sold by insurance agents never grow stale, never depreciate in value, the market of which is never affected by the bluff of the bull nor the raid of the bear. Government bonds may depreciate and drop from 98 to 92, stock and other securities, no matter how good, may decline in value, but a policy contract, regardless of the size of the company, is always worth its face value. The man who buys a policy has a security that never declines, a security that never fluctuates.

The lesson taught by these companies that bring thousands of people into common action and common unity for their common good and common uplift is the lesson of thrift; is the lesson of individualism.

It is the aim of the National Negro Insurance Association to uphold and maintain the business of life insurance that it will render the greatest service to humanity and that it will open unlimited opportunities and numerous positions of self respect and honor for our girls and boys.

Roses and Thorns

By Ann Lawrence

The thorns in love's garden
How they do stick!
As we gather the roses
The thorns will prick.

All roses have thorns
Some have only one.
It pricks! in a moment
The hurt is done.

Oft' the rose we have given
The most tender care
Will bid us know
The thorn is there.

Roses and thorns grow
Not far apart,
They each have a place
In the human heart.

Then know while inhaling
Its fragrance at morn;
Though sweet, and I love you,
A rose has a thorn.

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. . . "G'LONG, OLD WHITE MAN'S GAL . . ."

"What youalls reckon. . . . what youalls reckon, now?" old Nancy Little, shriveled and black as an aged prune, had just entered Newman's drug store. Newman, himself, lolled against one of his counters and superintended the black "Sheik" of a fellow in clean white coat and apron who waited to serve Newman's customers. Couples were grouped around two of the little tables. A dark-eyed yellow Miss with her "company," a big shining black lout were perched on high stools at the soda fountain.

Old Nancy looked over her audience gloatingly. She was so little and thin that one wondered what had consumed her. Having attracted the attention of her audience, she walked over to the waiting sheik and mumblingly requested a fifty-cent box of stuff. This done she again inquired in her crackled old voice, "What youalls reckon?"

The audience, there was always one to be had at Newman's, obligingly shook its head and discreetly assimilated keen interest. They knew old Nancy.

"Well, I tells youall," Old Nancy spoke tantalizingly slow. "Some ol' white man's done willed that thar Mercy Kent ah fortune." Envy. It was so patent in her manner that one decided it was envy and envy alone that had eaten her up.

Silence ensued, a murky, smudgy silence in which evil thoughts could breed.

After a while, Newman, himself, condescended from his state of surveying boss to the extent of pooh-poohing old Nancy's statement. She wheeled on him like a startled cat, saying with vehement conviction, "I was right thar when the news come. She's got a legacy I tells youall. Some ol' white man's named her in his will 'n' everythin', and beque'thed Mercy Kent a good sized fortune."

"Uhuh, now what'd I tell yuh?" exclaimed the yellow Miss at the soda fountain.

"Pshaw," laughed her escort sneeringly. "Don't you 'spect I allus knowed it?"

"A leegacy?" inquired one from among the group at a table. "Say, sister, couldn't yuh be mistaken?"

"Humph! Don't youalls start that, young feller; whatever ol' Nancy talks 'bout she's either heerd it, see'd it, or smelt it. Ain't I done told youalls I was thar when the news come?" Here old Nancy dropped her belligerance and spoke confidingly. "Those fool Kents were so brazen they just lets me hear all on it. Some ol' man or nuther named Endlidge—Mr. Endlidge, Mis-ter Endlidge youalls understand done paid youalls high filutin' Miss Mercee Kent for a lots she's done, I reckon. Now youalls can take it or leave it. I done told what I knows. And if it's a lie, youall hear me, the mail what the postman brought and the envelope what was tore open and the paper what was took out the envelope and read right fore these here eyes and the words what these here ears of mine heerd, they's all done lied too."

Old Nancy took up her small packet from off the counter and dropped her fifty cent piece down with a clatter. She hobbled towards the door, then turned and came back. She was like a little black spider in the midst of them, weaving a web with which to catch flies. And the flies, see them, flies will always be caught. "Listen here, them Kents never let us know when this here started now it ain't for us to be runnin' after them when the things ended. I reckons youall know no white man's ain't ever left no black gal somethin' for nuthin'."

At old Nancy's departure the remaining coterie drew closer together.

"Whats I allus told yuh," were the words most rampant. At last, so they surmised, they had the clew to Mercy Kent's high-hat manners.

"Oh no, she don't go with nobody, Oh no, Oh no." All but chanted a slim youth who had been one of the many who felt it was worth Mercy's while to pay attention to himself.

"Deed, ain't this rich? But I allus suspected some such," drawled another.

"Oh brother, little pussy-cat done jumped out the bag."

"Its some reason for being so high and mighty, I'll say."

"It's your high sailing kite what gits tangled up in the telegraph wires."

"That's cold, feller, nuthing but bombs explode."

"Go way, Bud, this here is one of Lindy's planes that's gone and punctured her wings."

"Say, I heerd th' crash."

"Didja?"

Old Nancy hobbled along with unwonted speed. Soon, she reached Brothels, the green grocers'. Pete Brothel the proprietor was a fat, pig-eyed, greasy, salacious gentleman of color. He hailed Nancy's gossip with loud-mouthed laughter that made his fat shoulders billow and shake. "Well yes," he ejaculated, "Well yes."

"So the bile's busted right in th' ol' hen. . . . well yes." He leaned far over a fruit stall to wag a pudgy finger in old Nancy's face, then he winked an eye meaningly and slipped a slobbery tongue around his lips by way of preparing for further discourse. A necessary but an inopportune and transient customer came in, whereupon old Nancy having other places to go darted out, grimacing with unctuous satisfaction as she went for she knew that greasy Pete would do his bit towards spreading the gossip after his own foul fashion.

The Kents were not popular among their neighbors, for Welsh street demanded free and easy manners of all its habitues. It welcomed display; it encouraged ostentation, it lauded opulence; but it fully and decidedly resented and denounced what it called, "Airs."

Long since, the Welsh streeters had attached "Airs" to the name of Kents. The Kents lived in the white and green cottage at the end of the street. White and green mind you, when all the other nondescript houses on Welsh were drab greys and ugly duns. There were many grievances piled onto the account that was stacked against them such as screened doors and windows and of all unheard of airs a screened-in back porch. Neat flower beds in their front yard, and not a singly scraggly chicken to peck a livelihood at their back door, and when all the neighborhood youngsters had wallowed at will in the dusty street the Kent young one in stiffly starched gingham and ribbon bows in her hair had spent her time among the flower beds, playing 'a'leery' with her rubber ball or mimicking grown-ups with her dolls and china tea-set. Or 'airs' untold, Sarah Kent, mother, the unpardonably guilty one with her 'yaller' face and straight hair had taken the small though albeit stout and stumpy Mercy by the hand and gone off walking, strutting scandalously down the length of Welsh street, looking neither to the right or to the left but dividing her attention between her small daughter who clung to one hand and to the gay red parasol which she held carefully over herself with the other.

The neighbors said it was because she feared black; they joshed each other about it, and declared that they could mark the seasons by watching Sarah Kent for all summer long, the red parasol, and when the shrill winds blew, Sarah left off the parasol and adopted veils to shield her complexion.

When grown older, Mercy went off to

A NEGRO SPEAKS

I count it quite a fruitless task,
This search of mine for eulogies,
I scan the news but all I find
About my folk are words like these:

ATTACKED!
(a negro,—burly, leering),

A THUG!
(aye, bold and dark appearing)

A BURGLARY!
(you presuppose the thief was black as were his clothes).

But rant, ye bards, your banal phrases
Score no victory for you,
Nor does your poisoned diction sear
My heart, as you would have it do.
Bale calumnies can tarnish not,
O biased horde of shallow scribes
The purity of inner me
That neath this tawny skin abides.
On ears that do not deign to hear
Your sullies fall, and, captious men
Know ye that just one stain is made—
Upon the hand that grasps the pen.
In vain your simian similies!
Chide not thy eye, remove the mote
And know the precious Perian Spring
Has cooled my ertswhile burning throat.
So rant on, scribes, but uselessly,
For me and mine are long immune,
I smile,—it does me good to know
The cub you'd tame has grown too soon.....

school, and upon her return the Welsh street youths had never quite dared to approach her. True, they delighted to group themselves on the corner and look her over. The more intrepid ones made remarks at ear-shot distances, but something in Mercy's manner piqued them. They couldn't say that she did not notice them, because she did. She looked at them impersonally from wide-set eyes with a cool tolerant stare that ruffled them amazedly, nor could they explain just how she made them feel except by shrug of shoulder and disgruntled 'humph'.

Old John Kent, father, had been employed up town for a good many years—" 'snooping' 'round Buckram white-folks," Welsh street said. How-be-it, he earned enough to foot the bills for all the 'airs' his folks put on. He had grown old in the performance of simple service; he had aided any fellow-man who needed his assistance. To him, it had seemed neither strange or unfitting to reach out a helping hand to Pat Endlidge when Endlidge, a white man, had slumped beneath successive loads of hard-luck. He had considered Endlidge's fervent promises to pay back, double fold just so much chaff threshed out from his field of fertile service. Moreover, as for being paid, Old Kent imagined that his white and green cottage, his flower-beds, and his women-folk were recompense enough for anything he had ever done or might ever do. To partake of one of Sarah's dinners after a hard day's work; to sit back, deep in his old arm-chair, listening to Mercy's tinkling touch upon the piano keys. He had long thought that he wished for nothing else.

Then like a long-in-coming boomerang, a letter bringing the information that Patrick Endlidge after twenty-five years had kept his promise. It was something to thank God for and to be proud of. It proved many things which had smouldered down in the red glow of kindliness in old Kent's heart:—that now and then, white folks did remember the hand that fed. . . . that bread cast on the water does come back. . . . that the righteous—not that he set himself up as being so righteous, but he tried to be—was never forsaken and his seed would never beg.

"God a' mighty, God a' mighty. . . . now Mercy need not beg!" Like a revelation it came to him, that all along he had wanted money, money, money, that all along he had been worrying over what he was going to leave behind for Mercy. He thought with warming chuckles of delight how Patrick Endlidge had put one over on him, repaid home one thousand-fold. A gift to himself would have been alright, but no, old Endlidge, the crook, had reached further than that. He had given to Mercy, his child, his little old gal, his Mercy.

There was rejoicing within the little white and green cottage, the sort of joy that bubbles over the rim and splashes down the sides, and makes little puddles about the bottom of the bucket and eventually forms into little rivulets to run here and there and everywhere.

The Kents thought gleefully that it had been propitious that old Nancy the neighborhood gossip had been there to share their news. They wondered in innocent merriment what folks would say. . . .

Sarah who had secretly bemoaned that her daughter Mercy at twenty-eight was yet unmarried, immediately re-lit her hopes. Money—how sweet the thought—would conceal her daughter's shortcomings like smoke does flame. Who could care now, that Miss Mercy Kent was a roly-poly, that her features were blunt, and her complexion swart or that her none too luxuriant hair was stubby and kinky, and that Mercy for all her usual good-nature was too stubborn or too lazy—Sarah could not decide which—to resort to cosmetics or to submit to the hair-dresser's art of pressing her crinkly locks into rigid straightness.

From the instant, that she knew of her 'luck' Mercy had been in a dream, a veritable daze of pleasure that enwrapped her. To think of having more money than she had ever imagined. To think she could go places, some place, maybe, that would be more friendlier towards her than Welsh street. Yes, they would all go, go somewhere and start all over. No. That could not be; it would break her parent's heart to pull up and leave this spot of their choice. It was funny, she thought, how black people became rooted to the soil like stumps, and besides, her father and mother were old, so old, they did not sense their neighbor's hostility or perhaps they had grown hardened to it. Leastway, they did not mind the ostracism which Welsh street levelled upon them. Although—her sudden good fortune was softening her heart—perhaps, she herself was too critical of Welsh street. She would stay, that's what she would, among these people whom she had always known. Stay among them and spend her wealth with them and on them and for them. They were her people, she too was a stump rooted in this soil. .

Unnoticed by either Sarah or John, she slipped out of the house. She wanted to walk, an urge beset her to wander among the old familiar surroundings of Welsh street with its ramshackle houses, and its wallowing youngsters, and its idling youths, and its loitering grown-ups. She went briskly in the rolling gait that was hers. Her heavy breasts jostling with each step, her hips rippling beneath the folds of her skirt, her trim ankles and small feet catching the eye almost forcibly. Though she was unaware of it, her head sat at a haughty angle, and bobbed slightly as she walked as the head of a spirited horse does.

She was thinking about the money that would be hers, when some unkempt youngsters suddenly sprang up before her and scudded away. She laughed at their sudden flight, never once, suspecting that she was the cause of it, and instantly decided that it would be nice to use some of her legacy to build a play-ground for the youngsters on Welsh street. Supposing, so ran her thoughts, she would take in that vacant lot out by Simmons, and fix it up, swings, and slides, and. . . .

Of a sudden, she was aware of Newman's, and as usual, it swarmed with black folk. A victrola screeched 'blues.' Mercy could see into the store, and across to the soda-fountain as she approached. Two couples sat before the counter smirking at her disdainfully. As she drew in front of the entrance, a slim black youth in spotless attire sauntered out, rudely crossing before her, and without lifting his cap, he met her eye fully, and spat.

Above the waves of laughter that rushed at her, loud flung words srtuck her, sinking like lead in deep water, down, down into her heart. . . . "G'long ol' white man's gal."

Instinctively, Mercy's chin lifted, and her head bobbed a trifle faster, the rippling of her hips beneath her skirts became a bit more marked just for the interval of her passage before Newman's. Then, as she reached the corner, she staggered like a wounded beast, fighting to stand on her feet, fought desperately, before plunging headlong down the street for the haven of a white and green cottage.

Dear Mr. Schuyler:

The versatile Mr. C. M. Hayes, President of Gibraltar Health and Accident Insurance Co., Indianapolis, Ind., and statistician of the National Negro Insurance Association, has produced a rare gem in his article and compilations, "Our Insurance Companies," which you carried in the March number of the MESSENGER; and you have, by presenting the matter through the MESSENGER, given it the proper setting. We, therefore, congratulate you both on this unusual display of ability and public interest.

We regret in this same letter to have to sound a discordant note. But finding that you left off 83 cents of the item carried in the Cash Balance of the Southern Aid Society of Va., Inc., as of December 31, 1927, in the special paragraph under Business and Industry, in this issue, we are forced to say that we have been able to attain to what little heights we have reached only through the greatest care of the pennies and economy in every other feature of the business. Therefore, if the omission of the cents in this item is indicative of your lack of interest, any further, in the pennies, and your entry into the plutocrat class, then we wish to register our protest in leaving off the Society's pennies. On the other hand, if it was simply due to the lack of space, and you still have regard for the pennies and the small things in life, we are willing to forgive you and forget the omission.

Again congratulating you and Mr. Hayes on the very fine contribution you have made towards publicity of the efforts and work of the colored insurance groups, we are.

Very truly yours,

SOUTHERN AID SOCIETY OF VA., INC.
W. A. Jordan,
Asst. Secretary.

February 29, 1928.
Richmond, Va.,

New York

By ANN LAWRENCE

New York with her "hustle,"
Her "hurry" and "bustle,"
The "Horrid Old Subway" and "El,"
Her "Miserable housing,"
Her "Midnight carousing"
And "Everyone headed for h—l,"
Is better than Russia,
Or Hindu, or China,
And in spite of it all, I'll be d—d
There is nobody leaving,
Those away are grieving,
They want to come back and be jammed!

BLACK MAGIC AND WHITE

BY FANNIN BELCHER, JR.

It is said that a superstitious man is an ignorant man. The Negro's great superstition has been, for quite a while, the satirical butt of other races. They assert that this superstition is the result of the Negro's ignorance. They say that this condition can be remedied by means of education. This is not strictly true, however, for in the heart of nearly every human being, savage or civilized, exists a settled conviction that he dwells in the midst of an unseen world, peopled with beings of strange powers, who thwart his plans or assist him in his endeavors. But before we go further, let us consider a definition for superstition.

Superstition, I find, is derived from "Superstitio," a Latin word meaning wonder, amazement, and dread. It is a belief in the [illegible] fear of that which is [illegible] mysterious. It is a belief in the [illegible] of supernatural powers [illegible] magic, [illegible] omens, and charms. It also [illegible] that the fortunes [illegible] are affected for good or [illegible] by [illegible] cannot be [illegible] is practiced [illegible] [illegible] become [illegible] other [illegible] thoughtful [illegible] beliefs [illegible] to be [illegible] next generation. [illegible] things are remote as these, we must assume an attitude of tolerance toward such things in the light of their historical development.

Our primitive brethren firmly believed in [illegible] magic, the influence of the sun, moon, and stars over their daily life. The [illegible] the stars survive in our [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

EDITORIALS

WE are not familiar with the merits of the case which is the basis of the controversy between Miss Burroughs and Rev. L. K. Williams, but we wish to register our humble opinion that it would be a calamity to the National Training School were Miss Buroughs' position and control in the school, in any way, impaired.

Nannie Burroughs

It is a matter of common knowledge that Miss Buroughs is the life and soul of the school. She is the school just as Henry Ford is the Ford Motor Company. She is its raison d'etre. It is her genius which gave it birth and continuity. If she should leave it, it will die, perhaps, not physically, but surely spiritually. And a school is not a school, but [illegible]re congregation of buildings, desks, black boards, bo[illegible]dents and teachers, unless it is a spiritual entity; for the[illegible] education is not nearly so important as the spiritual insp[illegible] which students receive from the life and character of its educational leader. May we observe, in this connection, that by spiritual, we do not mean religious.

Therefore, we rise to move that Miss Burroughs remain the regent queen of the National Training School. She has done and is doing her job exceedingly well.

Negro men ought to take off their hats in honor to such sacrificial spirits as Nannie Burroughs, Mary McLeod Bethune, Lucy Laney and Charlotte Hawkins Brown, who are spending their lives in a hard struggle, building a beautiful womanhood in schools that are their own handiwork.

WE are witnessing the passing of some of the noblest stock the Negro race has produced. Dr. Anderson represents a line of men that is rapidly nearing its end. He was a builder, an organizer, just as Cecil Rhodes was a builder. His ambition, spirit of adventure and bull-dog tenacity were so highly pitched that he could have built railroads as James J. Hill had, had he had the opportunity. In his field, he was a titan. He imperiously waved opposition aside and marched majestically onward toward his goal.

Doctor Matthew Anderson

Even against a powerful trend to eliminate the Berean Industrial Manual Training School, like a mighty colossus steeled with an iron will, he held on.

Someone who knows and can fully appreciate this breed of men well, and who can etch their noble lives against a background of a swiftly changing world, should do his life for the inspiration of Negro youth and the information of other races, that they might know the strong men of African origin who once lived and worked and fought, and dreamed and built.

It is to his great credit and distinction to have built the most powerful building and loan association among Negroes in the world and one of the strongest and most stable and efficient in Philadelphia.

THAT he was a scholar none will deny. Indeed, he was man of the book and the mind. Through his wide and rich scholarship, the people of Harlem were introduced to the finest literature of the world. He did not only present it to them, but in an original and inimitable style, possessed by few scholars, he interpreted literature to them.

Hubert H. Harrison

He sought to make his race live with the men and women of genius, talent and ability of the past, which would give a greater power for sensing the values of current literary offerings.

History will accord him the great credit and honor of having inaugurated adult education among Negroes in New York. Adult education is rapidly achieving a wide vogue. It is a process of impressing into the channels of education popularized, the broad masses who have been deprived because of the lack of opportunity, of formal training.

His education ran the gamut of art, literature, the social sciences, including history, sociology, anthropology, economics and philosophy. It is our hope that some writer, with a practised hand, and a full mind, will preserve his fine life for future generations. The values that his genius left the world and his people, are far more enduring than silver or gold.

SENATOR WAGNER of New York State, in a speech in the United States Senate, alleges that there are four million men and women unemployed at the present time. This is quite a blow to the prosperity doctrine of President Coolidge, Secretary Hoover and some of the other Republican leaders. That this situation is pregnant with grave consequences, the most optimistic will admit.

Unemployment

However, it is not strange, for industrial crises come and go every seven, eight or ten years. They are inherent in the present economic order. More goods and services have been produced than the masses of people are able to buy, for the wage level of the great majority of wage earners is a subsistence level. Only the trade union group of wage earners receive a differential in pay that removes them from the bare subsistence line. Therefore, the country is beset by periods of chronic over-production. By over-production, we don't mean that more goods and services have been produced than the people can consume, but more goods and services have been produced than they have purchasing power to command. Consequently large inventories accumulate and turn-overs are slow, resulting in business and industrial recessions.

The Federal Reserve Banking System was organized with a view to relieve the maladjustment resultant to sharp industrial depression cycles, but it has utterly failed to achieve the end for which it was planned. Fundamentally modern production and distribution are hopelessly planless. There are feverish periods of production to meet high price levels, which quickly reach a saturation point, and then a lapse or deflation process ensues, when factories close down, railroad car-loadings are less, the mines and mills operate upon a lower capacity basis, and an industrial paralysis looms over the land. Capital becomes more timid and the great mass of workers are thrown upon a labor market unable to absorb them, to shift for themselves. These are what is known as hard times.

When workers are largely unorganized, they feel more keenly the sting of the blow of hard times. Such a condition presents a pathetic as well as a menacing spectacle. Able-bodied men out of work tramp the streets seeking work, but cannot work because the mines, mills, factories, railroads are closed down because those very same workers have worked too hard and produced so much that they worked themselves out of work, putting millions, yea, billions into the pockets of a handful of men who own the mines, mills, factories, fields and railroads.

Many schemes have been set forth as a remedy for unemployment. But most of them are superficial save the one which seeks to go to the root of the matter with a view to reorganizing the social, economic and political life of the world, for unemployment is not a malady indigenous to any particular country, it is world-wide.

AUTHOR—WARRIOR—POET

BY J. A. ROGERS

Noted Negro Author and Journalist

Antar Ibn Shaddad, "knight of knights, the lion whom none could withstand," incomparably the greatest of Negro poets, and one of the foremost lyricists the world has known, was of the humblest origin. Like Gen. Dumas, Bilal, Samory, Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington, his mother was a Negro slave.

Few men started lower in life, and with greater handicaps than Antar; few, if any, have risen higher than he in the esteem of those who began by despising him. What Roland is to the French; St. George to the English and Achilles to the Greeks, Antar is to the world of Islam; indeed, Antar is at once a Homer and Achilles combined. To the Mohammedan he is "Abul Fouraris—The Father of Heroes."

Born in the 6th Century (date uncertain), he was the son of Shaddad, one of the chiefs of the Abs tribe of the Bedouin race, and Zabuba, an Abyssinian slave woman. The Bedouins of his day prided themselves on the purity of their descent from Ishmael—that, and their famous Arabian steeds—and to them Antar was as but scum. To make it worse he was extraordinarily ugly, "black and swarthy like an elephant, flat-nosed, blear-eyed, harsh-featured, ears immensely long," and as if to crown all, he was hare-lipped, but from his eyes "flashed sparks of fire."

Antar's wealthy father despised him for his Negro origin and his illegitimacy, and at the behest of his wife, who hated Antar, he was sent off to mind cattle. But like David of the Scriptures, he was destined to flash into sudden fame. War broke out between his tribe and a neighboring one. Antar entered the fight as a humble soldier; he emerged the hero of the day. His father immensely proud of him, at once set him free.

"From that moment," says La Grande Encyclopedie, "the warlike life of Antar began. He became the defender of his tribe, its firmest support, and other tribes often reproached the Arabs because they had a Negro as chief. But Antar did not trouble about that or his origin. He considered himself a parvenu, 'one whose mother was of the race of Ham, but who has his sword to defend him.'"

"Deprived of the advantages of good looks and birth," says Larousse, "he won merit by force of soul, by the power of his spirit, and the indomitable energy of his character, the foremost rank among men. . . .

"The blackness of his skin caused him to be classed with the lowest slave of the tribe. From his infancy he gave proof of extraordinary force and courage. By the brilliance of his acts he redeemed his extraction and won his freedom. . . . Like most of the Arab chiefs of this period he was as skilled in the poetic art as in the use of the sword."

It is difficult to say in which of these two arts he excelled the more. One of his poems was ordered hung up at the door of the Temple of Mecca—the highest honor that could be awarded a writer, while Mahomet spoke of him as being "the only Bedouin he ever cared to meet." Lamartime, famous French poet, says of this poem: "It is one of the finest lyrical chants in any language," while Renan paid him a similar tribute.

His verses are exalted combining the most warlike spirit with the sublimest ecstasy. In the East where love is a fine art, he is the finest of all Eastern love poets, his verses eclipsing those of the famous "Song of Solomon." All his life he was in love with Ibla, his cousin on his father's side. Opposition to the union, because of his ancestry was great, all of which caused his love to burn more brightly.

He sings her praise thus:

"The logs of aloe sparkle in the fire and the flames rise high in the air; the sweetness of its vapor refreshes my heart when it is wafted with a northerly wind; its brilliancy and flame are the fame of my beauteous Ibla, But, Oh, fire, burn not, blaze not for in my heart is a flame more furious than thee."

Again:

"Slimly made is she and the magic influence of her eye preserves the bones of a corpse from entering the tomb,

"The sun as it sets turns towards her and says: Darkness obscures the land, do thou rise in my absence and the brilliant moon calls to her: Come forth for thy face is like me when I am at the full and in all my glory,

"The tamarisk trees complain of her to the moon and say: Away thou waning beauty, thou form of the laurel. She turns away abashed and throws aside her veil and the roses are scattered from her soft fresh cheeks,

"She draws her sword from the glances of her eye-lashes, sharp and penetrating as the blade of her forefathers and with it her eyes commit murder though it be sheathed; is it not surprising that a sheathed sword should be so sharp against its victims?

"Graceful is every limb, slender her waist, love-beaming are her glances, waving is her form. The damsel passes the night with musk under her veil and its fragrance is increased by the still fresher essence of her breath. The lustre of day sparkles from her forehead and by the dark shades of her curling ringlets night itself is driven away,

"When she smiles, between her teeth, is a moisture composed of wine, of rain, and of honey. Her throat complains of the darkness of her necklaces. Alas! alas! the effect of that throat and that necklace. Will fortune, ever, Oh daughter of Malik, ever bless me with thy embrace, that would cure my heart of all the sorrows of love? If my eye could see her baggage camels and her family I would rub my cheeks on the hoofs of her camels. I would kiss the earth where thou art; mayhap, the fire of my love and ecstasy may be quenched.

"Shall thou and I ever meet as formerly in Mount Saadi? or will the messenger come from thee to announce the meeting, or will he relate that thou art in the land of Nejd?

"Shall we meet in the land of Showeba and Hima and shall we live in joy and happiness? I am the well-known Antar, the chief of his tribe, and I shall die but when I am gone, history shall tell of me."

Antar was killed in battle with the tribe of Tai about 615 A.D., but so great were his deeds, so renowned his poetic skill, that at once he passed into tradition [illegible] the case of Homer, David, Jesus, Mohamet, Buddha, Shakespeare, and all the great ones of the earth, who arose at a time when literature did not enjoy its present precision. A great literature sprang up around him, with hundred of tales of his prowess, the most noted of which has been translated by Terrick Hamilton, and which is as spirited a tale of chivalrous, heroic, and daring conduct as is to be found in the literature of the West. Much of it is legendary: Antar is depicted as overcoming difficulties as great as those of Homer's heroes or of the Seven Champions of Christendom, but running through it is the true story of his life. In the cafes of Damascus and Cairo, Antar's exploits are still the chief theme of the story-tellers.

In one of these exploits Antar is returning from his conquests in distant parts of Asia loaded with spoil. He meets Abood-deji, who up to then had been invincible. A battle ensues between them, "that would have daunted the boldest warriors. And they continued the combat until Antar observing the enemy flag, pressed on him, wearied him, and terrified him, then extending his sword, pierced him between the breasts, and forced the barb out through his shoulders, crying out, Oh by Abs! Oh by Adnan! I am ever the lover of Ibla."

Ibla's noble born father, and her brother, Amarah, are bitterly opposed to the union. "Well," says the latter, when he sees that it is inevitable, "I can no longer remain with the tribe of Abs. I shall migrate for I have not an eye to look on this black slave who presumes to take possession of Ibla—that full moon."

"But," replies his father, "what more can a man do? Could the God of heaven in his wrath be more adverse to him than I, when I exposed him to those oceans of peril?"

Malik adds that nothing more can be done to thwart Antar as "everyone loves him," and should their behavior towards him be observed, they will "be hated by all." Amarah refuses to be consoled and says: "Verily my gall is bursting at this vile black slave whom fortune favors. By the truth of our idols should he enter unto Ibla I shall die of anguish."

"At daybreak," continues the narrative, Antar ordered the slaves to prepare for departure. Six hundred was the number of the blacks. When the mules and camels were loaded and the female slaves mounted on them, Grecians, Persians, Georgians and

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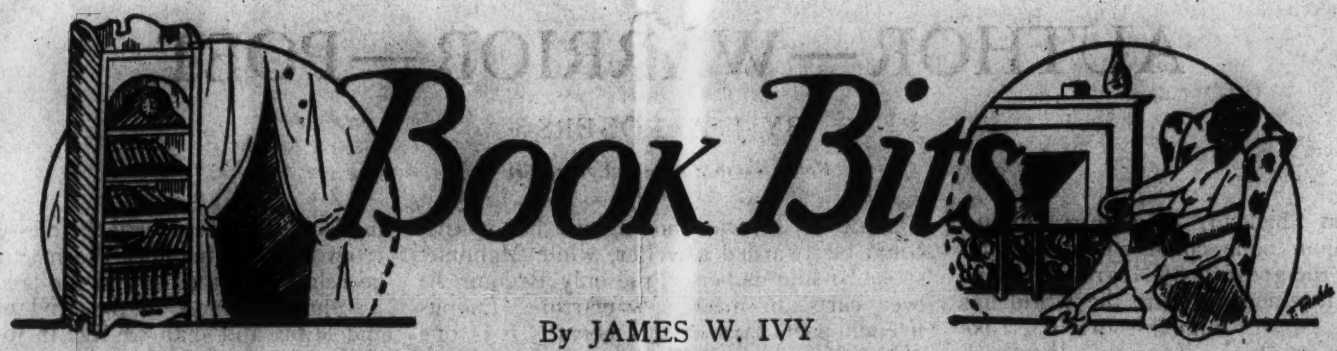

By JAMES W. IVY

"Black and White" (*Washington, D. C.: The Crane Press: Limited Edition*), *by J. C. Byars, Jr.* An anthology of poetry written by the poets of the District of Columbia. The poems included are very uneven in merit. Four Negro poets are included: Angelina Grimke, Georgia Douglas Johnson, Lewis Alexander, and Walter Everett Hawkins.

"Life On the Mississippi" (*Harper and Brothers:* $2.50), *by Mark Twain.* A new edition of Mark Twain's famous masterpiece. Twain, who was once a river boat pilot, writes of the Father of Waters, from first hand knowledge, and with his usual humor and gusto. Mark Twain's reputation has grown with the years, and he stands in rank with other American authors like Poe and Whitman.

"Misleaders of Labor" (*Trade Union Educational League:* $1.75), *by William Z. Foster.* What is the purpose of the American labor leader? Let us read him by his deeds. According to Mr. Foster, over three-fourths of them in this country are in reality "labor fakers," *i. e.*, greedy, unscrupulous men, to whom the labor movement is a sort of attrabent, because it helps them to line their own pockets. Among them one seldom finds the uplifted hand yearning for a better day; but merely greed and selfishness. Labor's real leaders, in consequence, go begging like the Metragyrti of Rhea. The leaders of the Unions in the building trades are especially corrupt. Here they have a better chance for graft and a rake-off than in any other line of industry where labor is organized, and they make good use of their opportunity. The leaders of most of the Unions receive salaries out of all proportion to their actual worth. Some of these salaries are enough to make a banker envious. None of them is class conscious. Their ideal is the civilized selfishness of the plutocrats. And every time one of them rushes into print to warn his followers of the Bolshevists he utters, not words of wisdom, but vapid nonsense. The solution, if there is one, must be through a slow process of education of the workingman to an appreciation of his actual position in capitalistic society. Just as long as he continues to believe that on some not too distant tomorrow he too may be a Ford or a Rockefeller, just so long will he lack class consciousness, and just so long will he prevent the creation of a real working-class labor movement. It is the enormous wealth of America that lures our working class into a sodden sleep of fancied equality with the plutocrats. American laborers remind one of some Negro chauffeurs whom I have heard refer to their masters' Rolls as "our Rolls." "We have a Rolls Royce, and a Packard too, you know." "We produce so much of this and so much of that; and we have more money than anybody else in the world," says the American laborer. With this attitude goes the "labor faker"; on the day that it changes men like Foster and others will come into their own.

"Memoirs of A Poor Relation" (*E. P. Dutton & Co.:* $5.00), *by Marietta Minnigerode Andrews.* The very interesting and sentimental memoirs of an aristocratic Southern lady whose family wealth was swept away in the storm of the Civil War. She gives us intimate pictures and little-known sidelights on many of the important families of the Civil War period. She tells us, also, about two Negro women of this period: Fannie and Mammy. The book reveals the soul and mind of, what I should say is, the average Southern aristocrat.

"Russia After Ten Years" (*International Publishers*). "The report of the American Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union." Important as a revelation of the attitude of American labor leaders toward Soviet Russia. It contains nothing new. Yet it presages the beginning of a new day, maybe, in our attitude toward the Russians and their novel social experiment.

"Prosperity(?)" (*Vanguard Press and League for Industrial Democracy:* $0.50), *edited by Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas.* Most Americans like to think of their country as the most prosperous one in the world. But they seldom define the word prosperity. They don't tell us if they use it in an absolute or a relative sense. Certain classes in this country, to be sure, are prosperous; others are not. The country as a whole, no doubt, shows absolute prosperity. We are enormously rich as a people; yet 20 per cent. of the national income is received by 1 per cent. of the people. The poorest 25 per cent. receive only 3 1-2 per cent. of the total income. One per cent. own 33 per cent. of the national wealth, and another small percentage control practically all of our basic industries. These conditions resolve prosperity into a prosperity for a few, the plutocrats, with a bare subsistence for the many. Few of us seem to be aware of the great disparity between the wealth and comfort of our plutocrats as compared with the relative poverty of our proletariat. Creature-comforts here are not so hard to obtain, so we seldom give these matters a thought, but we should.

"Philosophy" (*W. W. Norton & Co.:* $3.00), *by Bertrand Russell.* I don't pretend to know anything about philosophy, though I read many of the philosophers with pleasure and profit, especially Plato's "Dialogues," Nietszche's works, and the "Essays" of Schopenhauer. Of the other philosophers I know nothing. Mr. Bertrand Russell and Henri Borgeson are the only contemporary philosophers that I have read. Mr. Russell is profound and at the same time knows how to write. A thing which most philosophers cannot do. Kant, for example.

This book is a summation of Mr. Russell's philosophy. Mr. Russell discards the old division of the known world into mind and matter, and the human into soul and body, for a view that both are structures "composed of a more primitive stuff which is neither mental nor material." He accepts "neutral monism." Then he discusses the physical world in relation to the new discoveries of modern science, which has robbed so-called matter of its "solidarity and substantiality." When I studied physics five years ago all matter was thought to be composed of molecules, which were composed of atoms, and the atoms of electrons and protons. But Heisenberg has found that these electrons and protons can be "dissolved into systems of radiations"; and Schlödinger dissolves them into "systems of waves"—which, mathematically, amount to the same thing. Hence our conception of the physical has been both extended and turned upside down. We must not forget Einstein with his substitutes of "space-time" for "space and time." These discoveries have turned "the physical world into a four-dimensional continuum of events, instead of a series of three-dimensional states of a world composed of persistent bits of matter." The relativity-theory has forced us, too, to do away with the theory of force. The vistas which these new discoveries and theories open up is immense.

Mr. Russell then discusses man and his place in nature in relation to the new psychology. Man has almost conquered nature, but not himself. These words of wisdom which Mr. Russell gives at the close of his book, should be taken to heart by all intelligent people: "The dangers to man in the future, or at least in any measurable future, come, not from nature, but from man himself. Will he use his power wisely? Or will he turn the energy liberated from struggle with nature into struggles with his fellow men?"

To me this book is more fascinating than a novel. Most modern novels waste your time and give you nothing to think about, while any intelligent man can read this book to his profit.

"Standing Room Only?" (*The Century Co.:* $3.00), *by Edward Alsworth Ross.* The problem of population has always been of paramount importance to social philosophers, politicians, and the militarists. The

population question seems to be a question which everyone who studies solves to his own satisfaction, but seldom to that of the other students of the problem. Many prophecies are made but few of them are fulfilled. Several years ago careful students, at least they said they were, of population predicted the Negro's total extinction in this country. Has the prediction been fulfilled? No! For with every census the Negro shows an absolute increase in his numbers, although a relative decrease in ratio to the rest of the population. Herbert Spencer, in his Principles of Biology, says that "Individuation and genesis are necessarily antagonistic." He means that the very things that make for the advancement and civilization of a people at the same time make for a decrease in its birth-rate. From this fact some students of the problem argue that a high civilization means a decreased biological fertility. Dr. Pearl, of Johns Hopkins, says that there is no proof to warrant the truth of such a belief. Take the laws worked out by Malthus, perhaps the clearest and most comprehensive utterance on the subject of any authority of his eminence, that "always population tends to multiply faster than the means of subsistence can be increased." That population increases by geometric progression; the food supply by arithmetic progression. Yet there seems to be hardly any two authorities who can agree on just what Malthus means.

I mention these things to convince my readers of the complexity of the problem. Dr. Ross's book is a discussion of the many baffling phases of the problem. He wants to know if we are going to spawn like fish, until we have standing room only? He is for adaptive fertility, *i. e.*, birth control. Like most birth controllers, he inveighs against the restriction of this knowledge to the upper classes alone, who least need it. Despite the law against the dissemination of birth control information, I am of the opinion that the religious and conventional prejudices of the poorer classes operate more effectively in this matter than the police and the law. Of the half-dozen and more methods that I know, none is absolutely safe. It seems to me that this knowledge is more easily obtainable than most people think, and its wide dissemination would hardly help matters as Dr. Ross seems to think.

I advise my readers to read these *Vanguard books;* they are only fifty cents each: *"What Is Mutualism?" by Clarence L. Swartz; "What Is The Single Tax?" by Louis F. Post; "What Is Cooperation?" by James Peter Warbasse.* In simple language the author explains to the layman the fundamental facts about Mutualism, Coöperation, and the Simple Tax. Three things that intelligent people should know something about.

W. W. Norton & Co. sends three volumes in its *"The New Science Series."* They are small books well printed on good paper, and sell for $1.00 a copy.

"The Father In Primitive Psychology," by Bronislaw Malinowiski.

"Science and Poetry," by I. A. Richards; and *"Culture: The Diffusion Controversy,"* by G. Elliot Smith, Bronislaw Malinowiski, Herbert J. Spinden, and Alex. Goldenweiser.

The first volume is a brief summary of the relation of the father to the child in primitive psychology; the second, a study of science in its relation to poetry; and the third is a presentation of the arguments for and against the diffusionist theory of the spread of culture.

"About Ourselves: Psychology for Normal People" (W. W. Norton & Co. $3.00), by H. A. Overstreet. There seems to be a conspiracy to leave the normal man out of everything, and especially out of many of the psychologies. To many of the psychologists it seems to be a sort of turpiloquim to study the average normal man; but to those singular and peculiar individuals who may be given to Mokhtheria or Phoenicissare, or sadism, they will devote volume after volume. It may seem strange, but after all it is the unusual that is of supreme interest. For us normal folk, however, Dr. Overstreet has written an informing book. He analyzes all the intelligent questions that may arise about our thoughts, beliefs, conduct, emotions, prejudices, etc. The book is in simple language and can be easily understood by a layman. Get it!

"Thinking With Africa" (Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada; $1.25), Assembled and edited by Milton Stauffer. No doubt the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, which is responsible for the publication of this volume, wishes the world to think with Africa rather than for her; but not until the economic exploitation of Africa ceases will it be possible for the Christian world to think with Africa. Every time I pick up a copy of *La Race Nègre* or *Le Courrier des Noirs,* I find mention of some unspeakable crime perpetrated on the defenseless African. Yet none of our great organs of public opinion speaks out against them. Even the great Christian journals pass them by. One thing about this book, however, is its frankness and impartiality. C. T. Loram writes on "Our Cultural Heritage"; Winfred Hoernlé writes on "Religion in Native Life"; Max Yergan writes on "Youth's Challenge to Youth"; D. D. T. Japavu writes on "Christianity and the Bantu"; and Thomas Jesse Jones writes on "In Africa as a Whole," with his usual bias and sugar coating of bitter facts. Rheinallt Jones, W. E. Owen, Zaccheus R. Mahabane, and Rubusana also have papers on some of the different aspects of Africa and the Africans.

"Anthologie Nègre: nouvelle édition" (Paris: Au Sans Pareil; 20 francs), par Blaise Cendrars.

"The African Saga" (Payson & Clarke, Ltd.; $5.00), by Blaise Cendrars translated by Margery Bianco. A new edition of Cendrar's *Anthologie* appears in Paris almost simultaneously with its publication in this country.

In comparing the translation with its original, the first things I noted were the omissions. In chapter 17, I note the translator has omitted the Rabelaisian tale of *Les Incongrus* and *Le Coq et L'Ane;* in chapter 18, *Concours matrimonial;* and in chapter 16, *Hammat et Mandiaye.* Excepting these omissions the book is well translated. Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn has an admirable Introduction to the *Saga,* in which, among other things, he says, "Africa possesses a civilization and a culture that is rich and varied, primitive no doubt, but genuine and beautiful and—in its oral literature much of this has been preserved and adequately expressed. And so in this anthology we have not only a record of the wit and wisdom of Africa, but the soul of a people, which may be judged by the Criteria of pure letters."

The African proverbs included in this book will stand comparision with those of any people. It is the proverb, the embodiment of the common wisdom of man, that reveals the essential unity of mankind. When we read the Charades and proverbs collected in this book, we see that the African mind is the equal of any other mind in the world. Take the Haussa proverb: "One is betrayed only by one's own," is it not the same in thought with the old English proverb: "Save me from my friends?" Another Haussa proverb says, "A lie will give blossoms, but no fruit." This is better even than our proverb, of Eastern origin, that "A lie has no legs." Among the Sesuto I find some good ones: "Wisdom has more than one dwelling"; "Death is always new"; "Our own sore does not hurt when we scratch it ourselves." These few will give my readers some idea of their quality.

Besides the proverbs there are cosmic legends, wonder tales, historical legends, love stories, moral tales, fables, poems, songs and dances and stories to account for the origin of things and civilization. Every race proud Negro should own a copy. It is a book that I commend whole heartedly.

"It Is Better To Tell" (E. P. Dutton & Co.; $2.50), by Kathleen Coyle. Lydia Scarfa, the keeper of a toy shop in Antwerp, has had two children by her lover, Dion Tancred. The people of her acquaintance in Antwerp are under the impression that she is a widow whose husband was lost in a mine explosion in Mexico. Rain and Harold, her daughter and son, think their father dead. Later Rain and Harold are instrumental in getting the noted dramatist, Dion Tancred, to Antwerp to lecture to their club. They wish him to stay at their house. At first their mother refuses. She is afraid that the children will find out that he is their father. Finally she consents.

She is, however, at the station to meet Dion in order to ask him to keep her secret. Dion arrives with his black mistress, Madame Argente. She was completely black. She had beautiful eyes. There was a dark carved vigilance in her expression that rather fascinated Lydia.

After this the story is one of the subtle antagonism between Lydia and Madame Argente, until a fireside confession by Madame Argente of her relations with Dion relieves the tension. In the end the children learn the identity of their real father, Dion, and he goes back to Lydia.

Madame Argente, the black woman, is the most intensely alive character in the book. And Miss Coyle's lovely prose admirably depicts her supersensitiveness, her jungle beauty, and her naive frankness and passion. Madame Argente finds that even in Europe a black woman can have a hard time of it sometimes. She visited America once with her boxer husband, and was refused entrance to a theatre box which her

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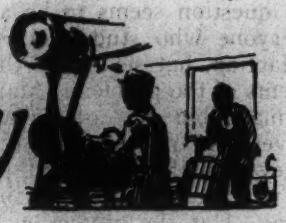
Business & Industry



Compiled by GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

A new insurance company has entered the arena of Negro business. It is the Harlem Life Insurance Company which was recently issued a certificate of incorporation. It is headed by J. J. Joseph and Charles M. Hanson, and claims to be the only Negro insurance company authorized to sell stock in New York State. Its offices are at 2370 Seventh Ave., New York City. *Now laugh at "backward" Harlem.*

The Victory Life Insurance Company of Chicago, Ill., has opened a new branch office in Kings Borough, New York City, at 1660 Fulton Street, Brooklyn. Archibald J. Parsons is district manager.

James Sweeting, Jr., agent for the Chandler car, and connected with the Noble Davis Motor Company, 2442 Grand Concourse, Bronx, N. Y. City, was the only Negro holding a responsible position as salesman at the recent automobile show at the Grand Central Palace, New York City.

The Success Building and Loan Association of Baltimore, Md., is going to remodel its building at 1615 Madison Avenue, into six apartments and two stores.

Out of the 830 building and loan companies in the state of Ohio, only 102 are on the state superintendent's "Honor Roll," i.e., that has its Reserve Fund built up. The Adelpha Building and Loan Association, a Negro concern, is one of the honored 102, and one of the two mentioned from the City of Columbus, where there are 35 such companies located.

Ira W. Franklin, a colored waiter residing at 1803 Belmar Place, Santa Monica, Calif., has invented a new radio device which may revolutionize the industry. It eliminates static and improves reception without use of outside aerial or ground wire.

The Micheaux Film Company, 200 West 135th Street, New York, N. Y., which has produced many so-called "race" films, has finally gone bankrupt. Liabilities exceeded assets by almost $500.

The Eureka Film Corporation, a New York concern, said to be controlled by white people but guided by the H. R. George & Company, has launched an entirely new motion picture project. It will produce and distribute films for the 500 theatres in the country having entirely Negro audiences, and will use both white and black actors.

Sam McCall, 98-year-old Negro ex-slave of Thomasville, Ala., is dead. To those who do not know of his work, it might be well to mention that it was his crop rotation methods that attracted the attention of the United States Department of Agriculture, which resulted in Government agents obtaining valuable information for the farmers of Alabama and adjoining states.

Adversity brings some folks together, just as it makes others spring apart. For instance, there are the bootblacks of Harlem. They are up in arms because some psalm singer invoked a forgotten statute against Sunday work, which has forced them to keep their places closed on the Day of Rest. Now these Rag and Brush Men have formed an association or union to fight for their right to polish shoes on the Sabbath. *More power to 'em.*

It is reported from the National Capital that in sixteen Southern states 194,540, or slightly in excess of 23 per cent. of the 831,455 farms operated by colored farmers are owned by them. Seventy-five per cent. of the farmers in West Virginia are owners. In the state of Virginia, sixty-six per cent. of all of the farms are owned by Negroes. Mississippi has the greatest number of Negro farm operators, but the lowest percentage of ownership. Forty-one per cent. of the colored and 12 per cent. of the white farmers in the South are share croppers.

William S. Dunmore, prominent Negro contractor of Tulsa, Okla., is erecting a modern office building for Dr. and Mrs. Wm. Kyle, well-known Negro business people, in Tulsa.

The Durham Dairy Products Co., Durham, N. C., has opened up its heart and employed a Negro salesman and carrier on its force in the person of one Thos. Hall. He will work in the Negro section. *Other milk companies throughout the country might follow this example.*

In co-operation with the National Negro Business League and the U. S. Department of Commerce, the Associated Negro Press is sending out a weekly column of advice and instructions to business men under the heading "Industry and Business."

Attorney Louis B. Anderson, Negro alderman of the Second Ward, Chicago, Ill., has been elected to the board of directors of the Lincoln State Bank, a strong financial institution owned and controlled by white citizens.

The Acme Regalia Company of Durham, N. C., a Negro concern headed by the well-known J. M. Avery, reports a flourishing and ever-widening business in fraternal regalia. This concern is giving employment to many hustling Negroes.

From the rather forbidding town of Troup, Texas, comes the report that 21 Negro farmers in Smith County made a total of 116 bales of cotton on 105 acres. One farmer, Will Johnson, took 10 bales off 5 acres. One Negro boy, Sherman Jackson, made 112 bushels of corn on one acre, while another, David Ford, made 99 bushels. Zanie Warren, Negro farm club member, raised two bales of cotton on one acre, which isn't so bad for a young girl.

The Negro Business League of Shreveport, La., is making a hot drive for membership. Forty-two captains are on the job. The drive is to last 40 days, and $25 in prizes are being offered to the captains bringing in the most members.

From New Orleans, the Crescent City, comes news that the Broadmoor Laundry, a Negro concern, has opened for business. It is equipped with the latest machinery for turning out clean clothes.

The Douglas Loan Company of Baton Rouge (La.) and the Citizen's Realty and Investment Company, Inc., of New Orleans (La.) have effected a merger. A. E. Perkins is president.

The Atlanta (Ga.) Negro Business League plans to publish a business directory, and has placed in charge of the work Mr. W. A. Scott, a graduate of Morehouse College, who got out a first-class directory for the Jacksonville (Fla.) Business League. *Every Negro community ought to have a business directory.*

Mr. Tom Wilson, prominent dark citizen of Nashville, Tenn., has put in operation a bus line for Negroes between Nashville and Murfreesboro. Patronage is increasing daily.

The Afro-American Life Insurance Company of Jacksonville, Fla., announces that it did $1,011,000 worth of business last year. It has assets of $687,000 and liabilities of $368,831.47. It does business in Georgia and Florida with 250 branches and 625 employees. *Ah, the downtrodden Negro!*

It is reported that there are 216,000 colored men engaged in the building trades in these charming United States. This number includes masons, contractors, carpenters, electricians, painters, glaziers, paperhangers, plasterers, plumbers, roofers and laborers.

And now Harlem has a branch of the Negro Business League. William H. Wortham is President; James A. Steele, first vice-president; Lemuel Foster, Secretary; Watt Terry, treasurer. *So there now!*

Announcement

The National Negro Insurance Association will convene in its Eighth Annual Session in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, April 25, 26, 27, 1928.

The Association is composed of thirty companies; a full attendance is expected and a splendid program for the further advancement of the Association.

Dr. J. E. Walker of Memphis, Tennessee is president and Mr. W. Ellis Stewart of Chicago, Illinois, is secretary of the National Negro Insurance Association.

Interlude

By LAURA TANNE

The brown tiger lies in the silvery forest
Where the tender branches caress him—
He is tired of riding mellow earth.
A moon-whitened tree is tired of too much
fruit . . .
Together they blend in rest.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

ACTIVITIES OF THE MONTH

LOS ANGELES DISTRICT

GEORGE S. GRANT, *Organiser.*

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Women's Economic Council of the Los Angeles District are beginning to put into operation a program which they feel will help greatly the regular operation of the collection of dues and assessments.

The Brotherhood has been divided into groups, ten members to each group, with a Captain at the head of each group. Each Captain is then assigned a Lieutenant—one of the members of the Women's Economic Council who is not the wife of a porter. This Captain and Lieutenant work together in the business of collecting dues and assessments, distribution of literature and bulletins, stimulating the morale about them and bringing into the Brotherhood whatever non-members may be assigned to their group. This plan, which is just being perfected, promises to produce excellent results and the women of the Economic Council are very enthusiastic and conscientious about their duties and responsibilities.

The Women's Economic Council has also formed several other committees to assist the Brotherhood, among which are a Publicity and Propaganda Committee, and a Fund Raising Committee.

The joint dance given by the Brotherhood and the Women's Economic Council last month was a tremendous success and they are planning in the near future to give another big affair.

RESOLUTION

The Advisory Council of the Los Angeles District of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in special meeting assembled February 27th, 1928, herewith adopts the following resolution:

Inasmuch as it has pleased the Author of Life to take from our midst our loyal and faithful Brother, A. Payne, who was at all times devoted in his interest and conscientious in his support to the organization which is striving to obtain better wages and working conditions, and manhood recognition for Pullman Porters, and inasmuch as during the life of Brother Payne his membership in this organization was secret and had to be so because to have revealed the fact that he was a member of the organization would have caused him to suffer discrimination and unjust reprisals on the part of the forces who are opposing the effort for better wages, working conditions and manhood recognition for Pullman Porters. Now that Brother Payne has departed this life, and need no longer fear reprisals or intimidations, it is meet and just and wholly fitting that our Brother should be given the recognition and honor which his loyal and faithful support deserves.

We, the members of the Advisory Council of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Los Angeles District, herewith extend our sincere and heart-felt condolences to the bereaved members of the family of Brother Payne, and to sorrowing friends, and we close this testimonial with the following quotations from that inspiring verse, "Carry On":

"So when the roll call sounds the worker's name
And all his deeds are gathered in the past;
But let him know that *you* will play the game
That *you* will keep the faith until the last;
Then, tho' the shades of death his eyes may dim,
His soul will see the coming of the Dawn,
You need not grieve, you need not fear for him,
If he but know that *you* will 'carry on.'"

We pledge ourselves to carry on.

—GEO. S. GRANT.

CHICAGO DIVISION

224 E. Pershing Road, Chicago.
M. P. WEBSTER. *Organizer*
GEO. W. CLARK, *Sec'y-Treas.*

The Organizing Committee in the Chicago Division is highly elated at the spirit that exists among the Chicago men. We never have to send out a notice for a meeting now—all of our meetings are well attended and men have waited as late as eleven o'clock in order to participate in the meetings. Out-of-town men are always welcome, just show your card at the door.

The decision of the United States District Court of Texas on the matter of the Company Union was very well received by the members here. The methods perpetrated on some of the Pullman porters by some of the local Pullman superintendents are almost analogous to some of the conditions complained of by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. This decision spells the doom of the Company Union—even the one that is disguised as the Employee Plan of Representation.

* * *

The Ladies' Auxiliary is making some rather rapid progress. An Entertainment Committee and a Steering Committee has been appointed. Under the efficient leadership of several well-meaning women, they are coordinating their forces and making some material progress for the Brotherhood. They expect very soon to be second to none.

A Whist Party was given for the men Thursday evening, February 23rd, and in informal dance was given for the members and their wives and families, on March the 9th. They are excelling themselves in providing a social program for the organization and the Chicago Division is developing into a regular family affair for Pullman Porters. Thanks to the good work of our loyal women; the Brotherhood could not get along without them.

* * *

ARE YOU A MESSENGER SUBSCRIBER?

Several of our older men were discharged the first of the year. Fortunately, all, but a few, have been placed in other profitable employment. We don't expect any more discharges unless a man deserves to be discharged and the superintendents who continue to chide the men about the Union will soon find themselves facing the same situation as some of his brother railroad officials did in Texas.

* * *

"THE DOG BARKS AT THE MOON"

One Doctor Watson, signs himself as a porter, writes, we understand, in the New York Age. Company officials are circulating his story. He asks a number of questions about the Brotherhood. It is wholly unnecessary for him to go to all of that trouble; any Pullman porter could answer them for him. Many would be glad to. However, the U. S. Mediation Board ruled that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters represented a majority of the porters by the porters' own wishes. The doctor's propaganda, however, is meeting the same reception as the articles of "Letter Writin' Tom."

The Chicago Whip brays again. This time under the name of Harry Hull, who probably hails from Harvard also, as does the Whip's "illustrious" editor. Brother Hull has outdone even the little Heebie editor in creating mirth among the Pullman porters. His articles have been a constant reminder of the story often told about the dog barking at the moon.

* * *

SUBSCRIBE FOR THE MESSENGER

A "Leading Citizen" of Chicago makes a statement that the Brotherhood has never rendered a financial account of the moneys received and paid out, to its membership. This "Leading Citizen" however, is very careful in keeping his identity concealed and we do not much blame him. But this has long been a method used by leading citizens when squarely approached about their attitude toward this organizaion, in their cowardly attempts to evade the real issues involved. If the Brotherhood's officials were guilty of all the crimes and misdemeanors that have been charged against them—particularly in view of the fact that the Pullman porters have so many well-wishers such as newspaper editors, business men and leading citizens—they would long ago been incarcerated in places where they would cease to be of any further harm. The ravings of such men as this "Leading Citizen" only serve to demonstrate the lack of ability on the part of these so-called staunch citizens to really stand the acid test. No man who has an honest conviction is ashamed to let the public know who he is and these leading citizens always "don't want their names mentioned." It will take more than that to break the Brotherhood spirit.

* * *

A series of Safety First meetings were held at the Young Men's Christian Association's hall during the week of February 13th. One of the meetings was addressed by another Chicago "Leading Citizen" who is reported to have said, among other things, to the porters assembled. "Don't bite the hand that is feeding you" and "Don't be mislead by loud mouthed speakers." Fortunately, we have this "Leading Citizen's" number and have had it since the beginning of the movement. He might be called upon to tell why it was necessary for a "Leading Citizen" to be called upon to be speaker for a Safety First meeting for Pullman porters.

* * *

Much credit is due the Federation News, the official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and James Bruck, its editor, for the excellent publicity given us about our Labor Conference and other activities during that week. The daily newspapers including the *Chicago Journal*, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Herald* and *Examiner* all gave us a very good "break." Mr. Carl Haessler, of the Federated Press, wrote a very detailed and interesting story about the Labor Conference for the papers that his agency serves. The *Chicago Defender* wrote a column and a half on the Labor Conference. Of course, we expected nothing unless it was a criticism, from the *Chicago Whip* and the *"Heb."* The *Chicago Bee*, however, no doubt, did not consider the Labor Conference important enough news to say a line about it. The daily papers gave us a write up before and after the conference. We often wonder what it takes to make news for the *Chicago Bee*.

* * *

The Credit Union for the members of the Chicago Division of the Brotherhood is in the process of formation. C. Francis Stradford, our local attorney, is perfecting the legal details. We expect to be ready for business in a few weeks.

* * *

The Chicago Division is headquarters for out-of-town men. Men from Los Angeles, Oakland, St. Louis, Ft. Worth, Oklahoma City, New York, St. Paul and a number of other districts are frequent visitors to the headquarters.

* * *

The Chicago Division appeals to all loyal Brotherhood men to attend your meetings and pay your dues, as it is not near as far to the successful end of your journey as it has been from the beginning. The victory is in sight. You will soon reap the reward from our many sacrifices and hard work.

* * *

Read the Messenger—subscribe for it—$1.50.

SAN FRANCISCO DISTRICT

517 Wood St., Oakland.
By C. L. DELLUMS, *Local Field Agent*
DAD MOORE, *Organizer.*

The men of this district have taken another notch up in their belts and are prepared to fight to the very end. They are not worrying about the time and are proving it by paying up their dues and all obligations. The men who had been in arrears for a long time were proud of the Dispensation and are taking advantage of it. The organization is stronger now than ever. The local headquarters has gotten to be the regular hang-out for a lot of them, which is proof enough of their interest and enthusiasm. The spirit is running high and our old warrior, Dad Moore, is riding high in the saddle. The Brotherhood men of Oakland say that they have a team in their Organizer and Field Agent, that will take care of their District, including stool pigeons, and don't bar any team in any district.

Meetings are held every Monday and Thursday evenings at 8 P. M. They are presided over by the Field Agent, who is always ready with a militant and constructive speech, which the men all enjoy. The meetings are being better attended and soon will be as well attended as the monthly safety first meetings held by the wonderfully named Mr. Snoddy.

The men are urged and expected to buy their MESSENGERS at the Brotherhood Headquarters.

The ladies of the auxiliary report that their meetings are getting better and they are having wonderful success.

ST. LOUIS DIVISION

E. J. BRADLEY, *Local Organizer*
208 Peoples Bldg.

Brotherhood activities assumed an improved attitude, due to the vast amount of enthusiasm that was created during the Labor Conference. Porters who have formerly been afraid to join this movement are now admitting that they cannot stay out any longer, and are coming in. One porter, who was pulled off about a year ago, has been put back to work by the Pullman Company, and it is only a matter of time before all of the men who were pulled off by A. V. Burr will be restored to work.

News is current that the Pullman Company is giving up sleeping quarters, formerly furnished by them for foreign porters, which indicates that the Company realizes that they are compelled to treat with the Brotherhood, and have begun curtailing, in every available manner, to meet the issue that now confronts them.

The St. Louis Negro Labor Conference was opened

Sunday, February 5, 1928, at Central Baptist Church, Washington and Ewing Avenues. The huge Mass Meeting was a decided success in every respect. This conference was sponsored by a committee of citizens to aid the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in their fight against the Pullman Company for a Living wage, 240 Hours basic monthly working conditions, Seniority rights, manhood rights, Economic freedom, and Emancipation from Industrial Slavery.

A half dozen Pullman representatives were scattered about throughout the audience and seemed equally enthused with the host of visitors. One Pullman representative was so enthused over the meeting that he lost sight of the fact that he was opposing the organization, and out of courteous, heartfelt generosity donated one dollar to the organization to assist it in combating the Pullman Company, of which he is an Officer.

This proves conclusively that the constant fighting on the part of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is having a telling effect upon the Pullman Company Officials, and they are gradually weakening before the bar of Public opinion and will in a short while be compelled, through pressure that will be brought to bear upon them, to agree to settle the dispute between the Pullman Company and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at an early date, thus causing warfare to cease, the Armistice of Peace to be signed, and the friendship and general good feeling one toward another to come into existence.

The Labor Conference continued Monday and Tuesday, where there were more of America's able speakers, who talked on subjects each night of grave importance to the public in general. The Conference was followed by a dance February 8th, which brought to a close the first and greatest Negro Labor Conference ever held in this city.

The Local Organizer is not only pleased but also surprised at the unusual amount of interest shown by people who were thought disinterested in the Industrial movement of our group and agree that Organization is the only method by which anything can be accomplished by any group. They must stick together if they would win.

It would be an injustice to the Citizens Committee of St. Louis to not mention the splendid work they are doing under the supervision of Prof. Ulysses S. Donaldson, Professors R. P. Wyatts and E. Colbert, Misses Ruth Harris, Margariette Wilkinson, Althea Merchant and Dr. and Mrs. Bridges and a host of others. The Committee has a membership of about fifty and is steadily growing. Their aim is to make it one thousand strong as a permanent Citizens Aid Committee to foster, encourage and assist all groups of Negroes who are struggling for advancement in Education, Industry and many other fields. Their assistance has been of untold value to the Local Organizers.

It is expected that the membership will reach four hundred here about March 1st. It may possibly exceed that as the porters have begun to realize that the Brotherhood is their only salvation, and I find many of them would join now if they had the money, but wages are low, "tips" are low and uncertain, which has prevented many men from becoming members of the Organization who are very anxious to join.

NEW YORK DISTRICT

2311 Seventh Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

On Wednesday, February 1st, the largest mass meeting ever staged by the Brotherhood in this district was held in St. Luke's Hall on 131st Street. The hall was packed to its utmost capacity. A. Philip Randolph spoke of his appearance before the Inter-State Commerce Commission and his visits to Kansas City, St. Louis and Chicago where Labor Conferences were held under the auspices of The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. At this same meeting, Roy Lancaster, General Secretary-Treasurer of the Brotherhood, exposed the attempt of P. A. Sample, Pullman petty official, to coerce and re-hire him to work for the Pullman Company.

Mr. W. H. Des Verney, Assistant General Organizer, made a flying trip from Washington, D. C., especially to attend the above meeting where he spoke on the prospects and progress of the Brotherhood in the National Capital. After a stay of a week in Gotham, under the doctor's care, he returned to the firing line on the Potomac. On the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th of February, Mr. Randolph visited Boston, where he addressed the Bahai group, to a group of influential citizens and to the assembled porters of the district. All meetings were well attended.

Mr. Frank R. Crosswaith, Special Organizer, who has been stimulating the Brotherhood work in Boston, returned to New York February 25th on a brief visit, and went back to Boston on the 28th.

On March 2nd a big mass meeting was held at St. Luke's Hall, where a very large crowd was in attendance. A. Philip Randolph, Benjamin Stolberg and Roy Lancaster were the speakers.

The spirit of the men in the district is very high and the men are realizing more than ever that patience and tolerance is absolutely necessary at this stage of the game if success is to be achieved. They are beginning to be aware that decisions from governmental bodies and committees cannot be arrived at overnight, but are the result of weeks of deliberation.

On March 23rd a debate is to be held under the auspices of The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at Mother Zion Church, 145 West 137th Street. Tickets are $1.00, and the money will go to help the porters in their fight. The subject is "Resolved: That the press experts are a corrupting influence on American life." The Affirmative will be argued by the debating team from Columbia University and the Negative will be argued by a team selected from the Alpha Kappa and Omega Sigma college fraternities. Here is an opportunity to get a world of information about the American newspapers for the small sum of $1.

An then don't forget that THE MESSENGER is still going at $1.50 a year. The most virile and interesting magazine in the United States. Nowhere else can you get the truth about the Pullman Porters' fight for a better living standard.

SALT LAKE CITY DISTRICT

W. F. BURGESS, *Organizer*

There are no new developments in this district. All of the members (and almost every porter is a member in this district) are just setting tight, watching, listening and wondering what will turn up next. They still have faith in the Brotherhood and Mr. Randolph, and they mean to hold on doggedly to the end.

OUR NEXT STEP

BY A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

General Organizer, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Dear Brethren:

The question comes from every corner: What is our next step? Our next step is to fight with redoubled determination. The decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission does not daunt the Brotherhood. Three of the commissioners stated that our case was within the jurisdiction of the Commission. This shows that the decision of the Commission is open to grave doubt as to its legality. The Brotherhood has the right under the law to appeal from the decision of the Commission just as many railroads do from time to time. We also have a right to reopen the case, if we so desire.

But our immediate program is to proceed with the creation of an emergency, which will require the United States Mediation Board to step in, survey the situation and recommend to the President of the United States that he appoint an Emergency Board to investigate the entire dispute with a view to settling same. Ours shall be the first complete and supreme test of the Railway Labor Act. No other group of railway employees have been compelled to invoke the Emergency Board, since the railroad companies have settled their disputes with their employees either through mediation or arbitration. The Pullman Company is the one outstanding case of a railway employer who has flagrantly defied the United States Mediation Board in refusing to abide by and obey its recommendations to arbitrate the dispute with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The first step in creating the emergency is the taking of a strike vote.

The Meaning of a Strike Vote

By a strike vote is meant the indication on a strike ballot that Pullman porters are determined to strike if need be to secure their rights and win their demands.

A strike vote IS NOT A STRIKE. It is a sign of the iron resolution of the men to fight to the finish for their rights. It does not follow that Pullman porters will strike because they take a strike vote. The Telegraphers Union on the Burlington Railroad took a strike vote but did not strike. The United States Mediation Board stepped in and effected a settlement. The Train Conductors, Engineers, Enginemen and Firemen, in fact every union of railway employees has, at some time, taken strike votes without striking. But the strike vote expresses the strength of the Organization which will bring the Company around.

Pullman Company Will Not See Strike Ballot

Be assured that the Pullman Company will not see a single strike ballot signed by a single porter. All strike ballots will be reviewed and investigated by the United States Mediation Board in order to determine what per cent of the members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are willing to go all the way with the Organization to achieve its demands. The strike vote will be carried out through a secret ballot which shall be prepared and sent from the National Headquarters in New York to Division Headquarters in the respective districts. There is no more reason for a porter to have any fear in signing a strike ballot than in signing an application blank or an affidavit of intimidation.

Membership Morale

Prior to the taking of a strike ballot every Pullman porter and maid shall be fully informed of the meaning of the strike vote and its significance to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the winning of victory. The strike vote will not be projected until the morale of the membership indicates a virtual one hundred per cent response. The larger the response of the men in signing a strike ballot, the stronger the position of the Brotherhood to bargain with the Company and to secure the desired consideration from the United States Mediation Board and the President of the United States.

Happily the outlook from the expressed spirit of the membership in the different centers, is that the response to the strike vote will be gratifying in every way. The porters and maids are fighting mad over the decision of the Commission and because of the fact that the Pullman Company is dealing with the Pullman Conductors Union while at the same time it fights the Porters Union.

Pullman Conductors Union Gets Wage Increase

No greater lesson as to the necessity, value and power of organization should be needed by Pullman porters and maids than the recent wage increase the Pullman Company has granted Pullman conductors through the Conductors' Union. Every porter, with an ounce of manhood, will naturally ask himself the question why should a porter be called disloyal for joining the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters while Pullman conductors post the meetings of their Unon in Pullman offices, openly circulate the names of the members of the Conductors' Union in their magazine, and negotiate an agreement with the Pullman Company through their Union? If it is not disloyal for Pullman conductors to have a union, why is it disloyal for Pullman porters to have a union? If the Company will deal with the Conductors' Union, why does it refuse to deal with the porters' union and persist in fighting it? If the conductors' union can get a wage increase for the conductors, why can't the porters' union get a wage increase for the porters? Of course

the porters union can get a wage increase for the porters. The company knows this. That's why it opposes the Brotherhood.

Supreme Test

What will be the answer of the porters to the decision of the Commission? What will be the answer of the porters to the Company's wage increase to the conductors? May I say in this connection that the porters do not object to the conductors' increase. But we contend that if the conductors who already receive a minimum wage of $150.00 a month, that the porters who receive a wage of $72.50 a month are certainly entitled to a wage increase also. It is well for the porters to understand, however, that the conductors have been fighting for this wage increase over two years through their Union. They were two years trying to get arbitration. The Company finally granted the increase because of the conductors' Union standing firm. If the conductors had given up, they would not have gotten their increase nor would they have a union. What is true of the conductors is true of every group of workers.

Porters to Get Wage Increase

Pullman porters and maids will get a wage increase also. The Brotherhood will bring it about. Public opinion is aroused, and the Company cannot stand before the public after having given the conductors and even the Filipinos a wage increase without giving a wage increase to the porters, upon whose labor and faithful service the profits, prosperity, efficiency and stability of the Pullman Company depend. The Company, of course, will hold out against giving the porters an increase as long as possible, hoping that the decision of the Commission would weaken the morale of the porters and cause them to throw their hands up in despair and run away from the Union. The Company does not think that the porters will stand up under fire. But the Brotherhood will prove to the Company that it has misjudged the porters again, that it is being misled by its Negro stool-pigeons. Some porters who have never paid any dues are rallying to the Brotherhood. Porters formerly opposed to the Organization are joining. The spirit is higher than ever. Our slogan that a winner never quits and a quitter never wins is cherished and revered now more ever before. Men are willing to answer every call. Men are willing to march when the order is given. Men are willing to sacrifice to the limit. And this is as it should be, for the porters have gone too far to think about turning back or giving up. To turn back means to accept the despicable stigma of a "quitter" and to invite the most brutal and inhuman treatment from the Company in the future, for if the porters do not stick to the Brotherhood, their lot will be worse than that of a dog's with the Company, since the Company will assume that if they haven't the guts to organize and stick, they are not entitled to a man's chance, a man's treatment. And the Company would be right.

Happily there are porters with that fighting, militant and determined spirit who are willing to carry on until victory is won. Nothing can daunt them, nothing can halt their march. This is the new Pullman porter, and he represents the new spirit of the New Negro.

Above is the likeness of the first child, the son of a loyal Brotherhood member in the West, to be named after A. Philip Randolph

In Memoriam

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters pauses in its struggle for right and justice to mourn the passing of three of its staunchest members:

C. H. WILKERSON
1037 Church Street
Jacksonville, Fla.
Who Died
February 22, 1928

ROBERT L. HARRISON
160 West 141st Street
New York, N. Y.
Who Died
February 27, 1928
and
(Mrs.) LOUISE WILEMAN
173 West 140th Street
New York, N. Y.
Who Died
February 27, 1928

Loyal Members!
May they rest in peace.

Good Paying Jobs for Trained Negroes in Social Work

The Atlanta School of Social Work

Prepares Men and Women for This Interesting Profession. A New Director and An Expanded Program This Year.

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JAMES E. GREGG
Principal
HAMPTON INSTITUTE
VIRGINIA

Death and Diet

(*Continued from page* 78)

sciously labeled as a coward. This conclusion has some basis of fact, too. The individual who over-indulges, who eats and drinks with gusto and indifference to consequences, usually has superior stamina or he wouldn't get away with it, and in another age he would have exerted his energy toward the defeat of something else beside himself. Of course, man has always over-eaten and over-drunk when he could, but in primitive times nature herself put a restraint upon his indulgences. When a tribe made a "killing" it stuffed, but this entailed a lot of individual effort and only happened at certain seasons; today, food tempts us on every hand; we don't even have to walk across the street for it. We can simply speak into the 'phone and it is brought to us. The greatest effort we have to make is in the exertion of will-power to know when to stop. Yet, if one explains one's unconventional food habits with that honorable aside, "doctor's orders," one's friends are immediately placated. You are not trying to be different and you are not a coward; you are but a battle-scarred Veteran of the Board. To keep from being put down as "queer" and to facilitate social exchange at times when I had neither time nor inclination to explain my orthodox preferences for salad over stew, orange juice instead of cocktails, I have found this simple advice to work like magic. The restraint that had set in at the first mention of my choice melted away and again I was considered "one of the crowd."

Don't Blame The Doctors

The awe and reverence extended toward anything said or done by a doctor is pathetic. It is wrongly assumed that those who deal in sickness must know the human body; but this is equal to believing that the man who sells real estate must be a geologist. Now, I do not mean every doctor is a scoundrel, but it is difficult in the doctor's position not to be one. Everyone wants to buy health, and like happiness health depends upon yourself and cannot be purchased. It depends upon a daily exercise of choice and restraint. But everybody wants an easy way to health, to have his cake and eat it. Many doctors have found to their loss that honest instruction in the care of the body is really not wanted. Patients will hurry away to someone else less scrupulous who will assure them that their habits are all harmless and promise to help them "painlessly" back to health. If your doctor tells you bluntly that your January cold is the result of over-eating during the holidays and to go on a fast, you won't believe him; but if he tells you that the inclement weather is to blame for your indisposition and to keep out of drafts, and nourish yourself well, and take these little pills to loosen your bowls, and gagle this liquid for your cough, and rub your chest with this salve, and put powder in your foot-tub, and stick this atomizer up your nose—and take a little toddy to warm you up when you feel like it—you are immensely impressed and leave thoroughly satisfied with him and yourself. The Negro is an even greater victim of doctor hocus-pocus, if this is possible, than the white, because the mass of Negroes have an even greater respect for "book learning" for reason that easy access to it has been denied them. In the South, they are often economically unable to consult the most reliable physician in the community, and this with the cheap food that poverty forces them to consume explains their higher death rate.

Average Menu from Houston to Harlem

Pork, black-eyed peas, corn bread and coffee, varied by a few fried dishes, biscuits or rolls, and gin. It's a wonder that the death rate isn't greater, if a lot of outdoor exercise didn't go with this diet it would be. Now, in summer-time he does accidentally consume real nourishment in the form of fresh fruits and melons, but in winter he is exclusively on a cooked starch and fat diet, and that is why his death rate is higher in winter—the same things that if fed over extended periods to animals in laboratory tests cause swift debility and death. Whereas, the better class white restaurants all serve wholewheat bread, certified milk, and fruits out of season, the most expensive Negro restaurant does not do so, and this is simply because there are no calls for them. The average Negro is twenty years behind the Caucasian even in superficial food knowledge, and among educated Negroes less thought has been given to health, because America makes life so precarious for them that they have no energy left to devote to this less obvious need of self-preservation.

Whew! My! My! My! Strong stuff, eh? Well, you haven't heard the half of it! Next month Miss Jannath (who has never been sick in her life) will tell how it is possible for one to seldom if ever be ill through intelligent choice and preparation of what you eat. Don't miss the May number with its list of Health Menus. Learn how to eat well yet stay well. This is the most astounding series of educational articles ever carried in a general magazine.

Author-Warrior-Poet

(*Continued from page* 85)

Franks, Antar presented to Ibla three variegated robes studded with precious metals and jewels; he clothed her in them and placed on her head the diadem that the king of Persia had given him. He also ordered forth for her the magnificent silver litter, the supports of which were of burnished gold and eight mules were required to carry it. At the sight of this mass of splendor Ibla was stupefied and amazed. Her father, Malik, as he surveyed it was in the greatest consternation and susprise but as to her mother her tongue was tied up in her mouth so vast was her astonishment! Amarah! he wept and sighed and groaned and moaned. Antar cared not for any of them so entirely was he devoted to Ibla, producing articles after articles in succession till she was bewildered. He raised her into the litter with her mother and commanded the slaves to march forward and to attend her.

"Ibla was seated in the litter, her countenance became radiant and illumined; she smiled in the loveliest manner. Every charm was heightened; and from her eye-lashes she shot arrows that penetrated the slayer of men and of heroes."

Later Antar hands Ibla to her father with all the treasure, whereupon the latter says: "Nephew, from this day, Ibla is your handmaid and her father and her brother are numbered among your slaves."

Antar met considerable opposition because of his color, and wrote poems extolling blackness: "In blackness there is some virtue if you observe its beauty. . . . Black ambergris has the purest fragrance."

Some of his verses from the Moallakat, or seven Arabian poems hung over the door of the Temple at Mecca, follow:

"As soon as I beheld the legions of our enemies advancing and animating one another to battle, I, too, rushed forward and acted without reproach.

The troops called out Antara! while javelins long as the cords of a well were forcibly thrust against the chest of my dark steed.

I ceased not to charge the foe with the neck and breath of my horse until he was mantled in blood.

My steed, bent aside with the stroke of the lances in his forehead, complained to me with gushing tears and tender sobbing.

Had he known the art of discourse he would have addressed me in plaintive strain, and had he possessed the faculty of speech he would have spoken to me distinctly.

In the midst of the black dust the horses were impetuously rushing with disfiguring countenances every robust stallion and every strong-limbed short-haired mare.

Then my soul was healed and all my anguish was dispersed by the cry of the warriors: "Well done, Antara, charge again!"

Can Negro Business Survive?

(*Continued from page* 76)

group economy on the profit basis is fallacious. This in the writer's judgment is impossible. Not only will a goodly number of Negro businesses fail under the profit system, but those that succeed will certainly not meet the needs of the masses of Negroes.

The Jews, despite their firm grip upon the business pulse of the nation, have their poor, unemployed and exploited. And in many cases Jews are exploited by Jews! The same is true of other racial groups. Group economy (by which is meant racial economy) is no remedy for impoverished Jews, Negroes, Italians, Chinese, Americans or any one else. The problem here is not racial, but economic.

The Negro, for example, is not suffering merely from economic limitations within capitalism as a race, but he is suffering from all the limitations imposed on all workers under the system. The remedy for this condition is not a change in group control of business on a racial basis, but a fundamental change of ownership and distribution of products on the basis of the class interests of all workers regardless of race.

Although we cannot scrap the profit system overnight, it is certainly opportune to make a beginning in the direction of business for service in place of business for profits. The writer does not know any group in this world who should welcome this change more than Negroes. If ambitious Negroes wish to enter the business

(*Continued on page* 95)

Negro Orator

By Laura Tanne

A black ruby sparkles
On a silvery circlet
Of song and rebellion.
His words are shining chips
I hoard for secret hunger.

Book-Bits

(*Continued from page* 87)

husband had engaged for her and friends. So she thinks of America as a horror. Lydia's spiritual stress is that of every unmarried mother. Should she tell her children that they were born out of wedlock? Isn't the strain of keeping it a secret a heavier burden than the calumny which results when one is discovered. American Negroes will show a [illegible] terest in the black Madame Arg[illegible] the mother, Lydia. It is an im[illegible] story; one that's worth reading.

"The Man Who Died at Twelve o'Clo[illegible] (*Samuel French;* $.50), by Paul Gree[illegible] This is a one-act Negro Comedy. January Evans, a superstitious, hard-drinking Negro does not wish his granddaughter, Sally Evans, to marry the farmhand Charlie McFarland, who is in love with her. He thinks Charlie wishes to marry her for her money, and threatens to shoot him if he catches him at his house again. Charlie comes in one day to find Sally working on a devil's costume, which he is to use in a rehearsal. He tells her what her grandfather has threatened to do, and wishes in consequence to get out of the house as quickly as possible, before he comes. Sally p[illegible] fain[illegible] he ac[illegible] and car[illegible] changes his costume he [illegible] back to listen to January's story of his encounter with the devil. He promises Charlie and Sally that they will never be bothered by him any more. Then the curtain.

Black Magic and White

(*Continued from page* 83)

Tea." The directions for the making of this tea are quite interesting. A member of the sufferer's family must go into a field, find a laborer who has worn his red flannel undershirt for a week or more, and ask to be allowed to cut off a piece of this shirt from under the left arm. When he has obtained this, he must return home, scorch it with an iron, and then put it into a pot and boil it. The result is "Burnt Shirt Tea." In my opinion, the connection of this superstition with the practice of witchcraft in general is obvious. The various things used in boiling pots for the curing of pain, which they called an evil spirit, is well known. The classic example is the witches' boiling pot in Shakespeare's "Macbeth." The Negro witches, unable to procure such mysterious herbs and entrails of animals as those used by other witches, and wishing to shock their patients with the filthiness of their ingredients, could, perhaps, think of no better way to astonish them than by the use of the above-mentioned shirt.

The "rabbit-foot" superstition is one that is well-known today among Caucasians as well as among Negroes. The superstition is that the "left-hind" foot of the rabbit brings good luck to its possessor. For its history, we need go no farther back than to the beginnings of witchcraft. What was witchcraft without a charm? The witches were noted for the weirdness and unusualness of the charms which they bestowed upon one who was suffering with an evil spirit. Charms were supposed to drive out and keep out the evil spirit. The Negro witches found themselves again unable to cope with the witches of other countries in their use of exotic charms. Making the most of the situation, however, they began their search for something that was both novel and easily obtainable. What could serve their purpose better than a rabbit? There were squirrels and dogs, but they were not well acquainted with the former, and the latter were the property of others. It was soon apparent, however, that a complete rabbit was too cumbersome. They quickly decided that the "left-hind" foot of the rabbit would serve their purpose best, not only because one foot was easier to conceal about the body, but also because their reasons for selecting this particular foot would be shrouded in mystery. Hence, the "rabbit-foot" superstition.

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Thoughtful people of our Race will unite with us in carrying the achievement on through the years to come, by putting their insurance dollars to work for themselves and their children through insuring in Negro-owned Companies.

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...st ...ould ...end of ... to their homes, and ... out all rays of her light in order to keep her from seeing them when they were not kneeling, for if she did, they believed she would bring misfortune down upon them. Thus this belief has come down through the centuries, changing from a religious omen to a superstition of ill-fortune.

Just as the connection between the superstition of the Negro and the practices of witchcraft has been shown in the above three illustrations, so it could be traced in other of the superstitions, but it is not necessary to go further. The above three instances speak for others. In order to show, however, that white magic is as popular today as black, we have but to contrast some of the superstitions of the Negro with some of the British* superstitions.

Looking at the new moon through the trees is a bad luck sign to the Negro, while in some parts of Great Britain, there is a superstition that if a new moon is seen from a window, it will bring ill fortune. The Negro believes that if a bird finds some of your hair which you have left lying about and makes a nest out of it, you will suffer from headaches all the rest of your life, whereas the Britisher believes that if a bird makes a nest out of your hair, misfortune and even death may visit you. For a bat to get into his house is a sign of sickness to the Negro, while in some parts of Great Britain the song of the robin is thought to bode ill to the sick person who hears it. If a black cat crosses your path it is extremely unlucky, says a Negro superstition, but the Britisher asserts that a black cat brings good luck. A Negro superstition states that it is a sure sign of death when three knocks are heard on the wall of a room, while in Great Britain the appearance of white-breasted birds has from time immemorial been regarded as certain omen of death. Sweeping refuse outside the door at night is another bad luck sign to the Negro, whereas it is extremely unlucky, in Great Britain, for the soap to slip out of your hand. There is a Negro superstition to the effect that a knife-blade laid on the naked body of a woman in childbirth will ease the pain. In contrast to this is the Britisher's belief that a sovereign cure for the goitre is to form the sign of the cross on the neck with the hand of a corpse. Another Negro superstition says that if a visitor outstays his welcome and it is desired that he depart immediately, turn your broom upside down and place it in the corner. On the other hand, the Britishers believe that children born at midnight have the power of seeing ghosts. There is a belief among Negroes that if they "stump" their left foot, bad luck results, but if they "stump" their right foot, good luck is the outcome. Among the Britishers there is a superstition, perhaps more

*(Thiselton's "British Folklore.")

...an others, that says it is unlucky ...n to sit down together to dinner. ...llowing extract taken from an art...hich recently appeared in one of our ... newspapers will serve, I think, to ...nonstrate the superstitious beliefs of the ...aucasians. Its title is, "Lucky Charms Guard Pacific Aviators."

"Most of the Dole-dicky birds will reach Hawaii if good luck pieces, charms, talismans have anything to do with the case.

"Nearly all the fliers admit that they have something in their possession which is bound to bring good luck and steer them clear of trouble.

"Every entrant in the air handicap has been offered good luck tokens ranging from an old time cameo to a kitchen sink in which never a dish was broken. Two poor rabbits died so that their feet could be studded with jewels.

"The one carried by Major Irving was taken from the hind shank of a rabbit killed in the light of the moon by two Boy Scouts.

"Captain Erwin's rabbit foot was presented by an old Indian fighter who carried it through a number of wars without serious mishap either to himself, the Indians, or the rabbit's foot.

"Straw-hatted Auggy Pedlar carries

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James E. Shepard, President — Durham, N. C.

a battered old 5-cent piece. It has been stamped in the mud by mules in the dead of night. . . .

"Miss Mildred Doran, Pedlar's passenger, carries a rusty hat pin.

"Norman Goddard has an old horseshoe, said to have fitted the hoof of the late Dan Patch."*

With the above illustration this paper must close. I have attempted to show that the "Black Magic" of the superstitious Negroes is of no larger proportions than the "White Magic" of other races who have had education. I have tried to point out the connection between them in the light of their historical development.

*(*Washington Herald*)

OPEN FORUM

To Our Beloved A. Philip Randolph, General Organizer.
Our Noble Roy Lancaster, Secretary-Treasurer,
And all the General Officers of the B. S. C. P.

Gentlemen:

In this trying hour of our cause, permit me to express my thankfulness and undying gratitude for your character, courage and loyalty to us. In this hour of test, when the courage of the weak may fail, and that of the strong grow weak, permit me to sav for myself and for many to whom I have talked, forward, forward, forward in this great war for justice and right! We will furnish the sinews of war in dues! We wish we could tell it to all the men now on the firing line, but we can't. Will you tell them that it is the man behind the man behind the gun on the firing line that wins the war! Hold your stations, we will stand, call and we will answer, march and we will follow, because we have faith in your leadership!

Your courage, loyalty, foresight and general statesmanship in presenting our cause cannot be questioned by any human loving justice-informed person under the sun. The question now is not shall we fail, but shall we quit? In a just cause so sanely and courageously led, there is no such thing as failure. If we get weak in our knees now and cease to do our part, the future generations will not ask why we failed, but why we quit? God abhors a vacuum and severely punishes a quitter. Motion is the order and sign of life! Even the sea will not always retain a dead body, after so long it is cast out on the shore, exposed to the eyes of the seeing as a dead and useless thing—a true slacker. So shall the dead bodies in this moving sea of our cause be exposed.

What shall I do? I hope my past actions and my ever-present performances may answer that question, but somehow my heart tells me to tell you now and not leave you to deductions at this crucial hour—that I am not going to desert the ship. For twenty-eight years I have worked for the Pullman Company honestly and justly, delivering to the public what the Pullman Company has to sell, trustworthy and just service. I am pleading with the Company through you to permit me to increase that efficiency of service by organization of my own choosing, collective bargaining through my duly elected represenitives in sincere conference with representatives duly by the Company. This is fair and all. Nothing but what is fair and just to all will stand the test of time. Deeds, deeds mark the standard of the man. May all our brethren realize that this is the hour of deeds.

The deeds of our worthy officers are an open book to all who know of our cause. It remains only with us to do our part. On with our courage, on with our faith, on with our money, on with our lives, if needs comes, that the betterment of the cause of our group and humanity may be realized.

Now that I have made the attempt to get these thoughts over to you, even though I have not the ability to tell it, I feel better and I hope that the spirit that is urging me to tell you may give you hope and faith in the men you are leading, that you may move forward knowing that you are leading a living, moving body from the foremost in the ranks of our leaders down to the most humble of those who follow in the ranks.

Faithfully in the cause of humanity and justice. A PORTER.

Can Negro Business Survive?

(*Continued from page* 92)

field, let them think of cooperative businesses. The present day need of Negroes is cooperative businesses. This type of business offers positions for our young ambitious men and women, and at the same time it offers the best means of meeting the sharp competition of large scale businesses operated by wealthy concerns.

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"25 YEARS THE STANDARD"

February 25, 1977

Mr. Kevin Lowther
757 Skynob Drive
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Dear Mr. Lowther:

I greatly appreciate your sending me a copy of your paper entitled: A. Philip Randolph and The Messenger - The Radical Years: 1917-1923.

May I say that it is a brilliant analytical and impressive discussion of the radicalism of The Messenger. I want to congratulate you on a literary and historical job well done. I enjoyed reading it immensely.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

757 Skynob Drive
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48105
Feb. 13, 1977

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
c/o A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Ave. South
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am enclosing a paper I recently did for Prof. Harold Cruse, who teaches a provocative course at the University of Michigan on black political and social movements of the 20th Century. Inasmuch as I originally "addressed" it to you, it is fitting that I share it with you directly.

In preparing to write the paper, I read most of the editorials published in The Messenger during its 11-year existence. I also read most of the signed commentary by Chandler Owen and yourself. As an editorial writer (presently on academic leave from the Keene, N. H., Sentinel), I was impressed with the vitality of The Messenger's editorials. They still read well and are superior to the great majority of editorials in today's press. It was no chore to go through them.

If you have time to glance over this paper, I hope you will feel free to take issue with its conclusions. In the meantime, as one editorial writer to another, I am

Sincerely yours,

Kevin Lowther

Kevin Lowther

Kevin Lowther

May I say that it is a brilliant analytical and impressive discussion of the radicalism of the Messenger Magazine. I want to congratulate you on a literary and historical job well done

I am respectfully yours

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Kevin Lowther, "A. Philip Randolph and The Messenger, The Radical Years: 1917-1923"

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

Metropolitan Life Insurance C.
Policy

1919

Limited Payment Life

Annual Distribution of Surplus when Accrued

Amount of Insurance $ 2000 Payable at death

Age 30 †Annual Premium $ 14.22

Payable for 20 years or until prior death.

†Ann.double ind.prem.$.80

Metropolitan Life Insurance Company

INCORPORATED BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK
A MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

No. 2511921 A

In consideration

of the application for this Policy, copy of which application is attached hereto and made part hereof, and of the

PREMIUM. payment of the 1st annual premium of FOURTEEN Dollars

and TWENTY TWO cents, and of the payment of a like amount upon each 30th

day of JUNE, SEPTEMBER, DECEMBER AND MARCH hereafter,

until 20 full years' premiums shall have been paid or until the prior death of the Insured,

Promises to pay

upon receipt at the Home Office of the Company in the City of New York of due proof of the death

INSURED. of ASA P. RANDOLPH
(HEREIN CALLED THE INSURED)

AMOUNT. TWO THOUSAND Dollars,

less any indebtedness hereon to the Company and any unpaid portion of the premium for the then current

BENEFICIARY. policy year, upon surrender of this Policy, properly receipted, to LUCILLE E. G. RANDOLPH WIFE beneficiar Y

CHANGE This Policy is written with [illegible] the Beneficiary. When such right has been reserved and if

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A MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

No. 2511921 A

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of the application for this Policy, copy of which application is attached hereto and made part hereof, and of the

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Promises to pay

upon receipt at the Home Office of the Company in the City of New York of due proof of the death

INSURED. of ASA P. RANDOLPH
(HEREIN CALLED THE INSURED)

AMOUNT. TWO THOUSAND Dollars,

less any indebtedness hereon to the Company and any unpaid portion of the premium for the then current policy year, upon surrender of this Policy, properly receipted, to

BENEFICIARY. LUCILLE E. G. RANDOLPH WIFE beneficiar Y.

CHANGE OF BENEFICIARY. This Policy is written with --- the right of the Insured to change the Beneficiary. When such right has been reserved, and if there be no written assignment of this Policy on file with the Company, the Insured may (while the Policy is in force) designate a new beneficiary, with or without reserving right of change thereafter, by filing written notice thereof at the Home Office of the Company accompanied by the Policy for suitable endorsement. Such change shall take effect upon the endorsement of the same on the Policy by the Company and not before. If any beneficiary shall die before the Insured the interest of such beneficiary shall vest in the Insured.

RESTRICTIONS. The Company shall be released from all liability under this Policy if the Insured shall, within one year from the issue hereof, become engaged in or connected in any manner with the manufacture or sale of ale, wine, beer or liquor, unless so engaged at the date hereof and so stated in the application for this Policy. If the Insured within one year from the issue hereof die by his own hand or act, whether sane or insane, this Policy shall become null and void and the Company will return only the premiums which have been received thereunder.

No agent is authorized to waive forfeitures or to make, modify or discharge contracts, or to extend the time for paying a premium.

PROVISIONS AND BENEFITS. The Provisions and Benefits printed or written by the Company on the following pages are a part of this contract as fully as if recited over the signatures hereto affixed.

In Witness Whereof, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has caused this Policy to be executed

this 30th day of JUNE, 1919

0

Jas. S. Roberts, Secretary

J. P. McRickard, Policy Registrar.

Haley Fiske, President.

PROVISIONS AND BENEFITS.

1. Payment of Premiums:—All premiums are payable in advance at said Home Office or to any agent of the Company upon delivery, on or before date due, of a receipt signed by the President, Vice-President, Secretary or Actuary of the Company and countersigned by said agent

A grace of thirty-one days, without interest charge, shall be granted for the payment of every premium after the first during which period the insurance shall continue in force. If death occur within the days of grace the full premium for the then current policy year, or any unpaid portion thereof, shall be deducted from the amount payable hereunder.

The payment of a premium or instalment thereof shall not maintain the Policy in force beyond the date when the next premium or instalment thereof is payable except as herein provided.

At any anniversary of this Policy, on written request of the Insured, approved by the Company at its Home Office, premium payments may be changed so as to be made payable annually or in semi-annual or quarterly instalments in accordance with the published rates in force at the date of issue of this Policy.

2. Age:—If the age of the Insured has been misstated, the amount payable hereunder shall be such as the premium paid would have purchased at the correct age.

3. Incontestability:—This Policy (and the application therefor) constitutes the entire contract between the parties and, except for non-payment of premiums, shall be incontestable after two years from the date of its issue.

All statements made by the Insured shall, in the absence of fraud, be deemed representations and not warranties, and no such statement shall avoid this Policy or be used in defense of a claim hereunder, unless it is contained in the written application therefor and a copy of such application is securely attached to this Policy when issued.

4. Assignment:—No assignment of this Policy shall be binding upon the Company unless it be executed upon blanks furnished by the Company and filed with the Company at its Home Office in the City of New York. The Company assumes no responsibility as to the validity of any assignment.

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5. Options on Surrender or Lapse:—Upon failure to pay any premium or any part thereof when due, this Policy, except as otherwise provided herein, shall immediately lapse. If, however, the lapse occur after three full years' premiums shall have been paid, the owner hereof, provided there be no indebtedness hereon, shall, upon written request filed with the Company at its Home Office together with the presentation of this Policy for legal surrender or for endorsement within three months from the due date of premium in default, be entitled to one of the following options:

First—A cash surrender value.

The Company in its discretion may defer the payment of the cash value for a period not exceeding ninety days after the application therefor is received by the Company.

Second—To have the insurance continued for a reduced amount of non-participating paid-up insurance (including any existing additions to the credit of the Policy), payable at the same time and under the same conditions as this Policy. Such paid-up insurance shall have an increasing cash surrender value equal to the full reserve at the date of surrender, or a loan value up to the limit of the cash surrender value. Interest on loan under such paid-up insurance shall be payable annually in advance to the end of the policy year at the rate of six per centum per annum.

Third—To have the insurance continued for its original amount as term insurance in whole number of months from due date of premium in default, without participation and without the right to loan, but with a cash surrender value decreasing each year and ceasing entirely upon the expiry of the extension term, which value shall be the full reserve in even dollars for each one thousand dollars of insurance at the date of surrender.

If the owner shall not, within three months from due date of premium in default, surrender this Policy to the Company at its Home Office for a cash surrender value or for endorsement for paid-up insurance or term insurance as provided in the above options, the policy shall be continued for a reduced amount of paid-up insurance as provided in the second option.

The values of these options are mathematical equivalents, and have been calculated on the basis of the American Experience Mortality Table, with interest at three and one-half per centum per annum (omitting fractions of a dollar per thousand of insurance) less a surrender charge not exceeding in any case two and one-half per centum of the face of the Policy; except that after the time for which premiums are payable as stated on the first page hereof, no surrender charge has been made. These values as computed produce the results set forth in the table herein at the end of the respective years. Values for other years (after the twentieth) will be computed upon the same basis for the entire reserve in even dollars for each one thousand dollars of insurance, and for even months in the event of election of term insurance, and will be furnished upon request of the Insured.

Any indebtedness to the Company under this Policy will be deducted from the cash value; and such indebtedness will also reduce the amount of paid-up insurance or the amount continued as term insurance in such proportion as the indebtedness bears to the cash value at due date of premium in default.

The reserve for which funds are to be held upon this Policy shall be computed upon the American Experience Mortality Table with interest at three and one-half per centum per annum.

TABLE OF GUARANTEED LOAN VALUES AND SURRENDER OPTIONS

Surrender charge having been deducted

END OF YEAR	CASH VALUE OR LOAN VALUE	PAID-UP NON-PARTICIPATING LIFE INSURANCE	NON-PARTICIPATING TERM INSURANCE CONTINUED FOR Years	Months
	For each $1,000 of the amount of insurance	For each $1,000 of the amount of insurance	Face amount of policy continued for period specified	
3	$ 44	$ 122	5	6
4	$ 60	$ 164	7	7
5	$ 77	$ 207	9	11
6	$ 95	$ 252	12	3
7	$ 115	$ 297	14	6
8	$ 135	$ 343	16	8
9	$ 158	$ 393	18	8
10	$ 182	$ 444	20	7
11	$ 207	$ 495	22	2
12	$ 234	$ 547	23	7
13	$ 261	$ 597	24	10
14	$ 289	$ 648	26	0
15	$ 319	$ 699	27	1
16	$ 349	$ 750	28	1
17	$ 382	$ 800	29	3
18	$ 421	$ 865	31	2
19	$ 464	$ 931	33	11
20	$ 508	$ 1000	— Life —	
25	$ 566	$	—	—
30	$ 627	$	—	—

If the amount of insurance is in excess of $1,000, the Loan, Cash and Paid-up Values, as shown in the table, will be proportionate.

O-d. 20-Pay-Life Age 30

The Cash Value or Loan Value at any time other than the end of the policy year (provided the full year's premium has been paid) shall be the value at the end of the current policy year, discounted at the rate of six per centum per annum.

Should surrender or default be at any other time than at the anniversary date of the Policy, the values for the preceding policy year shall be proportionately increased for the portion of the policy year for which premiums have been paid.

Policy in force beyond the date when the next premium or instalment thereof is payable except as herein provided.

At any anniversary of this Policy, on written request of the Insured, approved by the Company at its Home Office, premium payments may be changed so as to be made payable annually or in semi-annual or quarterly instalments in accordance with the published rates in force at the date of issue of this Policy.

the written application therefor and a copy of such application is securely attached to this Policy when issued.

4. Assignment:—No assignment of this Policy shall be binding upon the Company unless it be executed upon blanks furnished by the Company and filed with the Company at its Home Office in the City of New York. The Company assumes no responsibility as to the validity of any assignment.

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5. Options on Surrender or Lapse:—Upon failure to pay any premium or any part thereof when due, this Policy, except as otherwise provided herein, shall immediately lapse. If, however, the lapse occur after three full years' premiums shall have been paid, the owner hereof, provided there be no indebtedness hereon, shall, upon written request filed with the Company at its Home Office together with the presentation of this Policy for legal surrender or for endorsement within three months from the due date of premium in default, be entitled to one of the following options:

First—A cash surrender value.

The Company in its discretion may defer the payment of the cash value for a period not exceeding ninety days after the application therefor is received by the Company.

Second—To have the insurance continued for a reduced amount of non-participating paid-up insurance (including any existing additions to the credit of the Policy), payable at the same time and under the same conditions as this Policy. Such paid-up insurance shall have an increasing cash surrender value equal to the full reserve at the date of surrender, or a loan value up to the limit of the cash surrender value. Interest on loan under such paid-up insurance shall be payable annually in advance to the end of the policy year at the rate of six per centum per annum.

Third—To have the insurance continued for its original amount as term insurance in whole number of months from due date of premium in default, without participation and without the right to loan, but with a cash surrender value decreasing each year and ceasing entirely upon the expiry of the extension term, which value shall be the full reserve in even dollars for each one thousand dollars of insurance at the date of surrender.

If the owner shall not, within three months from due date of premium in default, surrender this Policy to the Company at its Home Office for a cash surrender value or for endorsement for paid-up insurance or term insurance as provided in the above options, the policy shall be continued for a reduced amount of paid-up insurance as provided in the second option.

The values of these options are mathematical equivalents, and have been calculated on the basis of the American Experience Mortality Table, with interest at three and one-half per centum per annum (omitting fractions of a dollar per thousand of insurance) less a surrender charge not exceeding in any case two and one-half per centum of the face of the Policy; except that after the time for which premiums are payable as stated on the first page hereof, no surrender charge has been made. These values as computed produce the results set forth in the table herein at the end of the respective years. Values for other years (after the twentieth) will be computed upon the same basis for the entire reserve in even dollars for each one thousand dollars of insurance, and for even months in the event of election of term insurance, and will be furnished upon request of the Insured.

Any indebtedness to the Company under this Policy will be deducted from the cash value; and such indebtedness will also reduce the amount of paid-up insurance or the amount continued as term insurance in such proportion as the indebtedness bears to the cash value at due date of premium in default.

The reserve for which funds are to be held upon this Policy shall be computed upon the American Experience Mortality Table with interest at three and one-half per centum per annum.

TABLE OF GUARANTEED LOAN VALUES AND SURRENDER OPTIONS

Surrender charge having been deducted

END OF YEAR	CASH VALUE OR LOAN VALUE	PAID-UP NON-PARTICIPATING LIFE INSURANCE	NON-PARTICIPATING TERM INSURANCE CONTINUED FOR Years	Months
3	$ 44	$ 122	5	6
4	$ 60	$ 164	7	7
5	$ 77	$ 207	9	11
6	$ 95	$ 252	12	3
7	$ 115	$ 297	14	6
8	$ 135	$ 343	16	8
9	$ 158	$ 393	18	8
10	$ 182	$ 444	20	7
11	$ 207	$ 495	22	2
12	$ 234	$ 547	23	7
13	$ 261	$ 597	24	10
14	$ 289	$ 648	26	0
15	$ 319	$ 699	27	1
16	$ 349	$ 750	28	1
17	$ 382	$ 800	29	3
18	$ 421	$ 865	31	2
19	$ 464	$ 931	33	11
20	$ 508	$ 1000	— Life —	
25	$ 566	$		
30	$ 627	$		

For each $1,000 of the amount of insurance

For each $1,000 of the amount of insurance

Face amount of policy continued for period specified

If the amount of insurance is in excess of $1,000, the Cash, Loan, Paid-up Values, as shown in the table, will be proportionate.

Ord. 20-Pay-Life Age 30

The Cash Value or Loan Value at any time other than the end of the policy year (provided the full year's premium has been paid) shall be the value at the end of the current policy year, discounted at the rate of six per centum per annum.

Should surrender or default be at any other time than at the anniversary date of the Policy, the values for the preceding policy year shall be proportionately increased for the portion of the policy year for which premiums have been paid.

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6. Loans:—At any time after three full years' premiums have been paid and while this Policy is in force, the Company, on proper and lawful assignment and delivery of this Policy, will loan, on the sole security thereof, up to the limit secured by the cash surrender value as increased by the value of any paid-up additions. The loan will bear interest at the rate of six per centum per annum payable annually on the anniversary of the Policy. If interest be not paid when due, it shall be added to the principal, provided the entire outstanding indebtedness shall be within the limit secured by the cash surrender value; otherwise, non-payment of interest shall render the Policy null and void, after one month's notice shall have been mailed by the Company to the last known address of the Insured and of the assignee of record, if any. After the expiration of the premium payment period interest in advance to the end of the policy year will be required. The whole or any part of the indebtedness may be repaid at any time while the Policy is in force. At the option of the Company, the loan may be deferred for a period not exceeding ninety days after application therefor is received by the Company, unless such loan is to be applied solely to the payment of premiums due to the Company.

7. Reinstatement:—If this Policy shall lapse in consequence of non-payment of any premium when due, it may be reinstated at any time upon the production of evidence of insurability satisfactory to the Company, and the payment of all overdue premiums with interest at six per centum per annum; any loan which existed at date of default, together with interest at the same rate to the date of reinstatement, to be, at the option of the owner on application for such reinstatement, either repaid in cash or continued as an indebtedness against the Policy.

Part A USE BLACK INK FOR ANSWERS.

Application to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

INCORPORATED BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

251921

1 Full name. (Print.) Asa P. Randolph

1a Single, Married, Widower or Widow? Divorced or Separated?

2 Residence: Street and No. | Town or City. | County. | State. | Send Prem. Notices to (Business Address / Residence Address)

245 W. 14 St. | New York | New York | N.Y.

3 Date of birth: Month. | Day. | Year. | Age Nearest Birthday.

15 April 1859 30

4 Place of birth: Town or City. | State.

Florida | Crescent City | Florida

5 Plan of Insurance as designated in Rate Book. | Amount of Insurance. | Prem. Payable

20 Pay Life Double Indemnity $2000 [redacted] Quarterly.

6 Occupation. (If more than one, state all.)

Editor & Publisher

7 Exact duties of Occupation.

to whom

8 Any change in Occupation contemplated? If yes, give particulars.

No

9 Place of Business? (City, Street and No.) By whom employed. Nature of Employer's Business.

2305 7th Ave, The Messenger Pub. Co.

10 Former Occupations. (Within the last ten years.)

Same as Position

11 Are you now or have you ever been directly or indirectly concerned in the manufacture or sale of any kind of alcoholic beverages, or employed in any capacity in such business? If yes, specify.
In what capacity? For what period? How long since?

No

12 Do you, within the next twelve months, contemplate journeying outside the United States or Canada or making an ocean trip? (If yes, state when, where to, for what purpose and for how long.)

No

13 Insurance now in force on your life? Encumbrance. Amount.
Company. Year of Issue.

14 Is policy applied for intended to replace any of the foregoing policies? If so, specify.

15 Have you ever applied to any Company, Order or Association for insurance on your life which was declined, or which was not accepted as applied for, or at your actual age, or at the normal premium rate? If yes, give particulars.

Company, Order or Association.	Year.	If not as applied for, in what respect different?	Present status?

16 Did you ever apply or negotiate, sign an application, or make a deposit with any Company, Order or Association, other than as covered by answer to question 15? If yes, give particulars.

17 Any application or negotiation for other Insurance on your life now pending? If yes, give particulars.

18 Are you now engaged in, or subject to call for any form of Military or Naval service, or are you a member of the Militia or Naval organization?

19 Do you [illegible] in relation to naval vessels, [illegible] Naval Corps, hospital or other [illegible]?

20 Have you any connection with the [illegible] or indirectly in any form of social [illegible] either for war service, business or pleasure? If yes, [illegible]

21 Is any member of your immediate family residing with you dependent on you for support? If yes, give [illegible]

To be completed in the case of a [illegible]

22 What are (in full) the names of your [illegible]

23 Number of children living, age and occupation of each?

24 Husband's name.

In what Companies and for what amounts are they insured? If not insured by your [illegible]

Is application on his life being [illegible]

If it is AGREED that inasmuch as only the Officers of the Home Office of the Company in the City of New York are authorized to determine whether or not a policy shall issue upon this application, all the facts and all the terms, agreements, statements and representations herein made, are declared, warranted or understood to be true and are to be relied upon by the Company in deciding whether or not to issue a policy, or in the case any policy shall be issued, shall be binding upon the Company only from the date of the delivery thereof to the person insured, and while the health of the person proposed for insurance remains as represented in this application, and the first premium is paid in the lifetime of the person proposed for insurance and while he is in good health; and I do hereby declare that I have read and myself filled the foregoing statements and answers, and also the statements and answers to the questions and answers and statements, and that they shall form the basis of the contract between the Company and me, and that I will not hold the Company liable for any statement not contained herein, unless it is made in writing to the Company at the Home Office.

Asa P. Randolph

Dated at New York, 1921

[illegible]

FAMILY HISTORY.

Age.	Number of Brothers and Sisters. (If dead, state age and cause of death.)		Age.	Cause of Death.	How Long Ill.	Place of Death. (Except City or Town.)	Date of Death.
		Natural Guardian	60	Unknown		Florida	
		Natural Guardian	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	
		Natural Guardian	60	Unknown		[illegible]	
		Natural Guardian	[illegible]	Unknown		[illegible]	
60	Dead	Father					
45	Dead	Mother					
32	Dead	Brothers and Sisters living: 1 Brother					
		0 Sisters					
		Brothers and Sisters dead: 0 Brothers					
		0 Sisters					

3 Have you ever had any of the following diseases? (Answer Yes or No in each case. Write out "Yes" in full.)

Rheumatism	No	Nervous Disease	No	Kidney Disease	No
Asthma	No	Epilepsy	No	Bladder Disease	No
Hay Fever	No	Insanity	No	Cancer	No
Bronchitis	No	Paralysis	No	Tumor	No
Pneumonia	No	Rupture	No	Stomach Disease	No
Pleurisy	No	Hernia	No	Liver Disease	No
Heart Disease	No	Abscess	No	Piles	No
Blood Disease	No	Disease of Genital Organs	No	Fistula	No
Tuberculosis	No	Stricture	No	Diabetes	No
Syphilis	No	Hemorrhoids	No	Gout	No
Locomotor Ataxia	No	Varicocele	No	Goitre	No
Hydrocele	No				

INDEMNITY

Payable in the event of death from accident within sixty days after accident.

Supplemental Agreement to Policy No. 2511921 A issued on the life

of ASA P. RANDOLPH

Metropolitan Life Insurance Company

in consideration of the additional 1 annual premium of ---- dollars and eighty cents, payable at the same time and under the same conditions as the regular premium thereunder, HEREBY AGREES that upon receipt, at the Home Office of the Company in the City of New York, of due proof of the death of the Insured, as the result of bodily injury effected solely as described below, and occurring while the above numbered policy is in full force and effect and before default in or waiver of the payment of any premium thereunder, it will pay to the Beneficiary of record under the policy, and in addition to the amount set forth on the first page of the policy as the "Amount of Insurance," a further amount equal to said "Amount of Insurance" as so set forth.

Conditions: The Indemnity provided for herein shall be payable only if the death of the Insured result in consequence of bodily injury effected solely through external, violent and accidental means, within sixty days after such injury, independently and exclusively of all other causes. This Indemnity shall not be payable if the death of the Insured results directly or indirectly from disease or from bodily or mental infirmity, or from self-destruction whether sane or insane, or from bodily injury received while the Insured is engaged in Military or Naval Service in time of War, or in aeronautic or submarine operations, nor if such death occur in time of War as a direct or indirect result of travel on the high seas or residence or travel in any War Zone outside the Continental limits of the United States or the Dominion of Canada, or while engaged in Red Cross or other Relief Service in the territory last described.

The Provisions and Benefits in said Life Insurance Policy entitled, "Payment of Premiums," "Age," "Incontestability," "Assignment," "Reinstatement" and "Restrictions," not inconsistent with the provisions in this Indemnity Contract, shall also apply hereto except that this Indemnity Contract may not be reinstated unless said Life Insurance Policy is in force and no premium in default thereon or unless it is reinstated at the time of reinstatement of this Indemnity Contract.

This Indemnity Contract shall automatically terminate if any premium on said Life Insurance Policy, or on this Indemnity Contract, shall remain unpaid at the end of the period of grace allowed under said Life Insurance Policy for payment of premium thereunder or if said Life Insurance Policy be surrendered or otherwise terminated.

In Witness Whereof, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has caused this Agreement to be executed this 30th June, 1919.

Jas. E. Roberts
Secretary.

Haley Fiske.
President.

Form 594Ord.
June, 1919

PROVISIONS AND BENEFITS.

8. Participation in Divisible Surplus.—This Policy is a participating contract and the Company will annually ascertain and apportion any divisible surplus accruing hereon. The surplus as ascertained and apportioned shall, at the option of the owner, be either (a) paid in cash; or, (b) applied within the grace period toward the payment of any premium or premiums; or, (c) applied to the purchase of a participating paid-up addition to the sum insured; or, (d) left to accumulate to the credit of the Policy at such rate of interest as the Company may declare on such funds, and payable at maturity of the Policy or withdrawable in cash on any anniversary date of the Policy, the rate of interest to be not less than three and one-half per centum annually. If no other option is elected the divisible surplus will be applied to the purchase of a paid-up addition to the sum insured. Such paid-up addition may be surrendered at any time for a cash value not less in amount than that of the surplus originally applied to its purchase. The payment or apportionment of the divisible surplus shall not be conditioned upon the payment of the next premium. When in event of surrender or lapse this Policy is continued as paid-up insurance or continued term insurance it shall not share in the Divisible Surplus.

(See "Notice to Policy-holder" below.)

OPTIONAL SETTLEMENTS.

9. Modes of Settlement:—Having hereby reserved such right, the Insured, with right of revocation and change, by written notice to the Company at its Home Office, may elect to have the whole or any part of the net sum payable under this Policy, upon the death of the Insured, retained by the Company and paid out as provided below instead of in one sum. In case no such election has been made by the Insured the beneficiary may so elect.

This Policy is to be surrendered at maturity and a supplementary contract issued for the option elected.

These modes of settlement are, however, not applicable to a Policy which is payable to an assignee, to a corporation, to a co-partnership or association, or when the amount to be retained is less than one thousand dollars.

OPTION 1. INTEREST PAYMENTS.—The payment of interest on the amount left with the Company at the rate which the Company may each year declare on such funds (but at no less rate than three and one-half per centum per annum), payable at the end of each year for a specified number of years or during the lifetime of the payee, and at the end of the specified period, or upon the death of the payee, by the payment of the amount retained, together with any accrued interest for the year then current, to the person designated in said notice, or, if there be no person so designated, to the executors, administrators or assigns of the payee.

OPTION 2. INSTALMENT PAYMENTS.—The payment of equal annual or semi-annual instalments covering a specified number of years, in accordance with the table below for each one thousand dollars of said net sum, the first instalment being payable upon receipt of due proof of the death of the Insured.

OPTION 2—Instalment Payments

Number Years Specified	Amount of each Annual Instalment	or	Amount of Each Semi-Annual Instalment	Number Years Specified	Amount of Each Annual Instalment	or	Amount of Each Semi-Annual Instalment
1	$1000.00		$504.34	16	$79.88		$40.38
2	508.60		256.54	17	76.38		38.60
3	344.86		173.98	18	73.26		37.02
4	263.04		132.72	19	70.48		35.62
5	214.00		107.98	20	67.98		34.38
6	181.32		91.52	21	65.74		33.24
7	158.02		79.76	22	63.70		32.22
8	140.56		70.96	23	61.86		31.28
9	127.00		64.12	24	60.16		30.44
10	116.18		58.66	25	58.62		29.66
11	107.34		54.22	26	57.20		28.94
12	99.98		50.50	27	55.90		28.28
13	93.78		47.38	28	54.68		27.68
14	88.48		44.70	29	53.56		27.12
15	83.90		42.40	30	52.54		26.60

OPTION 3. LIFE INCOME.—The payment of equal annual instalments, for a fixed period of twenty years and for so many years longer as the payee shall survive, in accordance with the table below for each one thousand dollars of said net sum, the first instalment being payable upon receipt of due proof of the death of the Insured.

OPTION 3—Life Income

Age of Payee at Death of Insured	Amount of Each Instalment	Age of Payee at Death of Insured	Amount of Each Instalment	Age of Payee at Death of Insured	Amount of Each Instalment	Age of Payee at Death of Insured	Amount of Each Instalment
10 and under	$43.24	25	$46.64	40	$53.14	55	$62.84
11	43.40	26	46.94	41	53.72	56	63.44
12	43.58	27	47.28	42	54.32	57	64.00
13	43.76	28	47.62	43	54.92	58	64.54
14	43.94	29	47.98	44	55.56	59	65.04
15	44.14	30	48.36	45	56.20	60	65.50
16	44.34	31	48.76	46	56.86	61	65.92
17	44.54	32	49.16	47	57.54	62	66.30
18	44.78	33	49.60	48	58.20	63	66.64
19	45.00	34	50.04	49	58.88	64	66.94
20	45.24	35	50.52	50	59.56	65	67.20
21	45.50	36	51.00	51	60.24	66	67.40
22	45.76	37	51.50	52	60.92	67 and over	67.50
23	46.04	38	52.02	53	61.58		
24	46.32	39	52.58	54	62.22		

Any instalments payable under option 2 or option 3 which shall not have been paid prior to the death of the payee, unless otherwise directed in said notice, shall be commuted at three and one-half per centum compound interest and be paid in one sum to the executors, administrators or assigns of the payee.

In lieu of semi-annual instalments under option 2, or annual instalments under option 3, quarterly or monthly payment thereof in proportionate parts may be elected, provided that no such proportionate payment be for less than ten dollars.

Unless otherwise specified in the written notice making such election, the supplementary contract on legal release thereof may at any time be surrendered for the amount retained, with any accrued interest, under option 1, or for the commuted value of the stipulated instalments yet to be paid under option 2, or for the commuted value of any of the first twenty instalments then remaining unpaid under option 3; such commutation under this option (3) shall, however, in nowise affect the payments conditional upon the lifetime of the payee after the term during which the instalments certain would have been payable; such commuted value under either option to be the amount as calculated by the Company on the basis of three and one-half per centum compound interest.

The sums payable under the foregoing options are based upon an assumed interest earning of three and one-half per centum, but if in any year the Company shall declare for that year, upon funds held by it under such options, a greater interest rate than three and one-half per centum, the sum payable under option 2, or under option 3 within the fixed period of twenty years, shall be increased accordingly.

Copy of application attached hereto.

OPTIONAL SETTLEMENTS.

9. Modes of Settlement:—Having hereby reserved such right, the Insured, with right of revocation and change, by written notice to the Company at its Home Office, may elect to have the whole or any part of the net sum payable under this Policy, upon the death of the Insured, retained by the Company and paid out as provided below instead of in one sum. In case no such election has been made by the Insured the beneficiary may so elect.

This Policy is to be surrendered at maturity and a supplementary contract issued for the option elected.

These modes of settlement are, however, not applicable to a Policy which is payable to an assignee, to a corporation, to a co-partnership or association, or when the amount to be retained is less than one thousand dollars.

OPTION 1. INTEREST PAYMENTS.—The payment of interest on the amount left with the Company at the rate which the Company may each year declare on such funds (but at no less rate than three and one-half per centum per annum), payable at the end of each year for a specified number of years or during the lifetime of the payee, and at the end of the specified period, or upon the death of the payee, by the payment of the amount retained, together with any accrued interest for the year then current, to the person designated in said notice, or, if there be no person so designated, to the executors, administrators or assigns of the payee.

OPTION 2. INSTALMENT PAYMENTS.—The payment of equal annual or semi-annual instalments covering a specified number of years, in accordance with the table below for each one thousand dollars of said net sum, the first instalment being payable upon receipt of due proof of the death of the Insured.

OPTION 2—Instalment Payments

Number Years Specified	Amount of each Annual Instalment	or	Amount of Each Semi-Annual Instalment	Number Years Specified	Amount of Each Annual Instalment	or	Amount of Each Semi-Annual Instalment
1	$1000.00		$504.34	16	$79.88		$40.38
2	508.60		256.54	17	76.38		38.60
3	344.86		173.98	18	73.26		37.02
4	263.04		132.72	19	70.48		35.62
5	214.00		107.98	20	67.98		34.38
6	181.32		91.52	21	65.74		33.24
7	158.02		79.76	22	63.70		32.22
8	140.56		70.96	23	61.86		31.28
9	127.00		64.12	24	60.16		30.44
10	116.18		58.66	25	58.62		29.66
11	107.34		54.22	26	57.20		28.94
12	99.98		50.50	27	55.90		28.28
13	93.78		47.38	28	54.68		27.68
14	88.48		44.70	29	53.56		27.12
15	83.90		42.40	30	52.54		26.60

OPTION 3. LIFE INCOME.—The payment of equal annual instalments, for a fixed period of twenty years and for so many years longer as the payee shall survive, in accordance with the table below for each one thousand dollars of said net sum, the first instalment being payable upon receipt of due proof of the death of the Insured.

OPTION 3—Life Income

Age of Payee at Death of Insured	Amount of Each Instalment	Age of Payee at Death of Insured	Amount of Each Instalment	Age of Payee at Death of Insured	Amount of Each Instalment	Age of Payee at Death of Insured	Amount of Each Instalment
10 and under	$43.24	25	$46.64	40	$53.14	55	$62.84
11	43.40	26	46.94	41	53.72	56	63.44
12	43.58	27	47.28	42	54.32	57	64.00
13	43.76	28	47.62	43	54.92	58	64.54
14	43.94	29	47.98	44	55.56	59	65.04
15	44.14	30	48.36	45	56.20	60	65.50
16	44.34	31	48.76	46	56.86	61	65.92
17	44.54	32	49.16	47	57.54	62	66.30
18	44.78	33	49.60	48	58.20	63	66.64
19	45.00	34	50.04	49	58.88	64	66.94
20	45.24	35	50.52	50	59.56	65	67.20
21	45.50	36	51.00	51	60.24	66	67.40
22	45.76	37	51.50	52	60.92	67 and over	67.50
23	46.04	38	52.02	53	61.58		
24	46.32	39	52.58	54	62.22		

Any instalments payable under option 2 or option 3 which shall not have been paid prior to the death of the payee, unless otherwise directed in said notice, shall be commuted at three and one-half per centum compound interest and be paid in one sum to the executors, administrators or assigns of the payee.

In lieu of semi-annual instalments under option 2, or annual instalments under option 3, quarterly or monthly payment thereof in proportionate parts may be elected, provided that no such proportionate payment be for less than ten dollars.

Unless otherwise specified in the written notice making such election, the supplementary contract on legal release thereof may at any time be surrendered for the amount retained, with any accrued interest, under option 1, or for the commuted value of the stipulated instalments yet to be paid under option 2, or for the commuted value of any of the first twenty instalments then remaining unpaid under option 3; such commutation under this option (3) shall, however, in nowise affect the payments conditional upon the lifetime of the payee after the term during which the instalments certain would have been payable; such commuted value under either option to be the amount as calculated by the Company on the basis of three and one-half per centum compound interest.

The sums payable under the foregoing options are based upon an assumed interest earning of three and one-half per centum, but if in any year the Company shall declare for that year, upon funds held by it under such options, a greater interest rate than three and one-half per centum, the sum payable under option 2, or under option 3 within the fixed period of twenty years, shall be increased accordingly.

Copy of application attached hereto.

NOTICE TO POLICY-HOLDER.—The surplus accruing under policies of this class will probably not be sufficient to enable the Company to make a distribution of surplus under this policy before the end of the fifth year.

This receipt is not binding until the premium stipulated herein has actually been paid in cash, nor until countersigned by an authorized representative of the Company. If a check or draft is given in payment or part payment this receipt shall be void and of no effect if said check or draft is not paid on presentation.
This policy shall not take effect unless or until the full premium has been paid.

Metropolitan Life Insurance Company

Acknowledges the Receipt of $ 15.02 the first ‡Annual premium under this Policy,
Including ‡ ann. double ind.prem.
Countersigned Feb 13 1920

A Mennahel
(SIGNATURE.)

Jas. C. Roberts
Secretary.

per P. Joseph

Payments are invalid unless made in exchange for an official Home Office receipt signed by an Executive Officer (President, Vice-President, Secretary or Actuary) of the Company and properly countersigned.
The Company's agents have no authority to waive forfeitures, alter or amend the contract, to accept premiums in arrears or to extend due date of such premiums.

This policy has been assigned to the METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY as the sole security for a Loan, the unpaid amount of which and of the interest thereon is a lien against the policy. Possession of the policy by the Company as evidence of such security, has been duly AUG 7 1924

Form 209 C 148 8

Dated at Home Office, New York, ‡1st. Nov. 1919
Number 2511921

Metropolitan Life Insurance Company
1 Madison Avenue
NEW YORK

Annual Distribution of Surplus when Accrued

Limited Payment Life

PREMIUMS PAYABLE FOR 20 YEARS OR UNTIL PRIOR DEATH

Insurance on the Life of

A 5A P. RANDOLPH

Age	Amount	Annual Premium
1	$2000	$
‡Ann. double ind. prem.	$ .80	
‡		
Annual Premium		14.22
Total		

Issue 3001 1919

NOTICE TO POLICY-HOLDER

PLEASE READ YOUR POLICY PROMPTLY UPON ITS RECEIPT

Do not fail to notify the Company at its Home Office when you change your address.

When writing District Office
or the Home Office give your Policy Number and state clearly Name, Residence, County and State.

Checks, Drafts or Money Orders
in payment of premiums should be drawn to the order of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

Privilege of voting for Directors.
The election of Directors of the Company is to be held in New York on the second Tuesday in April, 1917, and every second year thereafter. The holder of this Policy while it remains in force, after one year from its date, will have a right to vote, either in person, or by proxy by mail. For particulars how to vote, apply to the Secretary, No. 1 Madison Avenue, New York City.

In the event of the death of the Insured,
the Claimant should promptly advise the Home Office, in New York, or the District Office through which premium payments have been made. Pay nothing to any representative of the Company for preparation of claim papers. Deliver the Policy only to the Company's representative. The Company is glad to pay and there is no necessity for help or alleged influence in collecting.

It is not necessary to employ an attorney or any other person to collect the insurance under this Policy, or to secure any of the benefits it provides.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

National Educational Committee
For A New Party
Aims and Principles

UNDATED

new party

Sketch of Proposed Declaration of Principles.

A. R. Coolidge

We call for a unique party to meet the challenge of unique problems. We believe that America, as part of the whole world, is faced with many new problems of the utmost urgency, which the old-line parties are hopelessly incapable of handling, and that for their solution the creation of a unique political organization.

These problems mainly arise in connection with the vast increase and concentration of various kinds of power, which mainly has failed to create means of controlling for the use without. The power of capital to provide for all and the industrial basis for a life of expanding opportunities was never so great as today; yet, being largely controlled by competition and anarchy, this power is largely powerless to prohibit production, raise prices, and prevent full employment. The power of organized labor is at an all-time high. It ought to work as a mighty force to create efficient cooperation between workers and management in a policy of full production, to the ultimate benefit of all; yet so long as the workers are compelled to use their power for self-defense against organized and irresponsible management and other constant threats from a hostile government, they cannot be expected to shoulder any responsibilities beyond their own immediate interests, and will continue to obstruct full production by strikes and restrictive practices. The power of the press, the screen and the microphone has become tremendous; freed from domination by huge corporations, they ought to exist to bring to all Americans that indispensable basis of information and understanding without which no democracy can exist. And finally, the power of military force has become so terrible that, left in the irresponsible hands of separate sovereign states, it threatens and pictures international relations and threatens the very survival of civilized life.

The challenge of such problems vitally transcends the capacity of the inadequate and hopeless parties to furnish unified leadership, as has been shamefully demonstrated by decades of vacillation, reaction and confusion under their competitive

[illegible] It could not be otherwise; every [illegible] of struggles over the most simple problems of a bygone era, and as these problems passed into the realm of history, [illegible] which [illegible] the world [illegible] of groups united by creed for political action. One set rights the attempt has been made to convert one or the other old party into an instrument for progress, and hopefully the attempt has begun [illegible]. A new party is called into [illegible] existence by the task of organizing the Nation's industrial and home resources for the war effort, and of standing squarely with the other nations to build the foundations for peace in our time and our children's time. As each party was, of course, to set up by [illegible] it will take time, and considerable progression, [illegible] before it can take on a [illegible] of new allegiance which is clearly responsive to the opportunity. But activities of this kind must not indefinitely postpone a start on the task itself. The United States is the only important free country in the world which does not have a powerful progressive (yet reasonable) political party. It is time we bring our country up [illegible].

New Party?

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

progressive and labor forces.

If the great and fundamental issues of our time are ever to be successfully met, if poverty, unemployment, economic insecurity, racial and religious discrimination and war, are to be banished from our midst, all progressive and democratic forces in the fraternal, civic clubs and others, on the farms and in the households of the country must be mobilized in a powerful political party dedicated to a program of fundamentally democratic social change. If these problems are to be met and solved, in time to prevent economic and international disaster, a basis must be laid NOW for the building of this people's party.

This basis is now being laid by the National Educational Conference for a New Party. This Conference was formed in the spring of 1942 as a meeting in Chicago, called by well-known men and women active in labor, farmer, civic and educational groups.

The Conference is not a political party, but an educational body formed with the view of carrying on an educational campaign for a people's party and for the principles upon which such a party should be based. The next national conference of the National Educational Conference for a New Party will be held in December, 1943, the Conference is looking beyond the December, 1944 election and seeks the support of many who are confident politically during the 1944 campaign.

In the meantime, the Conference has established headquarters at Chicago, to act as a clearing house for new party ideas and forces, to establish contacts with unions, farm groups, cooperatives and individuals in the various local and regional conferences, to establish a periodical to issue bulletins, pamphlets and statements as current events to publication-wise, circulate letters and radio discussions, to prepare for the December conference and do all in its power to educate the American people to the need for a political alignment adequate to the needs of our times.

We urge all interested in the work of this conference for a New Party to communicate at once with the National Educational Conference for a New Party, address

NECNP

WHY A THIRD PARTY

The recent Republican sweep in the Congressional elections has given rise to fresh discussion of political realignments and, in fact, a third party. A canvass of American political opinion as found in various strata of our industrial and social life, would seem to reveal that the American people voted in the last Congressional election more against something, them for something. The election returns indicate that there had been a loss of faith in the donkey, although there was an evident expression of belief in the elephant to lead the American people to a political promised land.

There are many reasons for this attitude, one of which was the absence of a program and action from the Democrats to improve the economic and social well-being of the American people, as well as no presentation of a plan to improve the socio-economic conditions by the GOP. It was a vote of political frustration on the part of the American people.

Liberals have provided no guiding star for the peoples political thinking in the past few years. Following the death of former President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the so-called progressives have been distressingly unwitting of their way in politics, government and economics; having held on to the apron-strings of FDR so long, when finally thrown upon their own feet, they could not stand firmly and their political knees buckled under them, indicating a probable fall to the canvass under the blows of reaction.

Not only have the liberals who lack an economic base and who may be expected to reflect indecision and vacillation, moving with hesitation, doubt and confusion failed to move forward with political sureness, faith and vision, but the American labor movement, too, hedged in and controlled largely by a psychology of short-ranged, day to day program of improvisation and opportunism, was caught in a fog of economic and political cross-

currents, without the Messiah of the New Deal to point the way.

Add to this condition, the failure of labor to put through a single measure through the 79th Congress which was basically constructive and effective including the Full-Employment Bill, Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Bill, or Minimum Wage Bill, together with the complete repudiation of CIO-PAC and one can understand the intellectual uncertainty, and spiritual and moral debacle of the forces of labor and liberals today. Labor replied by a sense of defeatism. It has nowhere to go, nor has it a sense of direction to find anywhere to go.

At this hour, a call to labor to effect a political reorientation, is becoming increasingly audible. The National Educational Committee for a New Party, a movement committed to a program of exploration and education to assess political sentiment for a new mass political movement throughout the country, and also to propagate the idea, came into being as a result of the interest of a few labor and liberal individuals. Beginning in an humble and modest manner, the NECNP is attempting to build a base among labor unions, churches, farmers, white collar workers, small shop-keepers and lower middle class forces throughout the country.

Through the storm and stress of the coming economic depression, together with a national educational campaign on the basic meaning, possibility and necessity of a third party, the NECNP has hope and faith that organized labor eventually, if not now, will see the wisdom and necessity of taking the long-range view of cooperating with the above-named forces to build a basic national mass political party. Verily, this party must be a complete break with the old political order as represented by the Democratic and Republican Parties. A third political movement envisaged by the National Educational Committee for a New Party, must be done with trading with the old parties for patronage, advantage and election expediency. It must be committed to a program of planned economy within the framework

of political liberty. Cognizant of the baneful influence of monopoly capitalism, this new party must set its face against the evil of monopoly control of the economic life of America and seek the socialization of the key and crucial social property of our national community. Adherence must be maintained to the basic principle of industrial democracy with a view to developing and strengthening the machinery of collective bargaining and fostering cooperative labor-management.

One of its basic tenets should be the achievement of ethnic democracy through the enactment of legislation and the development of educational forces designed to eliminate discrimination based upon color, creed or country, in labor unions, business and industry, education and civil relationships.

On the international front, a third party must support international control and inspection of atomic energy, and should be committed to the abolition of colonialism and world imperialism and the exemplification on the part of the United States of a sound leadership of the moral forces of the world.

This national mass political movement of a third party, must, of course, be non-Communist, without being anti-Soviet Russia or pro-British. Although a third party should recognize its kinship with the British Labor Party and support democratic socialism throughout Europe, South America and Asia to prevent the spread of totalitarian fascism on the right and totalitarian communism on the left.

Albeit, this third party must unequivocally fight for disarmament, the outlawing of war and the elimination of the war system, as well as its fundamental economic-root causes, and uncompromisingly oppose peace-time conscription.

PROPOSED PLAN OF OPERATION FOR THE NEW EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY

I. PROGRAM

The NECNP has a dual task to perform:

a) organizing local groups for new party education, and

b) servicing these groups, and the individuals who join NEC, with educational and organizational materials and guidance.

These functions require that, besides intensive organizational activity, NEC engage in special study projects for the purpose of developing political, economic, and social program of the kind that a people's party will need when such a party is organized.

NEC will set up a number of research committees, each of them responsible for developing program in an assigned field. These committees will be co-ordinated by the Research Council of NEC that has already been set up under the chairmanship of Lewis Corey.

Included in the list of subjects to be studied will be the following: (Please add your suggestions)

1) Political program

a. How should state and local groups be organized?

b. What should be the activities of these groups; when and how should they begin engaging in electoral activity?

c. What can NEC groups do immediately about their state (and local) electoral laws?

d. What should be the relationship between NEC groups and liberals who are working within the present parties?

e. What should be the relationship between NEC groups and the present members of Congress?

f. How, and on what basis, should affiliations from labor, co-op, and other groups be encouraged?

2) Economic program - Basic program for a people's party is needed in every field of economic activity. A few of these fields are:

planning for full employment	the cooperative movement
control and abolition of monopolies	wage program
	price program
taxation and fiscal policy	housing
regional development	land use
resource development (a TVA for coal)	

3) Social and welfare services

education	health services
social security	employment services

4) International affairs

5) Basic educational and philosophical issues

Committees will be set up as rapidly as it is possible to find competent, interested people, and as rapidly as the services of the staff and the national office permit. Wherever possible, the Committee will be supplied with the services of a research assistant. In general, it is planned to hire someone of the college, graduate school level, for a period of about ten weeks. This assistant will work under the direction of the chairman of the Study Committee. His salary will be financed through special contributions, solicited from organizations and individuals for that specific purpose.

The studies made by the committees shall be as thorough as possible. They shall analyze the basic issues involved, and shall recommend specific proposals for action and legislation. The studies shall be published

in pamphlet or other appropriate form, and distributed to NEC and other groups for study and discussion. Every channel shall be utilized to maximize the effect of these studies on public opinion.

Thus, the organizational and research and educational activities shall be coordinated to develop a strong, firmly based educational movement for a new party.

II ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE

A. Organizational structure -- The NECNP

1. The National Committee (Already set up).
    a. National Board (already set up).
        1. Executive Council (to be set up). To consist of seven members: three from New York, two from Washington, and two from the midwest. To meet once a month in an agreed upon place.
2. Local and State Educational Committees for a New Party.
    Made up of individuals who have paid the membership fee to the NEC, and who have gotten together in their own areas for the purpose of furthering the NEC program.
3. Affiliated Individual Members of NECNP.
    People who have paid the membership fee to NEC and who live in areas where no local group has yet been set up.

B. Individual memberships

The aim shall be to raise enough money through individual memberships and through sustaining fund contributions to pay for the ordinary, basic operating expenses of the national office and the staff.

A vigorous campaign shall be carried on to get individuals to join NECNP. The membership fee shall be $6, to be paid into the national

treasury. However, $1 of this sum shall be set aside to be turned back to the affiliated members in a particular area when they are ready to set up a local Educational Committee for a New Party. This fund will make it possible for them to pay postage, mimeographing and similar charges while they are getting set up. After a local committee is organized, the same arrangement of $5 to the national, and $1 to the local group shall continue as new members come in from that area.

The drive for affiliated members shall be carried on, on a state-wide basis, spearheaded by those people in the state who are members of the National Committee of the NECNP, who have endorsed the "Ideas", and who have shown an interest in NEC in other ways.

Members shall also be sought through ads in the "Progressive", the "New Leader", and labor and other liberal papers and organs. Promotional work will also be carried on in labor and co-op organizations, and other groups. Eventually, ads may be inserted in the liberal daily press, but such ads will have to wait until fairly strong groups have been organized in the cities covered by these papers.

C. Sustaining Fund

Affiliated members will be invited to contribute to the Sustaining Fund on a weekly or monthly basis.

D. Special Contributions

Special contributions shall be solicited for the purpose of financing the various study, publicity, and organizational activities of the Committee. For example, the newspaper (discussed below) will be financed by special contributions solicited for that purpose. Publication of the Research Committee reports will also be financed through contributions

solicited for that purpose.

E. Budget

The following budget is intended to cover the basic operation of the national office and the staff for one year. It shall be the aim of the Committee to finance these activities through individual memberships and through the Sustaining Fund. (At $5 per membership, this budget would require a national individual membership of 2800 people.)

Director, salary	$500 per month	$6,000
travel expenses	125 " "	1,500
Office secretary	50 " " (54 weeks)	2,700
Office expenses		1,600
Rent	60 per month	
Phone	20 " "	
Supplies	20 " "	
Postage	25 " "	
Misc.	10 " "	
Misc. printing and publishing		2,180
TOTAL		$14,000

F. Staff and Facilities

The office of the NEC, now in Chicago, will be moved to Washington in the near future. However, formal office commitments should not be made in Washington, nor a secretary hired, until at least six months of clear operation are assured by the money on hand. Until that time, affairs will be run from the home of the director, and secretarial and similar services contracted for as needed.

The initial staff shall consist of the director and a secretary. As soon as financing permits, a typist will be added to take over routine typing, addressing and mailing, and similar services. At that time, it

may be possible to raise the salary of the secretary, and transfer to her more operational responsibility. As the state organizations are set up, another staff member will be added to coordinate and service these groups, under the direction of the director. This person would spend a good deal of time in travel.

A separate budget for office equipment will be developed at a later date. As soon as possible, this should include simple mimeographing, addressing and similar equipment. Until the purchase of this equipment is feasible, the services will be contracted for.

III. PUBLICATIONS AND RELEASES

A. The Newspaper

As soon as possible, the national office will undertake the publication of a monthly newspaper. This will take the place of the present Newsletter, and will have the following characteristics:

4 papers, about 12 inches by 18 inches

printed or photo-offset

The paper will be mailed to all members; a press run of 5000 copies will take care of this and allow for an over-run for organizational and casual distribution.

The paper will be mailed under second class mailing privileges as soon as they can be obtained. The use of the privilege would require that some part of the $5 membership be indicated specifically as a subscription fee for the paper. However, the newspaper should be one of the special projects for which a special contribution should be raised.

The paper should contain news that is pertinent to our program, and reports of NEC organizational activity, development of NEC program, and grass roots activities. In addition, it should carry the following features:

"New Party Pieces" - an article, written and signed by an NEC member or some other well-known person who has something to contribute in this field. Each article should discuss some issue that is pertinent to the organization of a new party. The pieces should be set up in some standardized form, so that when a number have appeared, they can be photographed from the paper, and reprinted in pamphlet form.

"London Labor Report" - a monthly letter of news, written by Dave Williams in London and distributed by the Labor Press Associates.

"Director's Diary" - A summary of matters that have come to the attention of the director during the month that might interest NEC followers.

Appropriate pictures and cartoons.

The newspaper would be put out under the supervision of the director and of an Editorial Committee set up for that purpose. The paper would subscribe to the LPA service. This would provide the Williams' London Letter, cartoons, and some news.

It may be possible to contract with someone now in the labor press field to take on the actual job of putting out the paper. An estimate of the cost of this service and actual production costs will be submitted as soon as possible.

Until the newspaper can be issued, the mimeographed Newsletter will be published.

B. <u>"Labor Britain Today"</u>

This is Lewis Corey's idea. He has been authorized to publish a monthly, 4 page paper, about 9 x 12, which would report news from Britain, Canada, and other spots in Europe and Asia where there are developments of interest to NEC people. The paper would be financed through separate subscriptions of 10¢ per issue, $1 per year.

C. Study Reports

As indicated above, one of the most important activities of the NEC will be researching in many different fields of political, economic, and social problems where new party program must be developed. The results of this research and analysis will be published from time to time in pamphlet -- or other appropriate form. These publications will be available free to all NEC members, and will be pushed through ads and other promotional devices so that they receive the widest possible distribution.

D. Study Leaflets

A series of short, simply written leaflets will be issued to be used by NEC groups in studying the basic aspects of economics as they effect us daily. These leaflets will be pushed in worker education channels and similar places both for their usefulness as educational materials and to get the NEC name before these people. Sample topics: How high should wages be; What is productivity; Who has the savings; Government plans for full employment What hope for adequate purchasing power.

E. Policy Statements and Releases

From time to time the national office will issue policy statements on current issues of domestic and international policy. The statements

will be issued on consultation with the Executive Board. Where a Study Committee has been established, the Committee will also be consulted.

The policy statement will be accompanied by a press release, and will be given the widest possible circulation.

F. Misc. Educational and Promotional Materials

Pamphlet, leaflet, and hand-out material promoting the ideas for which NEC stands.

New Party

THE AIMS OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY

Each day makes clearer and clearer that monopoly capitalism cannot work for the good of the American people. America, we were told, fought the Second World War to bring "freedom from want" to the American people. But both business and government obstinately show their utter lack of knowledge, ability and desire to create plenty.

During that great war, the federal government lavishly bestowed on American industry glorious "E" awards for patriotic service, although the real rewards for Efficiency in production were not these alphabetical paper citations but the guaranteed high profits on goods sold in a market glutted with wartime scarcity.

The senselessness of American rugged individualism, free competition, and private ownership of other people's right to work was brazenly demonstrated as soon as the war ended. Although sixty million jobs and commodities in proportion were promised by both, neither American business nor the American government had serious or workable plans or preparations for reconversion to peace. Although millions of workers needed just as much food and clothing and housing to live upon during the new era of peace as during the years of war, American capitalism immediately bared its greedy soul and exposed its disinterest in the people's "freedom from want" by shortening work hours and discharging workers wherever it could, American labor thereby suffering a severe wage cut.

In some fields even in 1945 the selfishness of business was indicated by its refusal to sell already-made goods until the lower income taxes of 1946 would affect the profits on such sales. In other branches its grasping character appeared in its deliberately side-tracking meat and butter and shirts and cotton into black markets here or legitimate markets abroad, but at higher prices than could be had legally at home. In other divisions business tried to scare labor out of demanding more peacetime pay by closing down plants under the guise of "reconversion."

That American monopoly capitalism gave only lip-service to democracy during the [redacted] war for liberty and equality was promptly shown. Business on one hand [redacted] wholesale employment discriminations against Negroes and other racial and religious minorities, [redacted] the government on the other hand [redacted] disgraceful filibuster that shelved the Fair Employment Practice Bill in the Senate with merely the lukewarm interest of the President and the active connivance of the Democratic and Republican parties in Congress, [redacted] pigeon-holed the measure that would have given equal job chances to all, regardless of blood, complexion or church.

When workers after the [redacted] war sought higher wages to make up for the increased cost of living, business, the right hand of American capitalism, showed how insincere was its avowed concern in American decency by striking against the workers and refusing to grant them more pay until the government, the left hand of American capitalism, allowed it to charge higher prices for its goods. Then the federal price-control agencies, the

left hand, obligingly gave industry, the right hand, permission to take back from the workers thru higher prices the wage increases that were only too meager to begin with. In this way, the business-minded government works hand in hand with government-minded business.

Although Congress generously fixed a minimum wage for workers at 40 cents an hour, or about $1,000 a year if we include some over-time work, this totten income could not provide a decent standard of living for an American worker. Yet after our wartime "prosperity" and its rise in prices, this minimum wage buys still less goods today than it did when the government established it. But when the emergency proposal was set before Congress to place a maximum limit on salaries of big-business executives at $25,000 per annum, or $10.00 an hour if we assume they slave as long as the laborers, the Republicans and Democrats as representatives of business in Congress accommodatingly by-passed that idea.

Already the peace bears the buds of the coming disastrous depression. The unemployed are already admitted to be more than two million in number, despite the millions of women who are not counted as "unemployed" because they have "voluntarily" left their jobs to return to family life, and despite the millions of discharged soldiers and sailors who are not considered as "unemployed" because they are getting "educational" allowances rather than to be both jobless and penniless in these unsettled times. Moreover, the boys and girls still in the armed forces would ordinarily add several million to the present unemployed and the continuance of the military draft signifies that American monopoly capitalism cannot give a job to every man.

As peacetime production expands, however, private profits will also grow. This is all too clear from the insistence of business, with the assistance of government, that prices must be increased to cover wage rises. Yet, like the automaton that destroyed Frankenstein, its creator, profits is the monkey wrench that stalls the prosperity machine that makes it. In principle and practice, profit means that the business of the country pays the workers of the country less than the total amount of goods produced. This excess of production over distribution is the unconsumed profit of the capitalists. This unused profit accumulates until we soon again have the unsalable over-production of the 1920's. These surplus goods cause unemployment and distress. Yet American is rushing pell-mell into another crazy era of "starvation in the midst of plenty."

It is [illegible] capitalism cannot work and the capitalists and their political parties are too set in their ways to learn the inescapable facts, too bent upon their individual fortune-hunting to see the need and the chance of communal prosperity. [illegible] the profit system cannot longer work to the advantage of the American people. It is as out of date for the United States now as the pony express in the period of the telegraph and telephone and radio.

It is necessary to recall that the only way American monopoly capitalism could lift the American people up out of the depression of 1929 to 1939 was by the prosperity offered to it by the Second World War. We must also remember that during that decade of decay the American public suffered from overproduction, that misery prevailed because of the economic paradox that the people were poor and hungry because they had produced too much wealth, that the workers were

not paid enough wages to buy the goods they had made so that they could not use up the surpluses and create jobs for themselves.

When we remember these important facts about that deplorable depression that was not ended, but only interrupted, by the war, we are justified in asking, "What has gambling done to remove this tragic defect of the American wage system" And so that we look over the deeds of American capitalism, from the eruption of the panic in 1929, at the very peak of "prosperity" under the Republican regime, through the four years thereafter until 1933, we can properly ask, "What did the Republicans have, or what have they now, to offer as a solution to this problem" And without exaggeration, the shocking answer comes out of the void, "Nothing!" So we ask in like fashion, "Since 1933, what has the New Deal of the Democrats achieved" And again the astounding reply comes back out of nowhere, "Nothing!" Yes, despite all the economic tricks of its National Recovery Act, and its eight other silly acts, nothing solved anything ---

Only the approach of the war in Europe brought back full production and full employment here. All else failed. And now that the last war is over we are headed back to the depression again --- and perhaps into the last war again. But even war is obsolete and we want no last war. Physical scientists have finally penetrated the shell of the invisible atom and have uncovered its mighty secrets and put them to work -- For wealth, [redacted] If war comes again to the United States or the world, it may well be the last war. For today even the most modern war is as old-fashioned and futile and ridiculous and suicidal as the slingshot is against the atom bomb. Yet American monopoly capitalism, the excess-profit system, the inadequate-wage system, is again dragging us slowly, certainly, along the

[illegible] can-way road to the same martial perdition. Then -- isn't it time genius scientists saved America from the collective loss of the system of private profit?

We, the National Educational Committee for a New Party, formed at Chicago on April 7, 1946, have given our attention to the crucial needs of these days. We realize the source of danger, We see the means of salvation.

A new political party must be organized in America to function in a purely democratic and practical manner. Its object must be to replace monopoly capitalism with public ownership of the basic business enterprises.

Under capitalism, at each stage of overproduction, at each threat of loss of profits, the answer of the owners of the vast factories, mines, railroads and mills, is to shut them down until the workers or the surplus goods are exhausted. So, in the pre-war depression we had idle industry and men due to the excess of commodities. And in the recent post-war crisis, business closed down its plants until sufficient profits were assured by higher prices.

But closing down plants and keeping labor idle and hoarding warlord goods cannot advance society. Only producing and distributing more goods can do that. We have the apparatus -- the machines and the workers. What we lack is a proper co-ordination of this apparatus to the welfare of our nation. Full-time industry and employment are impossible under private ownership that forces every capitalist institution to amass private profits in the form of goods that can't be sold because the workers are paid too little to buy them up.

The only Correct answer to this capitalist impasse is that the government acquire and operate the major American business establish-

wants. Otherwise destruction threatens us. Accordingly, we pledge to study and outline a new program in greater detail to achieve these results --- in an orderly, gradual, practical, and, above all, democratic American way. By no means should public ownership come about by confiscation of property or seizure of the state.

National management of the large business institutions -- but not of small, private home or farm or shop -- will make production of goods greater because it will be continuous -- which will insure steady employment of it more and more equally for all. Public control of large-scale production and distribution will lift the general standard of living by increasing output and spreading it more evenly among the people through better wages to workers and lower prices to consumers. Government spending connected in operation will help this, for under public direction the tremendous salaries of executives, the enormous advertising bills and other wasteful expenses will be [redacted] for the welfare of the public at large. And above all, the end of profit will allow still higher wages and lower prices.

In addition, while state ownership and operation is spreading, the government must take up the slack in w jobs that private business cannot provide. Nationally planned public-works and housing programs will do this, the money to be taken by taxes from the big income profit. But no such provisions can ever possibly create permanent or adequate capitalist prosperity, even if accompanied by unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, health, death and childbirth benefits. So long as the profit system is intact social legislation alone can never prevent capitalist overproduction and unemployment -- and war.

-7-

New Party

Provisional Declaration of Principles
National Educational Committee for a New Party

The American people need a new party to implement their urgent economic, political and social needs.

The American people want economic security with freedom, which calls for an end of depressions and unemployment. They believe that they should enjoy the economic abundance and welfare that our marvelous machines have made a possibility. They demand destruction of the monopoly controls that prevent full employment and endanger democracy.

The American people want to uproot the racial and religious discriminations that befoul our glorious tradition and practice of democracy. They want greater racial, economic and political equality.

The American people want to build a world of cooperation and peace through the reign of justice and law.

But the Democratic and Republican parties are showing an inability to meet these basic wants of the American people.

Republicans are dominated by traditional reactionary ideas. The New Deal is a spent force in the Democratic party. A never-ending danger is present in the bi-partisan coalition of reactionary Democrats and Republicans in Congress. Progressive measures are adopted against the coalition's savage opposition. The coalition has prevented adoption of legislation for fully effective reconversion and price control, for full employment and for fair employment practices, for an adequate housing program. It has prevented adoption of anti-discrimination legislation while crackpot groups inflame the racial and religious hatreds that can explode in fascism. It has opposed all measures of a progressive foreign policy, including the loan to Britain. The coalition stands a barrier to economic and political progress, a discredit to Congressional government and a menace to liberal democracy.

We need a new political party through which the American people can secure the satisfaction of their wants: a party equipped with the principles and program adequate to meet the challenge of our modern age to build a new world out of the achievements of science and technology.

The Great Challenge

The achievements of science and technology can well make humanity's dream of the good life for all come true. It is no longer necessary that any human being should be ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, over-worked; that he should live in economic dependence, ignorance and ugliness. The productive forces of our world have so multiplied - and continue to multiply - that they can meet all material human needs. Machines that move with scarcely the touch of a worker's hand are constantly being made more efficient while new industrial inventions in the fields of synthetics and plastics, of electronics, are steadily increasing the ability of industry to produce the good things of life for all. The productive forces will be able to turn out a still larger flow of goods and services to meet human needs with the coming industrial application of atomic energy and photosynthesis as these unlock for men's use the final mystery of nuclear and solar energy. With this marvelous productive capacity we can easily end poverty. We can do more: we can rebuild cities, towns and whole regions and remold the American environment into areas of convenience and beauty in which freer people cooperate for nobler living. Increasing leisure, and the means to enjoy that leisure as one desires, is possible for everyone.

The higher living standards would, in turn, provide the material basis for a fuller realization of the humanist values of liberal democracy: a life for all men and women of independence and dignity in a freer democratic society.

Yet men and women are still tormented by unemployment and insecurity. Starvation and fear afflict most of the world's people. Humanity is tortured by dread of a more destructive, atomic war as apprehension grows that the new effort for world cooperation and peace may fail. We are caught in a universal crisis of institutions and ideas because of failure to adjust them to changes wrought by scientific-technological development. It is either-or: The achievements of science and technology must be used, through new ideas, new political alignments and institutions, to build a world of democratic security and peace, or they will be used to destroy man's world.

There is the challenge! We must develop the ideas, the people's movement and the will to meet the challenge now.

I. DOMESTIC POLICY

1. Prosperity or Depression?

War brought work for all who wanted work. Because of full employment and production for war the American people, in five years' time, almost doubled the physical output of goods; and this with 12,000,000 workers in the armed forces. Because of full employment and production for war the civilian Americans enjoyed higher living standards than they did in the peace-depression years of the 1930's.

The war proved that the American people can solve the problems of production. It proved that we can now produce enough to supply every American family, rural and urban, with a minimum yearly income of $3,000 to $4,000 (at 1940 prices) - providing there is full employment with the full use of productive resources.

However, America has never in the past 100 years provided jobs for all in peacetime, not even during periods of the most flourishing prosperity. And prosperity always crashed into depression, with its tremendous increase of unemployment. Neither monopoly big business nor the New Deal government was able to end the depression of the 1930's. Ten million Americans, it must be remembered, were still unemployed when war came in 1939. Unless we grapple fundamentally with the situation a new depression will be inevitable in the near future.

But a new depression would unleash dark forces of reaction, intolerance and chaos. It would bring economic disaster to other nations and make impossible world cooperation and peace. There must be no depression!

2. Program for Action

Labor, the farmers and consumers, small businessmen, salaried employes and professionals must press for action now to prevent depression and sustain prosperity. As an immediate program, around which to organize for action toward realizing the economic and human welfare potential in our great productive forces,

1. We urge cooperation of functional management, union labor and government to insure a high-wage, low-price and low-profit policy to maximize consumption with a view to full production and full employment.

2. We urge an increasing share for our farmers in the nation's prosperity through higher real prices for farm products, the extension of farm credit, crop insurance, soil conservation and improvement, and lower prices for the materials and implements that farmers must buy. More TVA's are necessary to develop backward agricultural regions. The problem of farm surpluses cannot be solved through exports to foreign markets, for which the American farmer has been fighting a losing battle, but only through a planful program to encourage greater food consumption by our people, the diversification of agriculture in the surplus-crop areas, and greater use of surpluses for manufacture of synthetics and plastics. The middle-and-lower farmers should be freed of mortgage burdens. An expanded Farm Security Administration must work to transform tenants and sharecroppers into free owners of their own farms or free partners in cooperative farms, and to relocate farmers and farm workers displaced from the soil by introduction of farm machinery. In a liberal democracy the most prevalent form of farming should be the independent family-type farm, which utilizes cooperatives of all kinds, including the purchase, leasing and sale of commodities; or cooperative farms in the field of large-scale agriculture. A network of small industries, in the form of producer cooperatives, should be developed in the farm belt to absorb surplus agricultural products and surplus agricultural labor. Legislation must be adopted to discourage corporation and other forms of absentee farm ownership and a land tax should be imposed to make unprofitable the speculative ownership of farm lands.

3. We urge a greater share for labor in the earnings of industry through constantly higher wages and shorter hours, and the retention and strengthening of labor's rights. A high-wage policy is a basic element for enduring prosperity since it helps bring the mass consumption to support mass production. Wages can go up while working hours go down to 35 and 30 hours a week as increasing industrial efficiency yields a production of constantly more goods and services with constantly smaller amounts of human labor. Hours worked fell from 80-70 in 1870 to 40-35 in 1940; they can fall again as the new technological revolution works its productive marvels. Democratic equality calls for abolition of discriminatory wage differentials and for industry bargaining and agreements to implement the

the abolition. It calls for the guarnatee of the workers right to a job. There must be no legal limitations of the freedom of labor unions to carry on their legitimate economic functions. Labor is not free if limitations are imposed upon its right to organize, to bargain collectively and to strike; labor is not free if it must accept compulsory arbitration. Limitation and suppression of labor's rights is likely to prove the beginning of fascism. Unionism and collective bargaining lay the foundation for constitutional democracy in industry. This democracy will become more meaningful as labor's rights are fully implemented and labor gets a voice in industry's councils through two-way union-management cooperation. Labor's prosperity and freedom are indispensible to the community's prosperity and freedom. The reverse is also true and important, for labor lives and operates in the community. As their power grows the unions must develop a growing understanding of the responsibility of power in relation to union practices and community needs. Progressive labor is aware that irresponsible abuse of power invites repression and disaster.

4. We urge an increasing share in economic welfare for white-collar workers, for intermediate and lower levels of technical-managerial employes and for professional people. The welfare of these groups is of increasing importance as their numbers and services multiply. This welfare can be promoted only on condition that the primary incomes of workers and farmers keep on rising through full continuous production. It cannot be promoted against the welfare of workers and farmers. Professional organizations should develop larger social understanding and social action. Union organization is necessary for white-collar workers. All useful functional groups must cooperate to promote one another's interests through measures for realization of economic abundance.

5. We urge encouragement and protection for small independent business, where free enterprise is truly free because ownership is combined with management. Monopoly oligarchs who cry "save free enterprise" are the very people who destroy the free enterprise of small business. For the small businessmen to live and flourish the power of monopoly big business must be broken. Taxation can be used to encourage independent business; public research projects should be set up to serve it; government war plants, where they are not converted into public corporations or cooperatives, must be sold on easy terms to small independents. Cultivation of friendlier relations between labor unions and small businessmen will prove of mutual advantage. The small businessmen, too, can thrive only in the midst of full production and increasingly higher standards of living.

6. We urge the use of government war plants to promote economic expansion and prosperity. These plants were built by public initiative, public money and public risk. Why, then, should they be turned over to private monopoly ownership? Some of these plants may be operated directly by government as yardsticks to promote desirable economic objectives. The majority should be converted into public corporations, on the model of TVA but with inclusion of representatives of management , labor and consumers on the directorates. Smaller plants can be sold to small business or cooperative interests. Public ownership of the larger war plants, converted to peacetime uses, would achieve at least three great benefits: (1) It would bring to industry a supply of cheap materials, including fertilizer for farmers and new materials for good low-cost housing, thus leading to economic expansion. (2) It would mean a development of industrial research independent of monopoly profit and power, with the results freely available to all industry. (3) It would strengthen the trends toward production for human welfare and not for monopoly profit.

7. We urge a comprehensive housing program with planning on the local, regional and national levels. There is today great need for upward of 15,000,000 new homes to re-house the American people in comfort, decency and health. The building of these homes accompanied by construction of needed hospitals and schools, could keep America prosperous for many years to come. Yet few efforts are being made toward a comprehensive housing program. Neither public planning nor private enterprise is doing the job. What is needed is a deep-going housing program which unites the efforts of government (national and local), of architects, builders and manufacturers of materials, of labor unions and cooperatives. Housing should become a public utility within which public, private and cooperative enterprise and planning can work to meet the people's needs. Such a program would include adequate federal and state subsidies to promote low-cost housing, measures for reduction of capital costs (especially land costs), and the use of prefabrication in such a way as to inflict no unemployment on building trades workers or foster new slums. The country must be brought to the towns and the towns to the country, with the equalization and increase of educational, recreational and health facilities, and the abolition of racial and religious discriminations. Urban and rural slums must go. The public condemnation power should be used to get rid of obsolescent dwelling places and areas.

Progressive taxation of unused land held for speculation should also be employed. There are already enough garden cities and town to show what can be done to build spacious, cheerful homes set in the midst of natural and human beauty: a constant joy and inspiration for the men, women and children who live there.

8. We urge a more comprehensive system of social security to insure everyone, from the cradle to the grave, against illness, accidents, unemployment and old age. Such an all-inclusive security system is being implemented by the Labor Government in England, where economic resources are far smaller than those found in the United States. The requirements are these: coverage for all groups of our people, including the self-employed; substantial unemployment and old-age and survivors' benefits, with retirement at age sixty; a system of medical insurance and hospitalization. In the operation of health insurance there should be freedom of choice for physicians and patients. A widespread program of nutrition education is imperative to teach our people the most healthful choice of food stuffs. The development of group and cooperative medicine and industry-union welfare funds are a desirable grass-roots amplification of social security. On a basis of minimum security the American people can move to broaden and deepen the use of the medical and technical-economic marvels of our age to fashion and environment in which all human beings can realize fully their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

9. We urge the use of public planning, taxation and spending to promote economic balance and prosperity. Planning is necessary on all levels in the complex economic world of today, but its larger aspects are blocked or distorted by monopoly's economic and political power. Yet there is need for public economic planning. National councils should be organized to plan, as much as is possible within monopoly capitalism, for full production and employment; and for the survey, regulation and development of the country's natural resources. As industry does not distribute enough consumer purchasing power to allow consumption to keep pace with production, the emergency use of government spending on public works and other useful projects, at prevailing wages and salaries, can help to avert depression and to bring recovery from depression. To reduce the unequal distribution of wealth and income, which is so dangerous to liberal democracy and a factor in the over-saving and under-consumption that bring depression, heavier taxes are necessary on the larger incomes and lower taxes on the smaller incomes, with more stringent taxation of speculation and inheritances. A combination of such measures may help to keep up that effective consumer demand without which the wheels of industry slow down and stop.

10. We urge more and better education to strengthen the procedures and values of liberal democracy as it moves toward greater fulfillment. Higher pay for teachers and smaller classes on all levels are urgently needed. There is need for the use of federal grants-in-aid (without, however, bureaucratic control of education) to realize educational equality for States, for rural and urban communities, for racial minority groups. More effective financial aid is necessary for poor students until poverty is no more. The American people want an educational democracy in a greater economic, political and social democracy. They are moving toward universal higher education through combination of an increasing economic surplus, higher family incomes and more public promotion of higher education. To strengthen the liberating nature of higher education there is need for less emphasis on the vocational aspects and more emphasis on the human, cultural and democratic aspects. We need an education that is a growing activity which carries on beyond the school; that stresses the reacting relation between experience and education; that cuts through dogma, vested interests and prejudices to the changing realities and needs of our age. We need an education that infuses morality with scientific intelligence and scientific intelligence with morality ot prevent the appearance of "educated barbarians" and to combine the rational scientific approach with humanist emphasis on the supreme worth and dignity of the individual. Universal higher education will invigorate democratic equality and freedom as it breaks the monopoly of talents, understanding and skills that allows a small group to dominate. Youth can meet the challenge of our generation only as it is fully equipped with the cultural, vocational and liberal democratic tools with which to shape a world of human security and freedom, of human individuality and dignity.

11. We urge the removal of all restrictions on civil liberties and human rights. Removal of the restrictions is necessary if liberal democracy is to live and grow. All political, economic and social discriminations against racial minority groups must go if we are to insure full equality of opportunity in life and work. Since civil liberties depend so much upon freedom of press and radio,

the monopoly controls in those areas must be broken and replaced with increasing independent ownership, including ownership by labor, farmer and cooperative organizations and by educational institutions.

12. We urge avoidance of the permanent large-scale militarism which endangers democracy and freedom. While, until universal disarmament comes, preparations for national defense are inescapable, the imposition of universal peacetime conscription is neither democratic nor effective defense in an atomic age. Everywhere militarism is a danger to liberal democracy and helps to prepare the way for totalitarianism and to support it. American democracy owes much to the relative absence of a large military establishment. During the war the American military oligarchs tried to usurp civilian authority and functions; all such usurpation must stop. Civilian control is mandatory in any national commission for the development of atomic energy.

3. Against Monopoly Reaction!

The economic and political forces of reaction are resisting, and will continue to resist the realization of measures to bring economic security and freedom to the American people. Capitalist monopoly is the driving force of reaction.

Consider the postwar behavior of monopoly: It unloosed a campaign against the policy of high wages with low prices and low profits which is needed for full employment. It strives to break the labor unions and cooperatives, while it forms bigger combines on a scale larger than in the 1920's and is moving toward renewal of international cartels and imperialism. Large numbers of small businessmen and farmers are being misled to accept monopoly policy while monopoly sabotages their interests. Monopoly reaction drives toward destruction of the surviving elements of economic freedom.

Consider the power of monopoly: In the prewar years 1,500 giant monopoly corporations, which dominate industrial activity, obtained up to 70% of all corporate profits. During the war years 100 giant monopoly corporations got more than two-thirds of the primary government contracts for war supplies, and another 100 got most of the balance. Monopoly grew stronger during the war, when anti-trust laws were suspended to get "production at any price." In 1944 the 250 largest corporations operated two-thirds of America's manufacturing facilities. Monopoly is dominant in mining, manufactures, transportation, public utilities and banking, the whole economic system is under its control.

Free enterprise? Monopoly capitalism misuses the ideas of free enterprise to cover up its destruction of economic freedom. For the manifestations of free enterprise are: widespread ownership of small property; a large number of independent producers who compete freely in a free market where prices move freely in response to changes in costs, supply and demand; where no one producer or combination of producers is strong enough to dominate the market or to fix prices. But monopoly represents an overwhelming centralization of ownership and control in giant corporations that "regulate" markets, suppress competition and fix prices. Monopoly pursues the opposite policy of truly free, competitive enterprise, which can make more money only if it produces and sells more. Restriction of output is practiced by monopoly to keep prices high and profits big.

Free enterprise? But free enterprise meant the economic freedom of democratic ownership of the means of livelihood by the people in the form of widespread ownership of small productive property. There was measurable economic freedom in the America of the 1820's, when upward of 80% of the people owned productive property which they worked. Today, however, upward of 85 % of the American people own no productive property but depend upon a wage-or-salary job for the right to work and live. A monopoly oligarchy of economic domination has replaced the earlier democracy of free enterprise. Not more than 300,000 big stockholders own 80% of all corporate stock. Free enterprise in this case means freedom for monopoly oligarchs to rule the democratic people.

Monopoly represents a monstrous concentration of parasitic absentee ownership: the owners own but do not manage the corporations they own. Monopoly corporations are managed primarily by hired technical-managerial employes who have little or no share in the ownership of the corporations: they manage but do not own. The monopoly system is effectively controlled by an inner-

oligarchy of perhaps 20,000 key officers, big stockholders and directors. These oligarchs praise free enterprise while they bury it.

All useful functional groups in the population are oppressed by capitalist monopoly. Monopoly oppresses the workers by opposing unionism and high wages. Monopoly oppresses the farmers through a policy of charging high prices for the supplies farmers buy and of paying low prices for the products farmers sell. Monopoly oppresses small bussinessmen by its destructive competition and by high prices it charges for the materials small business has to buy, while concentration of profits in monopoly corporations means smaller or no profits for business independents. Monopoly oppresses the technicians and managers by a policy of profit-at-any-price which frustrates their craftsman urge for greater efficiency and production.

Monopoly oppresses the people as a whole by its restriction of production, consumer purchasing power and consumption. Opportunities for profitable new investment are limited by monopoly while it piles up an unusable surplus capital through distribution of more than three-fifths of all corporate interest and dividend payments. Monopoly is the expression of all the elements that upset the economic balance to bring economic breakdown, depression and unemployment. It is the great barrier to an expansion of production and consumption.

Monopoly, moreover, is authoritarian in organization and policy. It regiments industry, labor and society, and its reaction against economic freedom merges into reaction against political freedom.

All government's anti-trust efforts to break up monopoly have failed - monopoly has grown steadily stronger. All government's efforts effectively to regulate and control monopoly have failed - monopoly remains an irresponsible private power that thwarts government and the people. The economics and politics of monopoly drive toward a totalitarian monopoly state as in Germany.

Monopoly capitalism creates a condition of permanent social-economic crisis. The failure of government to solve the crisis through the break up or regulation and control of monopoly is accompanied by failure of government planning and spending to solve the crisis. Planning and spending by bits-and-pieces within the framework of monopoly capitalism cannot overcome the over-saving and the accumulating deficiency of consumer purchasing power brought on by monopoly production and investment for profit. Monopoly ownership and power resists the attempts of government to plan and spend, and this resistance calls forth more controls and regimentation by government. The result is a monstrous mixture of "capitalism" and "socialism" that is neither free enterprise nor planning, with none of their advantages and all their defects. In a "capitalist mixed economy" there is a perpetual economic unbalance and political turmoil that calls for more governmental controls that do not work. An endless succession of bureaucratic controls that do not work will move toward totalitarian statism. A loss of faith in the democratic way of life arises - a drift toward blind acceptance of totalitarian ideas and the danger of a disastrous conflict between totalitarians of the fascist "right" and totalitarians of the communist "left".

Disaster can come from a policy that sums up all economic wisdom and needs in government "planning and spending" while it ignores the reactionary economics and politics of monopoly. The politics of monopoly reaction call for a new people's party to implement the politics of progress to re-shape economic institutions for abundance, freedom and peace. It must be a people's movement that, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, "disbelieves that nothing can ever be devised more perfect than was established by our forefathers" ... that dares "to go forward, not backward."

4. For a Liberal Economic Democracy

Monopoly can be broken only by taking monopoly corporations out of private ownership and transforming them into public enterprises to serve the common good. Economic freedom can be restored in the monopoly areas only by a new type of free enterprise for freedom - the public ownership and operation that constitutes economic freedom in new institutional forms.

Monopoly property is a negation of "the right to property" as understood by earlier liberal democrats, among them Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson. Property, for them, was a means to promote individual freedom, democratic security and human values. The "right to property" was a right to individual functional ownership, whose justification was: "What I work I own and what I own I work". But today the great majority of our people - 85% of them - are alienated from property. Where property is no longer individual and functional, and no longer serves democratic ends, as monopoly property does not, it must be replaced by public or cooperative property to promote liberal democracy.

No more than property is free enterprise, as economic freedom, an unchanging or unchangeable concept. Monopoly destroys free enterprise. Hence unfree monopoly enterprise must be replaced by free public enterprise.

Public enterprise is free to promote economic progress and a new economic morality of direct service to human needs. It is free to make consumption the end-product of production, not the by-product of monopoly profit and power. Public enterprise frees managerial initiative, enterprise and invention by liberating them from monopoly controls and encouraging their unfettered development for production and social service.

Liberal democracy is impossible without the diversity of economic, political and cultural life which allows individuals the freedom to choose. Private monopoly cannot be replaced by state monopoly. Hence a liberal economic democracy calls for limited socialization in a pluralistic economy. It ejects the communist and orthodox Marxist concept of absolute collectivism in the form of exclusive state ownership and operation of all economic enterprise, which brings totalitarian destruction of freedom in a new class-political despotism. A liberal economic democracy is a free economy that combines five major elements:

1. Public enterprise, national regional and local, in the fields of natural resources, of the great banks and related financial institutions, and of large-scale industrial enterprises now in the grasp of monopoly. Public enterprises will operate typically as public corporations, which function far more independently of the state than do departments of government under which the Post Office, for example, is administered. Public corporations have inner autonomy and are independent of the state except for overall policy and planning. There is the utmost in administrative decentralization for grass-roots control. In a liberal economic democracy the public corporations will give adequate representation on their governing boards to all interested groups: technical-managerial staffs, labor and consumers should be further protected and promoted by independent Consumer Boards, as is the case in the liberal democratic socialism that the British Labor Government is building up. Under such a type of enterprise the consumers will still have freedom of choice in a free market, only their freedom will increase with the increase of consumer purchasing power. While public corporations operate under general policies set-up and checked-up by government, the day-by-day administration is given over to the directors and managerial staff. They are not run for maximum profit but for maximum production and human welfare. Profits are limited to the needs of replacement and expansion. There is full recognition of free unionism and collective bargaining, and the right to strike remains even though the need for striking may not arise.

2. Private enterprise in the field of small independent business, where the owners are not absentee owners but perform useful managerial services. Under a liberal economic democracy the small businessmen will be freed from monopoly exploitation and control. Their independence and prosperity will be sustained and promoted by public corporations, which operate in other fields and which lower prices, raise purchasing power and create greater prosperity. Hence small business can live and grow without the terrible exploitation of workers which is so often the case under monopoly capitalism. No business, big or small, has the right to exist unless it is beneficial to the workers and consumers. In a liberal economic democracy small independent business sets its objective to serve the general welfare and flourishes as it serves that welfare. There is place and need in a liberal economic democracy for free private enterprise that is truly free, and competitive, to prevent an overwhelming concentration of power in the state, and especially in the economic activities that support the "opinion industries" - printing, publishing, broadcasting - where freedom of enterprise (both individual and cooperative) will promote freedom of expression and criticism. Independent private enterprise, if it is an independent combination of individual ownership with individual initiative and management, can serve the people's economic and democratic needs. There is a "right to property" as these needs are served.

3. Free farmers operating use-owner family-type farms with an admixture of cooperatives. Free working farmers are sturdily democratic. Collectivization of farms is economically unnecessary and politically undesirable. In a liberal economic democracy all farmers will be free individual or cooperative farmers (over 2,000,000, or two out of five, are now tenants or sharecroppers). Landlordism will go, with use-ownership the only title to land. The new technology, which already is beginning to produce implements that make family-type farms more efficient and feasible, will be planfully slanted in that direction to promote the independence and raise the income of farmers. Free farm ownership, individual and cooperative, will be meshed into democratic economic planning on all levels.

4. Consumer and producer cooperatives that are independent of the state except for overall planning. Cooperatives are growing. They will grow still more as, in addition to their economic benefits, it is recognized that cooperative voluntarism, individual participation and grass-roots self-government are sturdy supports of freedom in a liberal economic democracy. Autonomous cooperatives are indispensible in economic reconstruction for security and freedom, to escape totalitarian statism. Producer cooperatives can flourish particularly in the twilight zone between big and small enterprises, those which are too big for individual ownership or, it may be decided, too small for public ownership. They can flourish, too, in foreign trade and strengthen freedom of intercourse among nations. The scope of cooperatives will broaden from economic activities to include a larger share in promotion of health and recreation, in educational and other cultural activities.

5. Free labor unions that retain their autonomy and are independent both of management and the state. A combination of union management, industrial management and the state in one bureaucratic centralization of power is the basis of the absolute totalitarian state, which means the end of liberal democratic freedoms. Unionism represents the self-organization and self-activity of the workers to protect and promote their interests. Workers will remain workers in any new order of the early future, they will still need independent unions to protect and promote their interests: unions that are free to bargain and, if necessary, free to strike. Whatever broadening of their functions there may be the unions must remain autonomous, not only to advance workers' interests but to act as one of the checks-and-balances on managerial and governmental bureaucracy. Unfree "unions" are a major support of the totalitarian state and the new serfdom. Free unions are a major support of liberty in a liberal economic democracy.

As the combined operation of these five elements liberates society from monopoly capitalist reaction it will, within the framework of an invigorated political democracy, allow technology do the job of producing an abundance of goods and services to meet human needs. It will bring economic balance and security, production for consumption and welfare, democratic self-government in economic activity. It will provide the material means with which to build an American commonwealth where a fuller realization of the human moral values of liberal democracy will prevail.

A liberal economic democracy plans. The planning will work because no monopoly capitalist power exists to oppose and frustrate it. Economic institutions will work with not against planning. Direct governmental controls and regimentation diminish as the transformation of monopoly corporations into democratic public enterprise assures economic balance and security, ends the economic crisis and turmoil created by the clash of private monopoly interests and the people's needs. National planning will be limited to strategic factors of policy, price and profit, overall investment, with supplementary resort to fiscal policy for desirable economic and social objectives. Liberal democratic planning proceeds on regional and local levels as well as on the national level, with functional coordination of the public, private and cooperative enterprise.

Political power is needed to achieve economic reconstruction. But "the urgent and central problem of the present time", said John Dewey in 1939, "is whether economic-social changes can be effected in ways which preserve and develop what was fundamental in earlier liberalism, not in ways which destroy for a time (a time whose length cannot now be measured) all that was best in the older democratic ideas and ideals; intellectual and moral freedom; freedom of inquiry and expression; freedom of association in work, recreation and for religious purposes; the freedom of intercourse among nations.... The seizure of political power by force signifies the continued maintenance of power by force with its suppression of the most precious freedoms of the individual spirit. Maintenance of power in order to use force becomes the actual end. Means used determine the end actually reached."

A peaceful democratic conquest of political power is imperative. It is possible as all useful functional groups unite against monopoly capitalism on a program of liberal economic democracy. Destruction of political democracy to gain "economic democracy", as communism proposes, ends up in no democracy at all. Destruction of civil liberties to gain "economic security" ends up in insecurity, for individual security is impossible without civil liberties. Our objectives and practice must be infused with democracy as moral end and social means.

The limited socialization, the economic and organizational pluralism and autonomy of a liberal economic democracy sets up institutional checks-and-balances on the state. Within the new institutional relations the state remains democratic, representative, limited in its power. There is limitation, specification and decentalization of power on successive functional levels to promote the self-activity of institutions and individuals. The citizens of a liberal economic democracy will be in a position, much more than they are now, to speak up and be heard, to criticize, propose and decide, to act without compulsion from the oligarchs of monopoly capitalism or the oligarchs of totalitarian communism. They will be free to use creative intelligence to make man's increasing mastery over nature serve man, not monopoly, totalitarianism or destruction.

The end of "laissez-faire capitalism" means the end neither of individualism nor of the liberal temper. On the contrary, it is the monopoly capitalism that arose out of laissez-faire that endangers them both. In a liberal economic democracy there is no necessary conflict between the identity of the individual and social identity. Man will be neither atomistic (in the sense of an arrogant unbridled "economic man") nor collective (in the sense of an anonymous "collective man"). The goal is free development or the individual as the condition for free development of every other individual's personality, creative activity and happiness.

Within a liberal economic democracy, with its economic, political and cultural diversity and pluralism, it is possible for man the thinker and worker to become more liberal, more critical yet more tolerant. There will be wider, mor significant cooperative participation of individuals in the economic, political and cultural activities that make up human life and destiny on both individual and collective levels. Individual conscience and moral responsibility will not be swallowed up in the enslaving anonymous "responsibility" of an absolute state. Man will freely use the experimental scientific approach to serve truly human needs, with free consideration and determination of ends and means, with results freely checked against premises, interests and values. Liberation of the fresh and variable individual qualities should bring an upsurge of initiative, enterprise and invention in all spheres of human activity.

The future is not frozen, it comes alive for free men and women to shape as they will to serve their ends.

II. FOREIGN POLICY

The American people can be certain of one thing: domestic policy and foreign policy are today one and inseparable. Only as we reorganize our domestic economy to maintain prosperity and beat down reaction can America mobilize its full strength for organization of world security and peace. Only as we have world security against war can we carry on domestic reconstruction.

1. For World Cooperation and Peace.

No nation, not even the United States and the Soviet Union, can assure its people security against war except through collective security operating under international law for international justice.

Implementation of the American proposal for an Atomic Development Authority which shall own and operate all uranium mines and uranium plants throughout the world, with unrestricted inspection-and-control powers within every nation to guard against misuse of atomic energy for war, will be a tremendously significant achievement. For it marks the abandonment, in one area, of national sovereignty, and abandonment that is imperative for world peace.

But imperative as it is the international control of atomic energy alone cannot avert an atomic war unless it is followed by disarmament and renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. If there is a third World War all the warring nations will feverishly begin the manufacture of atomic weapons (and of other new destructive weapons that science will invent).

Hence we urge the United States to call, at the earliest opportunity and through the UNO, for a conference on world disarmament.

We urge, further, a call for renunciation of war and of "the sovereign national right" to make war. War must be outlawed under a system of international law that stigmatizes war as a punishable crime. To go in that direction we must organize the world's moral sentiment against war, multiply the institutions of internationl authority and a ction, broadon the powers of the UNO.

It is also necessary that the Court of International Justice have compulsory jurisdiction, not the optional jurisdiction provided for in the UNO charter. So far the British Labor Government alone of the great powers has accepted the court's compulsory jurisdiction and has categorically made a pledge to merge its national sovereignty to make UNO a true Parliament of Man. We urge that the United States and other nations do likewise.

The UNO must be made to work as is. But we must also strive to make UNO more effective by expansion of the Assembly's powers, including an equal voice for small nations, and by abolition of the Great Power veto in the Security Council.

International political authority will be ineffective unless it is supplemented by a series of international a gencies for economic and social cooperation. There must be replacement of cartel controls, a release of the flow of international trade, promotion and euqalization of health, educational and labor standards, planful endeavors to raise the living standards of depressed areas of the earth through constructive investment, rational distribution of key raw materials and free disclosure of scientific discoveries and their technical-economic application for world modernization of industry and agriculture. It is especially important that there shall be planful international promotion of the use of synthetics, plastics and atomic energy to overcome regional deficiencies of raw materials and power to encourage more equal industrialization, and consequent higher living standards, throughout the world.

Finally, a free peacoful world calls for an international Bill of Rights, including minority rights and the freedom of information, of religion and of labor labor unions, that shall become mandatory on all nations.

2. Against All Imperialism:

There can be no peace without abandonment of imperialism, whether it be monopoly capitalist imperialism in the form of colonialism or communist imperialism in the form of Russian expansionism.

Peace is endangered by the British Tory conception (which, however, the British Labor government rejects) of keeping the Empire intact; by the Soviet Union's policy of establishing spheres of influence, through military force and puppet governments, in Central Eastern Europe, the Arabian regions and China; by the porposals of certain Americans for a vast expansion of naval and air power, including retention and extension of strategic naval and air bases for use by the United States alone.

Neither nationalist expansion nor power alliances can give the world peace, for they breed suspicion, rivalry for national power, a multiplication of armaments and war.

All moves for the self-determination and independence of peoples, including colonial peoples, must be supported. The British Labor Government is working, sometimes slowly and mistakenly, but working to free colonial peoples that Britain has ruled for generations - including India, the "jewel" of empire. But while capitalist imperialism is in process of being liquidated a new imperialism is being forged by Russian expansionism, which is dangerous for both Russia and the world. For Russian power politics will be answered by the power politics of other nations, thus conuuring up the very danger the Russian people want to avert: a coalition against the Soviet Union and war.

The world must cooperate with Russia to prevent war. But cooperation is a two-way street. A communist Russia and non-communist nations can live and work in peace <u>if they want peace</u>. This calls for abandonment of capitalist imperialism. Russia must give up the idea that only communist governments are "friendly" to it, and that a liberal democratic socialist government, like the British Labor Government, is the most "unfriendly" of all. Russia must give up any support of foreign communists, who wage unscrupulous, demoralizing warfare upon liberal

democratic unions and liberal democratic movements and ideas: an intolerable situation. In an atmosphere of peace we may learn from Russia and Russia may learn from us.

There must be neither American intervention in Europe to impose capitalist governments nor Russian intervention to impose communist governments. Europe needs freedom to decide its own democratic destiny on the basis of self-determination and independence of nations. This includes Germany, which, after complete disarmament, should retain industrialization and federal unity so that its people may live and develop a liberal democracy. According to all signs Europe, if left alone to decide by the Big Three, will move toward a liberal democratic socialism and the United States of Europe.

We are convinced that the test of any nation's foreign policy is: does this decision go forward to internationalism or backward to nationalism? The answer to Iran's oil is an International Oil Authority; the answer to the Danube River problem is internationalization; the answer to the Palestine tragedy is a Jewish Homeland under the UNO; the answer to what to do with Italy's colonies is freedom or multiple UNO trusteeships.

Hence all nationalistic or imperialistic decisions or actions, whether by our own country or any other, must be uncompromisingly opposed in favor of internation al solutions.

3. The American Task

The American people have a deep yearning for peace that must be transformed into dynamic action.

We must work to have our government develop and maintain a liberal foreign policy, which includes: all efforts to feed the world's hungry people; a tariff policy that releases the flow of trade; loans with small interest and on democratic terms, both for rehabilitation and for long-run industrialization of the world; an export policy that meshes into the needs of other nations, especially Britain, with no trade wars; the prevention of monopoly action against the world's economic interests.

At the same time our government must respect and work for the democratic rights of people everywhere, and to insist that other nations respect those rights. The United States should use its tremendous economic, political and moral power for satisfaction of aspirations for self-government and democracy of the peoples of Europe and the colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and the Americas.

So can we work to make this century end up as the century of truly democratic man.

III. TOWARD A PEOPLE'S PARTY

A new people's party will arise out of the people. It cannot be a party of the trade unions alone but a party that represents all useful functional groups, from farmers and workers to small businessmen and teachers and other professionals. Any other kind of party would split labor off from the rest of the community, the same split that was the major factor in the coming of fascism in Germany.

The need is for all-inclusive unity on political action and policy that represents the interests of all useful functional groups for the release of the economic abundance from which every group will gain. The dangerous alternative is pressure politics, in which each group carries on its own pressures to achieve its own limited objectives regardless of every other group. This ends in a cat-and-dog fight for a larger group share in a shrinking economic pie. The fratricidal struggle invites a crackdown by government and strengthens reaction.

The need is for unity in a new people's party on the basis of policy and action to solve the crisis of our generation, for economic abundance, freedom and peace.

Ours is a two-party country. The Republican Party arose as a third party to become the first party. It arose out of a deep-going crisis created by the slavery issue. Today there is a far greater crisis, the first universal crisis since the downfall of feudalism and the rise of capitalism, which offers the opportunity for a new party providing its policy and action meet the needs of the crisis.

It will be a party of the people, a party that learns from the people what they desire, their basic yearnings, wants and values. It will be a grass-roots party with widespread individual cooperative participation, from the bottom up, to make the party a party of the people.

It will be a party to implement liberal economic democracy. The American liberal tradition never separated political democracy from economic democracy. The colonists who fled Europe came for greater economic freedom as well as for political freedom. The Revolution of 1776 was marked by break-up of the great landed estates in the North to create a class of small democratic farmers. Jeffersonian democracy looked upon widespread ownership of small independent property as the democratic bulwark. Jacksonian democracy wanted state power to break monopoly and to achieve a more equal distribution of wealth, which was considered as important as the distribution of political power; the labor unions agreed, one of their leaders arguing that unions, by promoting more equal distribution of property, "help preserve the economic foundations of democracy." Populism fought monopoly and urged its nationalization to achieve the economic equality imperative for a truly democratic nation. The New Deal brought economic reforms, especially social security, and its spokesman urged an economic "bill of rights" - the right to a job, adequate food, clothing and recreation, the right of farmers and businessmen to protection from monopoly exactions, the right to a decent home, adequate medical care and protection from unemployment, accident, sickness and old age, the right to a good education. The New Deal, whose program was an emergency expression of the social-economic crisis, never proposed measures to implement fully those rights, and it is now history. The American people must go beyong the New Deal.

The American Dream was a yearning for a combination of political and economic democracy in a greater educational, cultural and social democracy.

Workers and farmers; Small businessmen, technical managerial employes and professional people; Men and women of goodwill everywhere; Let us recapture the American Dream in newer and finer fulfillments.

Provisional Declaration of Principles
National Educational Committee for a New Party

The American people need a new party to implement their urgent economic, political and social needs.

The American people want economic security with freedom, which calls for an end of depressions and unemployment. They believe that they should enjoy the economic abundance and welfare that our marvelous machines have made a possibility. They demand destruction of the monopoly controls that prevent full employment and endanger democracy.

The American people want to uproot the racial and religious discriminations that dishonor our glorious tradition and practice of democracy. They want greater racial, economic and political equality.

The American people want to build a world of cooperation and peace through the reign of justice and law.

But the Democratic and Republican parties are showing an inability to meet these basic wants of the American people.

The Republican and Democratic parties are dominated by traditional reactionary ideas. The New Deal is a spent force in the Democratic party. A never-ending danger is present in the bi-partisan coalition of reactionary Democrats and Republicans in Congress. Progressive measures are adopted against the coalition's savage opposition. The coalition has prevented adoption of legislation for fully effective reconversion and price control, for full employment and for fair employment practices, for an adequate housing program. It has prevented adoption of anti-discrimination legislation while crackpot groups inflame the racial and religious hatreds that can explode in fascism. It has opposed all measures of a progressive foreign policy, ~~including the loan to Britain.~~ The coalition stands a barrier to economic and political progress, a discredit to Congressional government and a menace to liberal democracy.

We need a new political party through which the American people can secure the satisfaction of their wants: a party equipped with the principles and program adequate to meet the challenge of our modern age to build a new world out of the achievements of science and technology.

The Great Challenge

The achievements of science and technology can well make humanity's dream of the good life for all come true. It is no longer necessary that any human being should be ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, over-worked; that he should live in economic dependence, ignorance and ugliness. The productive forces of our world have so multiplied - and continue to multiply - that they can meet all material human needs. Machines that move with scarcely the touch of a worker's hand are constantly being made more efficient while new ~~industrial~~ inventions in the fields of synthetics and plastics, of electronics, are steadily increasing the ability of industry to produce the good things of life for all. The productive forces will be able to turn out a still larger flow of goods and services to meet human needs with the coming industrial application of atomic energy and photosynthesis as these unlock for man's use the final mystery of nuclear and solar energy. With this marvelous productive capacity we can easily end poverty. We can do more: we can rebuild cities, towns and whole regions and remold the American environment into areas of convenience and beauty in which freer people cooperate for nobler living. Increasing leisure, and the means to enjoy that leisure as one desires, is possible for everyone.

The higher living standards would, in turn, provide the material basis for a fuller realization of the humanist values of liberal democracy: a life for all men and women of independence and dignity in a freer democratic society.

Yet men and women are still tormented by unemployment and insecurity. Starvation and fear afflict most of the world's people. Humanity is tortured by dread of a more destructive, atomic war as apprehension grows that the new effort for world cooperation and peace may fail. We are caught in a universal crisis of institutions and ideas because of failure to adjust them to changes wrought by scientific-technological development. It is either-or: The achievements of science and technology must be used, through new ideas, new political alignments and institutions, to build a world of democratic security and peace, or they will be used to destroy man's world.

There is the challenge! We must develop the ideas, the people's movement and the will to meet the challenge now.

I. DOMESTIC POLICY

1. Prosperity or Depression?

War brought work for all who wanted work. Because of full employment and production for war the American people, in five years' time, almost doubled the physical output of goods; and this with 12,000,000 workers in the armed forces. Because of full employment and production for war the civilian Americans enjoyed higher living standards than they did in the peace-depression years of the 1930's.

The war proved that the American people can solve the problems of production. It proved that we can now produce enough to supply every American family, rural and urban, with a minimum yearly income of $3,000 to $4,000 (at 1940 prices) - providing there is full employment with the full use of productive resources.

However, America has never in the past 100 years provided jobs for all in peacetime, not even during periods of the most flourishing prosperity. And prosperity always crashed into depression, with its tremendous increase of unemployment. Neither monopoly big business nor the New Deal government was able to end the depression of the 1930's. Ten million Americans, it must be remembered, were still unemployed when war came in 1939. Unless we grapple fundamentally with the situation a new depression will be inevitable in the near future.

But a new depression would unleash dark forces of reaction, intolerance and chaos. It would bring economic disaster to other nations and make impossible world cooperation and peace. There must be no depression!

2. Program for Action

Labor, the farmers and consumers, small businessmen, salaried employes and professionals must press for action now to prevent depression and sustain prosperity. As an immediate program, around which to organize for action toward realizing the economic and human welfare potential in our great productive forces,

1. We urge cooperation of functional management, union labor and government to insure a high-wage, low-price and low-profit policy to maximize consumption with a view to full production and full employment.

2. We urge an increasing share for our farmers in the nation's prosperity through higher real prices for farm products, the extension of farm credit, crop insurance, soil conservation and improvement, and lower prices for the materials and implements that farmers must buy. More TVA's are necessary to develop backward agricultural regions. The problem of farm surpluses cannot be solved through exports to foreign markets, for which the American farmer has been fighting a losing battle, but only through a planned program to encourage greater food consumption by our people, the diversification of agriculture in the surplus-crop areas, and greater use of surpluses for manufacture of synthetics and plastics. The middle-and-lower farmers should be freed of mortgage burdens. An expanded Farm Security Administration must work to transform tenants and sharecroppers into free owners of their own farms or free partners in cooperative farms, and to relocate farmers and farm workers displaced from the soil by introduction of farm machinery. In a liberal democracy the most prevalent form of farming should be the independent family-type farm, which utilizes cooperatives of all kinds, including the purchase, leasing and sale of commodities; or cooperative farms in the field of large-scale agriculture. A network of small industries, in the form of producer cooperatives, should be developed in the farm belt to absorb surplus agricultural products and surplus agricultural labor. Legislation must be adopted to discourage corporation and other forms of absentee farm ownership and a land tax should be imposed to make unprofitable the speculative ownership of farm lands.

3. We urge a greater share for labor in the earnings of industry through constantly higher wages and shorter hours, and the retention and strengthening of labor's rights. A high-wage policy is a basic element for enduring prosperity since it helps bring the mass consumption to support mass production. Wages can go up while working hours go down to 35 and 30 hours a week as increasing industrial efficiency yields a production of constantly more goods and services with constantly smaller amounts of human labor. Hours worked fell from 80-70 in 1870 to 40-35 in 1940; they can fall again as the new technological revolution works its productive marvels. Democratic equality calls for abolition of discriminatory wage differentials and for industry bargaining and agreements to implement the

the abolition. It calls for the guarnatee of the workers right to a job. There must be no legal limitations of the freedom of labor unions to carry on their ~~legitimate economic~~ functions. Labor is not free if limitations are imposed upon its right to organize, to bargain collectively and to strike; labor is not free if it must accept compulsory arbitration. Limitation and suppression of labor's rights is likely to prove the beginning of fascism. Unionism and collective bargaining lay the foundation for constitutional democracy in industry. This democracy will become more meaningful as labor's rights are fully implemented and labor gets a voice in industry's councils through two-way union-management cooperation. Labor's prosperity and freedom are indispensible to the community's prosperity and freedom. The reverse is also true and important, for labor lives and operates in the community. As their power grows the unions must develop a growing understanding of the responsibility of power in relation to union practices and community needs. Progressive labor is aware that irresponsible abuse of power invites repression and disaster.

4. We urge an increasing share in economic welfare for white-collar workers, for intermediate and lower levels of technical-managerial employes and for professional people. The welfare of those groups is of increasing importance as their numbers and services multiply. This welfare can be promoted only on condition that the primary incomes of workers and farmers keep on rising through full continuous production. It cannot be promoted against the welfare of workers and farmers. Professional organizations should develop larger social understanding and social action. Union organization is necessary for white-collar workers. All useful functional groups must cooperate to promote one another's interests through measures for realization of economic abundance.

5. We urge encouragement and protection for small independent business, where free enterprise is truly free because ownership is combined with management. Monopoly oligarchs who cry "save free enterprise" are the very people who destroy the free enterprise of small business. For the small businessmen to live and flourish the power of monopoly big business must be broken. Taxation can be used to encourage independent business; public research projects should be set up to serve it; government war plants, where they are not converted into public corporations or cooperatives, must be sold on easy terms to small independents. Cultivation of friendlier relations between labor unions and small businessmen will prove of mutual advantage. The small businessmen, too, can thrive only in the midst of full production and increasingly higher standards of living.

6. We urge the use of government war plants to promote economic expansion and prosperity. Those plants were built by public initiative, public money and public risk. Why, then, should they be turned over to private monopoly ownership? Some of those plants may be operated directly by government as yardsticks to promote desirable economic objectives. The majority should be converted into public corporations, on the model of TVA but with inclusion of representatives of management , labor and consumers on the directorates. Smaller plants can be sold to small business or cooperative interests. Public ownership of the larger war plants, converted to peacetime uses, would achieve at least three great benefits: (1) It would bring to industry a supply of cheap materials, including fertilizer for farmers and new materials for good low-cost housing, thus leading to economic expansion. (2) It would mean a development of industrial research independent of monopoly profit and power, with the results freely available to all industry. (3) It would strengthen the trends toward production for human welfare and not for monopoly profit.

7. We urge a comprehensive housing program with planning on the local, regional and national levels. There is today great need for upward of 15,000,000 new homes to re-house the American people in comfort, decency and health. The building of these homes accompanied by construction of needed hospitals and schools, could keep America prosperous for many years to come. Yet few efforts are being made toward a comprehensive housing program. Neither public planning nor private enterprise is doing the job. What is needed is a deep-going housing program which unites the efforts of government (national and local), of architects, builders and manufacturers of materials, of labor unions and cooperatives. Housing should become a public utility within which public, private and cooperative enterprise and planning can work to meet the people's needs. Such a program would include adequate federal and state subsidies to promote low-cost housing, measures for reduction of capital costs (especially land costs), and the use of prefabrication in such a way as to inflict no unemployment on building trades workers or foster new slums. The country must be brought to the towns and the towns to the country, with the equalization and increase of educational, recreational and health facilities, and the abolition of racial and religious discriminations. Urban and rural slums must go. The public condemnation power should be used to get rid of obsolescent dwelling places and areas.

Progressive taxation of unused land held for speculation should also be employed. There are already enough garden cities and town to show what can be done to build spacious, cheerful homes set in the midst of natural and human beauty: a constant joy and inspiration for the men, women and children who live there,

8. We urge a more comprehensive system of social security to insure everyone, from the cradle to the grave, against illness, accidents, unemployment and old age. Such an all-inclusive security system is being implemented by the Labor Government in England, where economic resources are far smaller than those found in the United States. The requirements are these: coverage for all groups of our people, including the self-employed; substantial unemployment and old-age and survivors' benefits, with retirement at age sixty; a system of medical insurance and hospitalization. In the operation of health insurance there should be freedom of choice for physicians and patients. A widespread program of nutrition education is imperative to teach our people the most healthful choice of food stuffs. The development of group and cooperative medicine and industry-union welfare funds are a desirable grass-roots amplification of social security. On a basis of minimum security the American people can move to broaden and deepen the use of the medical and technical-economic marvels of our age to fashion an environment in which all human beings can realize fully their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

9. We urge the use of public planning, taxation and spending to promote economic balance and prosperity. Planning is necessary on all levels in the complex economic world of today, but its larger aspects are blocked or distorted by monopoly's economic and political power. Yet there is need for public economic planning. National councils should be organized to plan, as much as is possible within monopoly capitalism, for full production and employment; and for the survey, regulation and development of the country's natural resources. As industry does not distribute enough consumer purchasing power to allow consumption to keep pace with production, the emergency use of government spending on public works and other useful projects, at prevailing wages and salaries, can help to avert depression and to bring recovery from depression. To reduce the unequal distribution of wealth and income, which is so dangerous to liberal democracy and a factor in the over-saving and under-consumption that bring depression, heavier taxes are necessary on the larger incomes and lower taxes on the smaller incomes, with more stringent taxation of speculation and inheritances. A combination of such measures may help to keep up that effective consumer demand without which the wheels of industry slow down and stop.

10. We urge more and better education to strengthen the procedures and values of liberal democracy as it moves toward greater fulfillment. Higher pay for teachers and smaller classes on all levels are urgently needed. There is need for the use of federal grants-in-aid (without, however, bureaucratic control of education) to realize educational equality for States, for rural and urban communities, for racial minority groups. More effective financial aid is necessary for poor students until poverty is no more. The American people want an educational democracy in a greater economic, political and social democracy. They are moving toward universal higher education through combination of an increasing economic surplus, higher family incomes and more public promotion of higher education. To strengthen the liberating nature of higher education there is need for less emphasis on the vocational aspects and more emphasis on the human, cultural and democratic aspects. We need an education that is a growing activity which carries on beyond the school; that stresses the reacting relation between experience and education; that cuts through dogma, vested interests and prejudices to the changing realities and needs of our age. We need an education that infuses morality with scientific intelligence and scientific intelligence with morality ot prevent the appearance of "educated barbarians" and to combine the rational scientific approach with humanist emphasis on the supreme worth and dignity of the individual. Universal higher education will invigorate democratic equality and freedom as it breaks the monopoly of talents, understanding and skills that allows a small group to dominate. Youth can meet the challenge of our generation only as it is fully equipped with the cultural, vocational and liberal democratic tools with which to shape a world of human security and freedom, of human individuality and dignity.

11. We urge the removal of all restrictions on civil liberties and human rights. Removal of the restrictions is necessary if liberal democracy is to live and grow. All political, economic and social discriminations against racial minority groups must go if we are to insure full equality of opportunity in life and work. Since civil liberties depend so much upon freedom of press and radio,

the monopoly controls in those areas must be broken and replaced with increasing independent ownership, including ownership by labor, farmer and cooperative organizations and by educational institutions.

12. We urge opposition ~~avoidance~~ of the permanent large-scale militarism ~~which~~ endangers democracy and freedom. While, until universal disarmament comes, preparations for national defense are inescapable, the imposition of universal peacetime conscription is neither democratic nor effective defense in an atomic age. Everywhere militarism is a danger to liberal democracy and helps to prepare the way for totalitarianism and to support it. American democracy owes much to the relative absence of a large military establishment. During the war the American military oligarchs tried to usurp civilian authority and functions; all such usurpation must stop. Civilian control is mandatory in any national commission for the development of atomic energy.

3. Against Monopoly Reaction!

The economic and political forces of reaction are resisting, and will continue to resist the realization of measures to bring economic security and freedom to the American people. Capitalist monopoly is the driving force of reaction.

Consider the postwar behavior of monopoly: It unloosed a campaign against the policy of high wages with low prices and low profits which is needed for full employment. It strives to break the labor unions and cooperatives, while it forms bigger combines on a scale larger than in the 1920's and is moving toward renewal of international cartels and imperialism. Large numbers of small businessmen and farmers are being misled to accept monopoly policy while monopoly sabotages their interests. Monopoly reaction drives toward destruction of the surviving elements of economic freedom.

Consider the power of monopoly: In the prewar years 1,500 giant monopoly corporations, which dominate industrial activity, obtained up to 70% of all corporate profits. During the war years 100 giant monopoly corporations got more than two-thirds of the primary government contracts for war supplies, and another 100 got most of the balance. Monopoly grew stronger during the war, when anti-trust laws were suspended to get "production at any price." In 1944 the 250 largest corporations operated two-thirds of America's manufacturing facilities. Monopoly is dominant in mining, manufactures, transportation, public utilities and banking, the whole economic system is under its control.

Free enterprise? Monopoly capitalism misuses the ideas of free enterprise to cover up its destruction of economic freedom. For the manifestations of free enterprise are: widespread ownership of small property; a large number of independent producers who compete freely in a free market where prices move freely in response to changes in costs, supply and demand; where no one producer or combination of producers is strong enough to dominate the market or to fix prices. But monopoly represents an overwhelming centralization of ownership and control in giant corporations that "regulate" markets, suppress competition and fix prices. Monopoly pursues the opposite policy of truly free, competitive enterprise, which can make more money only if it produces and sells more. Restriction of output is practiced by monopoly to keep prices high and profits big.

Free enterprise? But free enterprise meant the economic freedom of democratic ownership of the means of livelihood by the people in the form of widespread ownership of small productive property. There was measurable economic freedom in the America of the 1820's, when upward of 80% of the people owned productive property which they worked. Today, however, upward of 85 % of the American people own no productive property but depend upon a wage-or-salary job for the right to work and live. A monopoly oligarchy of economic domination has replaced the earlier democracy of free enterprise. Not more than 300,000 big stockholders own 80% of all corporate stock. Free enterprise in this case means freedom for monopoly oligarchs to rule the democratic people.

Monopoly represents a monstrous concentration of parasitic absentee ownership: the owners own but do not manage the corporations they own. Monopoly corporations are managed primarily by hired technical-managerial employes who have little or no share in the ownership of the corporations: they manage but do not own. The monopoly system is effectively controlled by an inner-

oligarchy of perhaps 20,000 key officers, big stockholders and directors. These oligarchs praise free enterprise while they bury it.

All useful functional groups in the population are oppressed by capitalist monopoly. Monopoly oppresses the workers by opposing unionism and high wages. Monopoly oppresses the farmers through a policy of charging high prices for the supplies farmers buy and of paying low prices for the products farmers sell. Monopoly oppresses small bussinessmen by its destructive competition and by high prices it charges for the materials small business has to buy, while concentration of profits in monopoly corporations means smaller or no profits for business independents. Monopoly oppresses the technicians and managers by a policy of profit-at-any-price which frustrates their craftsman urge for greater efficiency and production.

Monopoly oppresses the people as a whole by its restriction of production, consumer purchasing power and consumption. Opportunities for profitable new investment are limited by monopoly while it piles up an unusable surplus capital through distribution of more than three-fifths of all corporate interest and dividend payments. Monopoly is the expression of all the elements that upset the economic balance to bring economic breakdown, depression and unemployment. It is the great barrier to an expansion of production and consumption.

Monopoly, moreover, is authoritarian in organization and policy. It regiments industry, labor and society, and its reaction against economic freedom merges into reaction against political freedom.

All government's anti-trust efforts to break up monopoly have failed - monopoly has grown steadily stronger. All government's efforts effectively to regulate and control monopoly have failed - monopoly remains an irresponsible private power that thwarts government and the people. The economics and politics of monopoly drive toward a totalitarian monopoly state as in Germany.

Monopoly capitalism creates a condition of permanent social-economic crisis. The failure of government to solve the crisis through the break up or regulation and control of monopoly is accompanied by failure of government planning and spending to solve the crisis. Planning and spending by bits-and-pieces within the framework of monopoly capitalism cannot overcome the over-saving and the accumulating deficiency of consumer purchasing power brought on by monopoly production and investment for profit. Monopoly ownership and power resists the attempts of government to plan and spend, and this resistance calls forth more controls and regimentation by government. The result is a monstrous mixture of "capitalism" and "socialism" that is neither free enterprise nor planning, with none of their advantages and all their defects. In a "capitalist mixed economy" there is a perpetual economic unbalance and political turmoil that calls for more governmental controls that do not work. An endless succession of bureaucratic controls that do not work will move toward totalitarian statism. A loss of faith in the democratic way of life arises - a drift toward blind acceptance of totalitarian ideas and the danger of a disastrous conflict between totalitarians of the fascist "right" and totalitarians of the communist "left".

Disaster can come from a policy that sums up all economic wisdom and needs in government "planning and spending" while it ignores the reactionary economics and politics of monopoly. The politics of monopoly reaction call for a new people's party to implement the politics of progress to re-shape economic institutions for abundance, freedom and peace. It must be a people's movement that, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, "disbelieves that nothing can ever be devised more perfect than was established by our forefathers" ... that dares "to go forward, not backward."

4. For a Liberal Economic Democracy

Monopoly can be broken only by taking monopoly corporations out of private ownership and transforming them into public enterprises to serve the common good. Economic freedom can be restored in the monopoly areas only by a new type of free enterprise for freedom - the public ownership and operation that constitutes economic freedom in new institutional forms.

Monopoly property is a negation of "the right to property" as understood by earlier liberal democrats, among them Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson. Property, for them, was a means to promote individual freedom, democratic security and human values. The "right to property" was a right to individual functional ownership, whose justification was: "What I work I own and what I own I work". But today the great majority of our people - 85% of them - are alienated from property. Where property is no longer individual and functional, and no longer serves democratic ends, as monopoly property does not, it must be replaced by public or cooperative property to promote liberal democracy.

No more than property is free enterprise, as economic freedom, an unchanging or unchangeable concept. Monopoly destroys free enterprise. Hence unfree monopoly enterprise must be replaced by free public enterprise.

Public enterprise is free to promote economic progress and a new economic morality of direct service to human needs. It is free to make consumption the end-product of production, not the by-product of monopoly profit and power. Public enterprise frees managerial initiative, enterprise and invention by liberating them from monopoly controls and encouraging their unfettered development for production and social service.

Liberal democracy is impossible without the diversity of economic, political and cultural life which allows individuals the freedom to choose. Private monopoly cannot be replaced by state monopoly. Hence a liberal economic democracy calls for limited socialization in a pluralistic economy. It ejects the communist and orthodox Marxist concept of absolute collectivism in the form of exclusive state ownership and operation of all economic enterprise, which brings totalitarian destruction of freedom in a new class-political despotism. A liberal economic democracy is a free economy that combines five major elements:

1. Public enterprise, national regional and local, in the fields of natural resources, of the great banks and related financial institutions, and of large-scale industrial enterprises now in the grasp of monopoly. Public enterprises will operate typically as public corporations, which function far more independently of the state than do departments of government under which the Post Office, for example, is administered. Public corporations have inner autonomy and are independent of the state except for overall policy and planning. There is the utmost in administrative decentralization for grass-roots control. In a liberal economic democracy the public corporations will give adequate representation on their governing boards to all interested groups: technical-managerial staffs, labor and consumers should be further protected and promoted by independent Consumer Boards, as is the case in the liberal democratic socialism that the British Labor Government is building up. Under such a type of enterprise the consumers will still have freedom of choice in a free market, only their freedom will increase with the increase of consumer purchasing power. While public corporations operate under general policies set-up and checked-up by government, the day-by-day administration is given over to the directors and managerial staff. They are not run for maximum profit but for maximum production and human welfare. Profits are limited to the needs of replacement and expansion. There is full recognition of free unionism and collective bargaining, and the right to strike remains even though the need for striking may not arise.

2. Private enterprise in the field of small independent business, where the owners are not absentee owners but perform useful managerial services. Under a liberal economic democracy the small businessmen will be freed from monopoly exploitation and control. Their independence and prosperity will be sustained and promoted by public corporations, which operate in other fields and which lower prices, raise purchasing power and create greater prosperity. Hence small business can live and grow without the terrible exploitation of workers which is so often the case under monopoly capitalism. No business, big or small, has the right to exist unless it is beneficial to the workers and consumers. In a liberal economic democracy small independent business sets its objective to serve the general welfare and flourishes as it serves that welfare. There is place and need in a liberal economic democracy for free private enterprise that is truly free, and competitive, to prevent an overwhelming concentration of power in the state, and especially in the economic activities that support the "opinion industries" - printing, publishing, broadcasting - where freedom of enterprise (both individual and cooperative) will promote freedom of expression and criticism. Independent private enterprise, if it is an independent combination of individual ownership with individual initiative and management, can serve the people's economic and democratic needs. There is a "right to property" as these needs are served.

3. Free farmers operating use-owner family-type farms with an admixture of cooperatives. Free working farmers are sturdily democratic. Collectivization of farms is economically unnecessary and politically undesirable. In a liberal economic democracy all farmers will be free individual or cooperative farmers (over 2,000,000, or two out of five, are now tenants or sharecroppers). Landlordism will go, with use-ownership the only title to land. The new technology, which already is beginning to produce implements that make family-type farms more efficient and feasible, will be planfully slanted in that direction to promote the independence and raise the income of farmers. Free farm ownership, individual and cooperative, will be meshed into democratic economic planning on all levels.

4. Consumer and producer cooperatives that are independent of the state except for overall planning. Cooperatives are growing. They will grow still more as, in addition to their economic benefits, it is recognized that cooperative voluntarism, individual participation and grass-roots self-government are sturdy supports of freedom in a liberal economic democracy. Autonomous cooperatives are indispensible in economic reconstruction for security and freedom, to escape totalitarian statism. Producer cooperatives can flourish particularly in the twilight zone between big and small enterprises, those which are too big for individual ownership or, it may be decided, too small for public ownership. They can flourish, too, in foreign trade and strengthen freedom of intercourse among nations. The scope of cooperatives will broaden from economic activities to include a larger share in promotion of health and recreation, in educational and other cultural activities.

5. Free labor unions that retain their autonomy and are independent both of management and the state. A combination of union management, industrial management and the state in one bureaucratic centralization of power is the basis of the absolute totalitarian state, which means the end of liberal democratic freedoms. Unionism represents the self-organization and self-activity of the workers to protect and promote their interests. Workers will remain workers in any new order of the early future, they will still need independent unions to protect and promote their interests: unions that are free to bargain and, if necessary, free to strike. Whatever broadening of their functions there may be the unions must remain autonomous, not only to advance workers' interests but to act as one of the checks-and-balances on managerial and governmental bureaucracy. Unfree "unions" are a major support of the totalitarian state and the new serfdom. Free unions are a major support of liberty in a liberal economic democracy.

As the combined operation of these five elements liberates society from monopoly capitalist reaction it will, within the framework of an invigorated political democracy, allow technology to do the job of producing an abundance of goods and services to meet human needs. It will bring economic balance and security, production for consumption and welfare, democratic self-government in economic activity. It will provide the material means with which to build an American commonwealth where a fuller realization of the human moral values of liberal democracy will prevail.

A liberal economic democracy plans. The planning will work because no monopoly capitalist power exists to oppose and frustrate it. Economic institutions will work with not against planning. Direct governmental controls and regimentation diminish as the transformation of monopoly corporations into democratic public enterprise assures economic balance and security, ends the economic crisis and turmoil created by the clash of private monopoly interests and the people's needs. National planning will be limited to strategic factors of policy, price and profit, overall investment, with supplementary resort to fiscal policy for desirable economic and social objectives. Liberal democratic planning proceeds on regional and local levels as well as on the national level, with functional coordination of the public, private and cooperative enterprise.

Political power is needed to achieve economic reconstruction. But "the urgent and central problem of the present time", said John Dewey in 1939, "is whether economic-social changes can be effected in ways which preserve and develop what was fundamental in earlier liberalism, not in ways which destroy for a time (a time whose length cannot now be measured) all that was best in the older democratic ideas and ideals; intellectual and moral freedom; freedom of inquiry and expression; freedom of association in work, recreation and for religious purposes; the freedom of intercourse among nations.... The seizure of political power by force signifies the continued maintenance of power by force with its suppression of the most precious freedoms of the individual spirit. Maintenance of power in order to use force becomes the actual end. Means used determine the end actually reached."

A peaceful democratic conquest of political power is imperative. It is possible as all useful functional groups unite against monopoly capitalism on a program of liberal economic democracy. Destruction of political democracy to gain "economic democracy", as communism proposes, ends up in no democracy at all. Destruction of civil liberties to gain "economic security" ends up in insecurity, for individual security is impossible without civil liberties. Our objectives and practice must be infused with democracy as moral end and social means.

The limited socialization, the economic and organizational pluralism and autonomy of a liberal economic democracy sets up institutional checks-and-balances on the state. Within the new institutional relations the state remains democratic, representative, limited in its power. There is limitation, specification and decentalization of power on successive functional levels to promote the self-activity of institutions and individuals. The citizens of a liberal economic democracy will be in a position, much more than they are now, to speak up and be heard, to criticize, propose and decide, to act without compulsion from the oligarchs of monopoly capitalism or the oligarchs of totalitarian communism. They will be free to use creative intelligence to make man's increasing mastery over nature serve man, not monopoly, totalitarianism or destruction.

The end of "laissez-faire capitalism" means the end neither of individualism nor of the liberal temper. On the contrary, it is the monopoly capitalism that arose out of laissez-faire that endangers them both. In a liberal economic democracy there is no necessary conflict between the identity of the individual and social identity. Man will be neither atomistic (in the sense of an arrogant unbridled "economic man") nor collective (in the sense of an anonymous "collective man"). The goal is free development of the individual as the condition for free development of every other individual's personality, creative activity and happiness.

Within a liberal economic democracy, with its economic, political and cultural diversity and pluralism, it is possible for man the thinker and worker to become more liberal, more critical yet more tolerant. There will be wider, mor significant cooperative participation of individuals in the economic, political and cultural activities that make up human life and destiny on both individual and collective levels. Individual conscience and moral responsibility will not be swallowed up in the enslaving anonymous "responsibility" of an absolute state. Man will freely use the experimental scientific approach to serve truly human needs, with free consideration and determination of ends and means, with results freely checked against premises, interests and values. Liberation of the fresh and variable individual qualities should bring an upsurge of initiative, enterprise and invention in all spheres of human activity.

The future is not frozen, it comes alive for free men and women to shape as they will to serve their ends.

II. FOREIGN POLICY

The American people can be certain of one thing: domestic policy and foreign policy are today one and inseparable. Only as we reorganize our domestic economy to maintain prosperity and beat down reaction can America mobilize its full strength for organization of world security and peace. Only as we have world security against war can we carry on domestic reconstruction.

1. For World Cooperation and Peace.

No nation, not even the United States and the Soviet Union, can assure its people security against war except through collective security operating under international law for international justice.

Implementation of the American proposal for an Atomic Development Authority which shall own and operate all uranium mines and uranium plants throughout the world, with unrestricted inspection-and-control powers within every nation to guard against misuse of atomic energy for war, will be a tremendously significant achievement. For it marks the abandonment, in one area, of national sovereignty, and abandonment that is imperative for world peace.

But imperative as it is the international control of atomic energy alone cannot avert an atomic war unless it is followed by disarmament and renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. If there is a third World War all the warring nations will feverishly begin the manufacture of atomic weapons (and of other new destructive weapons that science will invent).

Hence we urge the United States to call, at the earliest opportunity and through the UNO, for a conference on world disarmament.

We urge, further, a call for renunciation of war and of "the sovereign national right" to make war. War must be outlawed under a system of international law that stigmatizes war as a punishable crime. To go in that direction we must organize the world's moral sentiment against war, multiply the institutions of internationl authority and a ction, broadon the powers of the UNO.

It is also necessary that the Court of International Justice have compulsory jurisdiction, not the optional jurisdiction provided for in the UNO charter. So far the British Labor Government alone of the great powers has accepted the court's compulsory jurisdiction and has categorically made a pledge to merge its national sovereignty to make UNO a true Parliament of Man. We urge that the United States and other nations do likewise.

The UNO must be made to work as is. But we must also strive to make UNO more effective by expansion of the Assembly's powers, including an equal voice for small nations, and by abolition of the Great Power veto in the Security Council.

International political authority will be ineffective unless it is supplemented by a series of international a gencies for economic and social cooperation. There must be replacement of cartel controls, a release of the flow of international trade, promotion and euqalization of health, educational and labor standards, planful endeavors to raise the living standards of depressed areas of the earth through constructive investment, rational distribution of key raw materials and free disclosure of scientific discoveries and their technical-economic application for world modernization of industry and agriculture. It is especially important that there shall be planful international promotion of the use of synthetics, plastics and atomic energy to overcome regional deficiencies of raw materials and power to encourage more equal industrialization, and consequent higher living standards, throughout the world.

Finally, a free peaceful world calls for an international Bill of Rights, including minority rights and the freedom of information, of religion and of labor labor unions, that shall become mandatory on all nations.

2. Against All Imperialisms

There can be no peace without abandonment of imperialism, whether it be monopoly capitalist imperialism in the form of colonialism or communist imperialism in the form of Russian expansionism.

Peace is endangered by the British Tory conception (which, however, the British Labor government rejects) of keeping the Empire intact; by the Soviet Union's policy of establishing spheres of influence, through military force and puppet governments, in Central Eastern Europe, the Arabian regions and China; by the porposals of certain Americans for a vast expansion of naval and air power, including retention and extension of strategic naval and air bases for use by the United States alone.

Neither nationalist expansion nor power alliances can give the world peace, for they breed suspicion, rivalry for national power, a multiplication of armaments and war.

All moves for the self-determination and indopendence of peoples, including colonial peoples, must be supported. The British Labor Government is working, sometimes slowly and mistakenly, but working to free colonial peoples that Britain has ruled for generations - including India, the "jewel" of empire. But while capitalist imperialism is in process of being liquidated a new imperialism is being forged by Russian expansionism, which is dangerous for both Russia and the world. For Russian power politics will be answered by the power politics of other nations, thus conuuring up the very danger the Russian people want to avert: a coalition against the Soviet Union and war.

The world must cooperate with Russia to prevent war. But cooperation is a two-way street. A communist Russia and non-communist nations can live and work in peace <u>if they want peace</u>. This calls for abandonment of capitalist imperialism. Russia must give up the idea that only communist governments are "friendly" to it, and that a liberal democratic socialist government, like the British Labor Government, is the most "unfriendly" of all. Russia must give up any support of foreign communists, who wage unscrupulous, demoralizing warfare upon liberal

democratic unions and liberal democratic movements and ideas: an intolerable situation. In an atmosphere of peace we may learn from Russia and Russia may learn from us.

There must be neither American intervention in Europe to impose capitalist governments nor Russian intervention to impose communist governments. Europe needs freedom to decide its own democratic destiny on the basis of self-determination and independence of nations. This includes Germany, which, after complete disarmament, should retain industrialization and federal unity so that its people may live and develop a liberal democracy. According to all signs Europe, if left alone to decide by the Big Three, will move toward a liberal democratic socialism and the United States of Europe.

We are convinced that the test of any nation's foreign policy is: does this decision go forward to internationalism or backward to nationalism? The answer to Iran's oil is an International Oil Authority; the answer to the Danube River problem is internationalization; the answer to the Palestine tragedy is a Jewish Homeland under the UNO; the answer to what to do with Italy's colonies is freedom or multiple UNO trusteeships.

Hence all nationalistic or imperialistic decisions or actions, whether by our own country or any other, must be uncompromisingly opposed in favor of international solutions.

3. The American Task

The American people have a deep yearning for peace that must be transformed into dynamic action.

We must work to have our government develop and maintain a liberal foreign policy, which includes: all efforts to feed the world's hungry people; a tariff policy that releases the flow of trade; loans with small interest and on democratic terms, both for rehabilitation and for long-run industrialization of the world; an export policy that meshes into the needs of other nations, especially Britain, with no trade wars; the prevention of monopoly action against the world's economic interests.

At the same time our government must respect and work for the democratic rights of people everywhere, and to insist that other nations respect those rights. The United States should use its tremendous economic, political and moral power for satisfaction of aspirations for self-government and democracy of the peoples of Europe and the colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and the Americas.

So can we work to make this century end up as the century of truly democratic man.

III. TOWARD A PEOPLE'S PARTY

A new people's party will arise out of the people. It cannot be a party of the trade unions alone but a party that represents all useful functional groups, from farmers and workers to small businessmen and teachers and other professionals. Any other kind of party would split labor off from the rest of the community, the same split that was the major factor in the coming of fascism in Germany.

The need is for all-inclusive unity on political action and policy that represents the interests of all useful functional groups for the release of the economic abundance from which every group will gain. The dangerous alternative is pressure politics, in which each group carries on its own pressures to achieve its own limited objectives regardless of every other group. This ends in a cat-and-dog fight for a larger group share in a shrinking economic pie. The fratricidal struggle invites a crackdown by government and strengthens reaction.

The need is for unity in a new people's party on the basis of policy and action to solve the crisis of our generation, for economic abundance, freedom and peace.

Ours is a two-party country. The Republican Party arose as a third party to become the first party. It arose out of a deep-going crisis created by the slavery issue. Today there is a far greater crisis, the first universal crisis since the downfall of feudalism and the rise of capitalism, which offers the opportunity for a new party providing its policy and action meet the needs of the crisis.

It will be a party of the people, a party that learns from the people what they desire, their basic yearnings, wants and values. It will be a grass-roots party with widespread individual cooperative participation, from the bottom up, to make the party a party of the people.

It will be a party to implement liberal economic democracy. The American liberal tradition never separated political democracy from economic democracy. The colonists who fled Europe came for greater economic freedom as well as for political freedom. The Revolution of 1776 was marked by break-up of the great landed estates in the North to create a class of small democratic farmers. Jeffersonian democracy looked upon widespread ownership of small independent property as the democratic bulwark. Jacksonian democracy wanted state power to break monopoly and to achieve a more equal distribution of wealth, which was considered as important as the distribution of political power; the labor unions agreed, one of their leaders arguing that unions, by promoting more equal distribution of property, "help preserve the economic foundations of democracy." Populism fought monopoly and urged its nationalization to achieve the economic equality imperative for a truly democratic nation. The New Deal brought economic reforms, especially social security, and its spokesman urged an economic "bill of rights" - the right to a job, adequate food, clothing and recreation, the right of farmers and businessmen to protection from monopoly exactions, the right to a decent home, adequate medical care and protection from unemployment, accident, sickness and old age, the right to a good education. The New Deal, whose program was an emergency expression of the social-economic crisis, never proposed measures to implement fully those rights, and it is now history. The American people must go beyong the New Deal.

The American Dream was a yearning for a combination of political and economic democracy in a greater educational, cultural and social democracy.

Workers and farmers; Small businessmen, technical managerial employes and professional people; Men and women of goodwill everywhere; Let us recapture the American Dream in newer and finer fulfillments.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE National Educational Committee For A New Party Announcements Date of Meetings

1944-47

UNDATED

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April 18, 1946

Dear Friends:

The off-the-record conference of American progressives held at International House, Chicago, Illinois, April 6-7, 1946, may well prove to be of historic significance in America's political life.

The conference, attended by one hundred and twenty-five labor, farm, cooperative and progressive leaders from sixteen states, was called for the purpose of discussing alternate courses of political action in the face of shifting political alignments and the growing intensity of national and international issues.

The Chicago conference did not create a new political party. It did set up a National Educational Committee for a New Party to act as a clearing house and coordinating center for new party ideas and forces; to stimulate and establish contacts with unions, farm groups, cooperatives and other organizations and key persons; to encourage local and regional conferences; to establish a monthly paper; to issue and distribute pamphlets and leaflets; to issue statements on current events from time to time in accord with our objectives; and to survey the conditions in the country concerning the prospects for the development of a new party.

Those at the conference in Chicago agreed that we need a unifying force to regain the progressive initiative in this country, and that in the long run, the job cannot be done through the Democratic or Republican Parties. They agreed that the basic philosophy of such a group should be one of a democratic planned economy and that it must reject all totalitarianism, whether Fascist, Nazi or Communist.

Temporary officers elected until the next meeting, which will be held in Detroit, Saturday, May 4th, are Chairman A. Philip Randolph, President of the A.F. of L.'s Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,; Secretary C. J. McLanahan, Educational Director of the Cooperative League, U.S.A.; and Treasurer Pearl Willen, Director, Women's Division, New York Liberal Party.

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The next national conference will be held in December 1946. The December date was chosen to indicate that there is no intention of taking any part in next November's political campaigns, but that the conference is looking beyond 1946 and seeks the support of many who are committed for the 1946 elections.

The May 4th National Committee meeting will consider a draft manifesto and send it to all those present at the original Chicago conference, plus other individuals and groups not present, but vitally interested, for discussion, criticism and revision. The National Committee will then rewrite the draft for submission to the December 1946 national conference.

The National Educational Committee for a New Party was given power to enlarge itself by majority vote. It shall serve only until the next national conference. It shall seek a $25,000 fund to carry on the work of the national committee and its staff. ($1300 was contributed by individuals at the Chicago meeting.)

The Committee is not opposed to the CIO's Political Action Committtee, despite charges to that effect in the New York Daily News and the Daily Worker. PAC is a direct electoral instrument which endorses candidates of various political parties, including Democratic, Republican, American Labor, Michigan Commonwealth Federation and others in the United States and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and others in Canada. Our group is an educational committee which is helping to build sentiment for a new party when the time is ripe. When that time comes, far from opposing PAC, we shall seek the support of PAC and other labor and liberal groups like it.

Very sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph, Temporary Chairman
National Educational Committee for
a New Pary

RB

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April 23, 1946

Dear Friend:

The Executive Committee which you appointed at the Conference in Chicago on April 7, 1946, has been meeting regularly in order to present to you its proposals for a slate of officers to act until the conference in December, 1946. They have also considered and will present to you their suggestions for staff, office, additional members of the National Committee, sources of financial support and activities.

We hope that during this month you too will give thought to these matters, so that the day we spend together on May 4, 1946, may be as productive as possible.

May I request you to indicate on the enclosed post card if you plan to attend the conference of the National Educational Committee for a New Party, to be held at the Park Avenue Hotel, Saturday May 4, 1946, to start at 11:00 A. M. Will you also indicate if you wish hotel reservations.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph, Temporary Chairman
National Educational Committee for a
New Party

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217 WEST 125TH STREET
(ROOM 301)
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MO 2-5080-1
NIGHTS, SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS
UNIVERSITY 4-8262
440

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

E. J. BRADLEY
3RD INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
11 NORTH JEFFERSON STREET
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

C. L. DELLUMS
4TH INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1716 SEVENTH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

April 23, 1946

Dear Friend:

The Executive Committee which you appointed at the Conference in Chicago on April 7, 1946, has been meeting regularly in order to present to you its proposals for a slate of officers to act until the conference in December, 1946. They have also considered and will present to you their suggestions for staff, office, additional members of the National Committee, sources of financial support and activities.

We hope that during this month you too will give thought to these matters, so that the day we spend together on May 4, 1946, may be as productive as possible.

May I request you to indicate on the enclosed post card if you plan to attend the conference of the National Educational Committee for a New Party, to be held at the Park Avenue Hotel, Saturday May 4, 1946, to start at 11:00 A. M. Will you also indicate if you wish hotel reservations.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph, Temporary Chairman
National Educational Committee for a
New Party

APR:RB
enc.

oeiu/153

Com Sec

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY
Temporary Headquarters - 112 East 19th St.
Room 1105 - New York City 3, New York

July 9, 1946

NOTICE TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

A meeting has been called for all members of the National Committee in the New York area for:

Friday, July 12, 1946
10:30 a.m.
Room 1105 (League for Industrial Democracy)
112 East 19th St.
New York City

The meeting is being held to work out recommendations to submit to the next National Committee meeting on July 27th. We would like to have you present.

Fraternally yours,

Mary Martinson

Mary Martinson
Administrative Secretary

National Educational Committee for a New Party

Temporary Headquarters: 112 East 19th Street • Room 1105 • New York 3, N. Y. • ALgonquin 4-5865

JOHN DEWEY
Honorary Chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Temporary Chairman
PEARL WILLEN
Temporary Treasurer
C. J. McLANAHAN
Temporary Secretary

MARY MARTINSON
Administative Secretary

August 15, 1946

NOTICE TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

The next meeting of the National Committee will be as unanimously voted at the last meeting on:

Saturday, August 24, 1946

10:30 a.m.

International House - Chicago, Illinois

Please send immediately for hotel accomodations to Dr. Charles Wesley Burton - 6637 South Champlain, Chicago.

There has been some misunderstanding about the poll that was sent out. The New York Committee members were sincerely concerned about the attendance at the August meeting and wanted a representative group to be there.

It has been difficult to hold meetings and carry on the work of the Committee during the summer, but unfortunately reaction does not take vacations. We have a tremendous responsibility not only to the people of this country, but to the common people all over the world. It is time that each member of the National Committee assume this responsibility for getting local groups organized, work for official endorsement in organizations, and obtain contributions from individuals and organizations.

I should like to urge each of you to maintain a spirit of cooperation with the Staff and other members of the Committee. We are laying the foundation for a new political party - so let's move ahead. I hope you will make a special effort to attend this meeting.

Fraternally yours,

Mary Martinson
Administrative Secretary

P. S. At the last meeting it was voted to ask each member of the National Committee to make a monthly pledge for the next five months.

National Educational Committee for a New Party

Headquarters: 141 West 40th Street • New York 18, N. Y. • Room 603
CHickering 4-1560

JOHN DEWEY
Honorary Chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Temporary Chairman
PEARL L. WILLEN
Temporary Treasurer
C. J. McLANAHAN
Temporary Secretary
56

September 4, 1947

Dear Friend:

There will be an all day meeting of the National Committee of the National Educational Committee for a New Party in Cleveland on Saturday, September 27, 1947. In view of the recent political developments, it is of primary importance that the National Committee convene to seriously analyze its activities of the past few months and consider its current and future position and role in the American political scene.

The agenda for this meeting will include the following:

Report on activities to date
1. Local
2. National
Setting up of additional local groups
Finance
Publications
Headquarters
National Director

Arrangements are being made for a luncheon for the group which Mr. Randolph will address.

Please return the enclosed card promptly indicating what accomodations you would like.

Very sincerely yours,

C. J. McLanahan

C. J. McLanahan,
Secretary.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

John Diehl
395 South Island
Rocky River
Ohio

I will ☐ attend the National Committee meeting
will not ☐
of the NECNP on September 27

Of course I'll attend the luncheon ☐

Please arrange hotel space
Friday nite ☐
Saturday nite ☐

Name
Address

Need Party

National Educational Committee for a New Party

Temporary Headquarters: 112 East 19th Street • Room 1105 • New York 3, N. Y. • ALgonquin 4-5865

JOHN DEWEY
Honorary Chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Temporary Chairman
PEARL WILLEN
Temporary Treasurer
C. J. McLANAHAN
Temporary Secretary

MARY MARTINSON
Administative Secretary

September 16, 1946

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th St.
New York City

Dear Mr. Randolph:

A small number of men and women are being invited to meet with Congressman Charles W. La Follette of Indiana, on Tuesday evening, October 1st, to discuss the present American political picture and the prospects for a realignment of progressive forces.

This group is being carefully selected from union and liberal leaders in this area in order that the meeting, while confidential, may be stimulating and productive.

We hope you can attend and would appreciate your sending the enclosed card to let us know you are coming.

Please put down the date and place:

STEINWAY HALL, Room 619
113 W. 57th St.
Tuesday evening, Oct. 1st - 8:15 P.M.

Cordially yours,

A. Philip Randolph — A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Israel Feinberg — ISRAEL FEINBERG
Pearl L. Willen — PEARL L. WILLEN
Martin Gerber — MARTIN GERBER

OEIU:153

P. S. Although you may have been addressed as an officer of your organization, we hope you will understand that we are inviting you only as an individual to this meeting.

NECFNP

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY
[illegible] - Room 301 - Chicago, Illinois

September 25, 1946

NOTICE TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

The next meeting of the National Committee will be
Saturday, October 5, 1946 - 10:30 a.m.
Central YWCA (Witherell & Monroe)
Room 702
Detroit, Michigan

Please send for hotel accommodation immediately to Mrs. L. Averill, 605 Buhman Building, Detroit, Michigan. Please state whether you want a room for both Friday and Saturday or just Saturday.

The Michigan Common Youth Federation would like to have you as their guest at an informal party on Saturday night.

The National Headquarters are at 333 Jackson in Chicago. You will be glad to establish the work can continue although it has been very difficult to keep up the work for the last few weeks.

I hope you will attend the National meeting and have the pleasure of meeting Congressman LaFollette.

Fraternally yours,

Mary Mathison

Mary Mathison
Administrative Secretary

National Educational Committee for a New Party

Headquarters: 232 East Erie • Chicago 11, Illinois • Room 301

JOHN DEWEY
Honorary Chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Temporary Chairman
PEARL L. WILLEN
Temporary Treasurer
C. J. McLANAHAN
Temporary Secretary

KENNETH L. KRAMER
Executive Director
MARY MARTINSON
Administrative Secretary

February 12, 1947

Dear National Committee Member:

A special meeting of the national committee members of the National Educational Committee for a New Party will be held on Saturday, March 1, 1947, from 10 AM to 6 PM at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14 Street, New York, N.Y.

It is extremely urgent that you attend this meeting, as we must elect a new executive director (we have a very capable person in mind) and must decide on location of national headquarters.

Our meeting will also consider carefully the kind of work we must undertake in view of the organization of Americans for Democratic Action and similar progressive, anti-Communist groups. Some of our members who are active in these groups will report to our meeting.

Please use the enclosed postcard to tell us whether we may expect you.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
National Chairman

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

A. Philip Randolph
NECNP
217 W. 125 Street
New York, N. Y.

NSCNP

(Make the sentences below read correctly.)

I will
will not attend the national committee meeting
March 1 in New York.

Please arrange
do not arrange hotel accomodations for me
Friday, Feb. 28, and Saturday, Mar. 1.

NAME. . . . . .

ADDRESS . . . . . .

NEC NP

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY
232 East Erie
Chicago, Illinois

February 25, 1947

Dear Co-Worker:

The National Committee meeting scheduled for March 1st in the Labor Temple in New York City has been called off. There were too few members able to assemble this week-end. You will be informed of the next scheduled meeting date.

Thanks to you who have planned to come, and I trust that the next meeting will be attended by as many Board members as possible, in order to deal with many of the pressing problems now awaiting our attention.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
Temporary Chairman

APR:RB

NEC-NP

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY

Office of the Chairman
217 West 125th Street
New York 27 New York

May 7, 1947

To members of the National Committee:

The National Committee of the NECNP will hold its long-delayed meeting in New York City on Friday, May 16th and Saturday, May 17th. The sessions will be held at the office of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Local 38, at 117 West 46th Street.

The Friday session will start at 7:30 PM; the Saturday session will start at 9:30 AM and go through the day.

Among the items on the agenda will be the following:

Report on activities to date
Finances
Location of National Office
National director and staff
National conference
Organization of local groups
Position on ADA and similar groups
Statement for release to the press

We hope that you will be able to attend. Will you please let us know as soon as possible if you are coming. If you need a hotel reservation, please wire me at once at the address shown above telling me what your needs are.

If for any reason you cannot attend, will you please send me a letter giving your ideas on the subjects listed above.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph,
Chairman

Minutes -- Meeting of the New York Educational Committee
for a New Party May 2, 1947

Present, the following members: A Philip Randolph, Israel Feinberg, Ben McLaurin, Ben Davidson, James Lipsig, Harry Fleischman, Harry W. Laidler, Ben Horowitz, Murray Gross, Nathaniel Minkoff, Ethel Kahn (Late - Pearl Willen).

FINANCES: Feinberg, finance chairman, reported that the Cloak Joint Board has voted a contribution of $500, that he had previously raised $1,000, and the Randolph, Willen, and he would work as a committee to raise more. He added that McLaurin was raising $500, and that Dubinsky would contribute $500.

ACTIVITIES:

A. Material mailed to the members of the National Committee:
1) Proposed plan of operation
2) Drafts of two advertisements for insertion in local and organizational papers.

B. Material being printed, for mailing to people on our mailing list and for general distribution:
1) "Primer on Cartels" -- a 20 page description of how cartels work. Illustrated, foreword by Randolph, and definitions and discussion questions by Dan Bell. Will sell for 10¢; 15 for $1
2) "Farewell to Futility" -- a single page reproduction of an article by Ben Dor which states some of the arguments in favor of labor's having a party of its own.
3) A full page ad in handbill form for general distribution. Plugs the pamphlet, "Ideas for a New Party", and urges contributions to the NECNP.

C. A general mailing of the materials listed in (B, 2 and 3) is being prepared.

D. Material in various stages of preparation for later distribution:
1) A 1500 word digest of the "Ideas" pamphlet.
2) A three or four page printed leaflet called, "How High Should Wages Be?"
3) Reprint of a summary of Republican and Democratic participation in FEPC during the war.
4) An article by Randolph on NECNP, submitted to the Workmen's Circle Call. (Will also be reprinted.)

E. Other activities:
A trickle of mail keeps coming in. This contains requests for information about the work of the NECNP, orders for copies of the "Ideas", and invitations to help save the world in many different ways. The names and addresses of interested people are added to our mailing list.

Motion 1. To hold a meeting of the National Committee in New York City on Friday May 16, and Saturday, May 17. CARRIED.

Motion 2. To include the following items on the agenda of the meeting of the National Committee, and to ask members who cannot attend the meeting to send in their suggestions:

Report on activities to date
Finances
Location of National Office
National director and staff
National conference
Organization of local groups
Position on ADA and similar groups
Statement for release to the press

CARRIED

Motion 3. To elect committee of Feinberg, McLaurin, Fleischman, and Willen to prepare a statement for public release at the time of the National Committee meeting.
CARRIED

Motion 4. To elect Minkoff, Fischer, McLaurin, Horowitz, and Davidson to prepare a statement on the position of the NECNP on the ADA and similar organizations.
CARRIED

Fraternally submitted,
Israel Feinberg
Israel Feinberg
Chairman, NYECNP

New Party

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE
FOR A NEW PARTY
451 BRANDYWINE, S. E.
WASHINGTON, 20, D.C.

June 10, 1947

To members of the Executive Committee:

On May 21 I wrote you about a meeting of the Executive Committee to be held on July 13. This meeting was planned when the Executive Committee was set up on May 27. It is primarity for the purpose of hearing the report of the fund-raising committee, but other matters will be discussed.

The meeting will be held in Israel Feinberg's office at 131 W. 33rd Street, New York City, at 12 o'clock noon.

I hope it will be possible for you to attend this meeting. Some of the problems which will be discussed at this meeting will have an impprtant bearing on the future of the NECNP.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

National Educational Committee for a New Party

Headquarters: 141 West 40th Street • New York 18, N. Y. • Room 603
CHickering 4-1560

JOHN DEWEY
Honorary Chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Temporary Chairman
PEARL L. WILLEN
Temporary Treasurer
C. J. McLANAHAN
Temporary Secretary

New Party

September 18, 1947

Dear National Committee Member:

The National Committee meeting of the National Educational Committee for a New Party, scheduled for September 27 in Cleveland, has been postponed, since a number of important conferences will be going on at that time. For that reason, a meeting will be held in New York at a later date to discuss the problems which would have been brought up at the Cleveland meeting, other immediate national problems, and to make plans for a future National Committee meeting.

A private luncheon for key trade union leaders is being held in New York to whip up organizational support for the National Educational Committee for a New Party. Reports on progress will be forthcoming to National Committee members.

In the meantime, won't you send us news of what has been going on in your local community, and let us know what we can do to help you spread the work of the NECNP.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
National Chairman

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1ST INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
3456-58 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

BENNIE SMITH
2ND INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1308 BROADWAY, ROOM 305
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

TRAIN, CHAIR CAR, COACH PORTERS & ATTENDANTS

AN INTERNATIONAL UNION

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NIGHTS, SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS
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INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

E. J. BRADLEY
3RD INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
11 NORTH JEFFERSON STREET
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

C. L. DELLUMS
4TH INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1716 SEVENTH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

I have been considerably perturbed over the political situation in the United States. The problems of full employment, atomic power and renewed imperialism make independent political action all the more urgent.

The Democratic Party is moving more and more to the right and the Republican Party is hopelessly reactionary.

In Western Europe and Canada the parties standing for democratic socialism are making outstanding gains, while in the United States, liberals, labor and progressives are taking it on the chin.

It seems to me that now is the time for us to consider seriously what possibilities there are in the United States for building a nation-wide party along the lines of Canada's Cooperative Commonwealth Federation.

Would you join me and a few others to think through this issue and see what we can do about it? We shall meet Saturday, December 1st, 10 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., at the East Room of the Hotel New Yorker, 8th Avenue and 34th Street, New York.

I should very much appreciate it if you will let me know whether or not you can come, and send any preliminary comments you may have on the problem.

Cordially yours,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

National Educational Committee for a New Party

Temporary Headquarters: 112 East 19th Street • Room 1105 • New York 3, N. Y. • ALgonquin 4-5865

JOHN DEWEY
Honorary Chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Temporary Chairman
PEARL WILLEN
Temporary Treasurer
C. J. McLANAHAN
Temporary Secretary

MARY MARTINSON
Administative Secretary

Dear Friend,

You will notice in the minutes of the last meeting on July 27th in Chicago that the next National Committee meeting was set for August 24th in Chicago. After returning to New York I have talked to members of the New York Committee and I find that a number of them can not attend at that time. We want to have a representative group at that meeting, therefore it was suggested that a referendum vote be taken to see which time would be better for the majority of the Committee. In the best interests of the Committee I should like to recommend that the meeting be postponed until September 23rd.

I am enclosing a post card so that we can hold a referendum vote on the date and place of the meeting. The New York members also felt that Detroit was a more convenient place to meet. For the thirty members in this area it means one day less traveling.

Will you please return the enclosed card by return mail.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
Temporary Chairman

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

National Educational Committee
For A New Party
Finances

PART 2

UNDATED

National Educational Committee for a New Party

NECNP

Headquarters: 232 East Erie • Chicago 11, Illinois • Room 301

JOHN DEWEY
Honorary Chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Temporary Chairman
PEARL L. WILLEN
Temporary Treasurer
C. J. McLANAHAN
Temporary Secretary

KENNETH L. KRAMER
Executive Director
MARY MARTINSON
Administrative Secretary

April 20, 1947

To members of the National Committee:

We are planning a drive in newspapers, magazines, and other organs whose readers might be expected to be interested in NECNP. We need your help.

Attached are copies of two ads. The larger one will be handled from this office. However, we would be glad to have you suggest papers whose circulation -- size and kind -- would warrant our placing the ad. Also, printed copies of this ad will be available in quantity. Will you please write for a supply for distribution in unions, neighborhood clubs, church groups, etc.

The smaller ad is for use in labor papers, farm papers, and similar places. If you can arrange to have it run in some local paper, or in some paper or magazine with which you have a special connection -- free, or at a cost that can be met locally -- please go ahead immediately. Let us know what you are able to do.

If the cost of running the ad will have to be paid from the national treasury, send us the name and address of the paper so that it can be contacted from here. If possible, tell us the circulation, (size and kind), the cost of the ad, and any other helpful information. We will arrange to place the ad, spreading out the cost of the drive over the next few weeks, and spotting the ads around the country as we go along.

As the drive develops, it would help if you would let us know of any local reaction that you may notice.

Please don't set this letter aside for later attention. Your immediate help is essential.

Yours truly,

A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph, Chairman

C. J. McLanahan
C. J. McLanahan, Secretary

Pearl Willen
Pearl Willen, Treasurer

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LEGIBILITY IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

SURVIVE AND BE FREE IN THE ATOMIC AGE

Read

"IDEAS FOR A NEW PARTY"

A 32 page provisional declaration
of principles - Foreword by
John Dewey

10¢
12 copies for one dollar

Write to
A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
National Educational Committee
For A New Party
232 E. Erie Chicago 11 Illinois

.....

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For A New Party
232 E. Erie Chicago 11 Illinois

HOW TO SURVIVE AND STAY FREE IN THE ATOMIC AGE

JOIN

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY

John Dewey, Honorary Chairman
A Philip Randolph, Temporary Chairman
Pearl Hillen, Temporary Treasurer
C. J. McLanahan Temporary Secretary

232 N. Erie Street Chicago 11 Illinois

Read

"IDEAS FOR A NEW PARTY"

A provisional Declaration of Principles
Prepared under the direction of Lewis Corey, Research Director for the NECNP
With a foreword by John Dewey, Honorary Chairman of the NECNP

The Declaration of Principles was signed by the following people as members of the National Committee of the NECNP. (Titles are for identification only.)

(NAMES WILL APPEAR HERE)

Clip and mail this coupon

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH, CHAIRMAN
National Education Committee for a New Party
232 N. Erie Street Chicago, 11, Illinois

I enclose $6 for membership in the NECNP. One dollar of this sum will be set aside to help organize a local Committee in my area as soon as feasible. Of course, you will send me the "Ideas for a New Party" immediately, and each of your other publications as they appear.

I enclose $ ____ for which please send me ____ copies of the pamphlet, "Ideas for a New Party". (Single copies, 10¢. 12 copies for a dollar.)

My name is _____

My address is _____

_____

Send for copies of this ad to distribute in your union, club, or other organization

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1ST INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
3456-58 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

BENNIE SMITH
2ND INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1308 BROADWAY, ROOM 305
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

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ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

C. L. DELLUMS
4TH INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
1716 SEVENTH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

April 27, 1946

Dear Friend:

Thank you very much for your contribution of _____ to the National Educational Committee for a New Party which you gave at the meeting in Chicago.

This amount has been deposited and will be drawn upon for expenses.

Sincerely yours,

Pearl L. Willen
Temporary Treasurer

PLW:RB

oeiu/153

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1ST INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
3456-58 SOUTH STATE STREET
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April 27, 1946

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This amount has been deposited and will be drawn upon for expenses.

Sincerely yours,

Pearl L. Willen
Temporary Treasurer

PLW:RB

oeiu/153

REPORT OF FINANCES AND FUND RAISING COMMITTEE

May 17, 1947

Your Committee recommends that Samuel Jacobs be retained on a full-time basis as National Director of the NECNP as soon as he is available, with the following salary and yearly budget for maintaining office and running expenses:

Director, salary	$500 per month	$6,000
travel expenses	$125 " "	1,500
Office secretary	$ 50 per week (54 weeks)	2,700
Office expenses		1,600
Rent	$ 60 per month	
Phone	20 " "	
Supplies	20 " "	
Postage	25 " "	
Misc.	10 " "	
Misc. printing and publishing		2,180
Total		$14,000

Your Committee further recommends that the present drive to raise funds be concluded not later than July 4th and all funds, pledges and commitments should be in/ IN CASH in the treasury of NECNP, by July 4th.

It was agreed that Israel Feinberg and Feigel Levine will be responsible for raising funds from the following:

The New York I.L.G.W.U. LOCALS - (Feinberg and Levine)
The U.H.C.M.W.I. UNION - (Levine)
The Hotel and Restaurant Wkrs' Union - (Feinberg)
The Workmen's Circle - (Feinberg)
United Hebrew Trades - (Feinberg)
Jewish Daily Forward - (Feinberg)
U.W.R.D.S.A. - (Levine)
Building Service Employees Union Local 32-b - (Levine)
Pennsylvania Anthracite Region - (Levine - after return from convention)

Feinberg and Levine will conclude their drive by the 13th of June, at which time your committee recommends that a meeting of the National Committee be called where they will be able to give a complete report of their results.

The minimum quotas be raised from individuals and their local groups that have signified their interest in the NECNP.

NEW YORK - to be raised from individual members and sympathizers by

	Yagoda Ethel Kahn Horowitz	$1,500
CHICAGO - to be raised by Heisler and group there	----	500

DETROIT - to be raised by Martinson, Mazey, Hammond, Elder and Morris Hood in charge of same ---- 1,000

OHIO - to be raised by Corey ---- 250

ST. LOUIS - to be raised by Gibbons ---- 750

WASHINGTON, D.C. - to be raised by Jacobs
Shishkin
Gaussman ---- 100

PHILADELPHIA - to be raised by Fleischman ---- 250

NEW JERSEY - (The committee recommends that a meeting of the New Jersey group be called and a speaker furnished by this committee to revive the New Jersey Group and raise a quota of ---- 250

ORGANIZATIONS:

Paper, Pulp and Sulphite Workers - New York - to be raised by Jacobs and Brooks
Bakery and Confectionery Workers - to be raised by H. Fleischman
Butchers Workmen - Chicago - to be raised by Corey
M.E.S.A. to be raised by Corey in Chicago ---- $ 500
Seamen's International Union - Detroit to be raised by Morris Hood
U.A.W. - Detroit - to be raised by Mazey and Hood

Your committee recommends that at the conclusion of this fund raising drive and all the money turned in, that an appeal be made by mail to all members and sympathizers of the NECNP for contributions to be followed up by telephone and personal contacts.

Respectfully submitted,

S/ Israel Feinberg, Chairman
Feigel Levine, Secretary
Ben Davidson
Harry Fleischman
Morris Hood

ceiu-153

NECNP

Financial Statement May 1, 1947

Receipts during April		
Advance	$500.00	
For pamphlets	.70	$ 500.70
Expenditures		
Typing service	$ 20.75	
Postage	22.00	
Supplies	7.15	
Mimeographing	5.10	
Bank service	.50	
Typewriter costs	2.75	
Telephone and telegrams	6.40	
Salary - 11 days at $23.08	253.88	$318.53
Cash on hand		$ 182.17

Submitted,

Samuel Jacobs

National Educational Committee for a New Party

Temporary Headquarters: 112 East 19th Street • Room 1105 • New York 3, N. Y. • ALgonquin 4-5865

JOHN DEWEY
Honorary Chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Temporary Chairman
PEARL WILLEN
Temporary Treasurer
C. J. McLANAHAN
Temporary Secretary
MARY MARTINSON
Administative Secretary

Dear Friend,

The people of this country have become disillusioned by the domestic and foreign policy of the Republican and Democratic parties. We find, after fighting a victorious war against anti-democratic nations, that the people all over the world must still fight for their democratic freedoms.

The people who believe in democracy have tried through their own economic organizations to get legislation passed through state and national legislatures for full employment, fair employment practices, equitable tax laws, extension of social security, adequate health protection, etc. We find the two old parties, controlled by vested interests, forming a coalition to defeat these measures.

If we in America hope to champion the cause of the democratic peoples in other parts of the world it is time that we put our own house in order. We need our own political party, one that will be truly representative of the interests of the majority of the American people. For that reason we have organized an educational committee to carry on a campaign to encourage such a new party in this country. On behalf of the National Committee I should like to ask you to help us in building this movement.

The National headquarters were temporarily established in New York and within a few weeks will be moved to Chicago. We should like to call upon you to encourage the organization of local educational groups, to promote resolutions for a new party in progressive organizations, and to secure financial contributions from organizations and individuals.

Any assistance that you can give us will be greatly appreciated.

Yours for a better world,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
Temporary Chairman

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE National Educational Committee
For A New Party
Miscellaneous Items

UNDATED

Fraser Hotel Dorm 377 Madison -237 Madison R15 F

no w Reuther 411 W [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

no Mr. [redacted], 1127 Pine St., St. Louis, Mo. - Retail in St Louis (wood C10)

yes [redacted] (Fraser) Dos Passos?

[redacted]

no [redacted]

yes [redacted]

? [redacted]

no [redacted]

yes [redacted]

[redacted]

? no [redacted]

[redacted]

yes [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

yes [redacted]

[redacted]

no [redacted] (Jones -)

? [redacted] Road School

yes [redacted]

yes [redacted]

yes [redacted]

[redacted]

323 B St, SE

el Hamilton

John Edelman

No [illegible]

[illegible] 167 West 12 St., New York City cobf

[illegible]

Yes [illegible] 333 E. 33 St., New York City

Yes [illegible] 112 E. 19 St. New York City 3, N.Y.

No [illegible]

No [illegible]

[illegible] Ufenbaun (Reeher)

No [illegible]

Yes [illegible]

Yes [illegible]

[illegible] u&w

[illegible] (chr. Century)

No [illegible]

[illegible]

No [illegible] Sch of Rel.

Yes [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Yes Louis Fraiber Hotel Druon. N.Y.

Dubersley - out of town.

Yes? Leon Denmen

Yes J Henry Corfeates

Yes Frank McCallen's

Yes? Murray Gross

Monroe Sweetland

Cards

LIST OF CONTACTS FOR FEBRUARY CONFERENCE ON THE PROMOTION OF A NATIONAL PARTY

MCF

Arthur Elder - Vice President, American Federation of Teachers, AFL ✓
60 Farnsworth, University of Michigan, Detroit 2, Michigan

Victor Reuther - War Policy Division, UAW CIO, 411 West Milwaukee, ✓
Detroit 2, Michigan

Walter Reuther - International Vice President, UAW CIO, 411 West Milwaukee, ✓
Detroit 2, Michigan

Simeon Martin - President, Michigan Farmers Educational & Cooperative Union, ✓
Route 2, Stanton, Michigan

Frances Smith - President, Telephone Workers Union, 730 Michigan Building, ✓
Detroit 26, Michigan

Mr. Mathew Smith, Secretary, MESA, 7310 Woodward, Detroit 2, Michigan ✓

Mathew Hammond, President Local 157, UAW CIO, 14th & McGraw, Detroit 8, Mich. ✓

Mr. John Reid, State Secretary, Michigan AFL, Bauch Building, Lansing, Michigan ✓

Mrs. Helen Moore, Business Agent, Detroit Federation of Teachers, 82 W. ✓
Montcalm Detroit 1, Michigan

Bennie Smith, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1308 Broadway, Detroit 26 ✓

Sam Jacobs, Consumer Division OPA, 431 Brandywine, S. E. Washington ✓
20, D. C.

Donald Montgomery, International Representative UAW CIO, 812 ✓
17th Streetn, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Brother Randolph:

Your letter was appreciated. I think that this copy of a letter to Jacobs may be of interest to you; I also enclose a copy of the list sent him.

I do hope that NECNP gets on its feet. When it does, perhaps we may have another try here locally.

Pierson Cattrow

P. O. Box 121
Elizabeth, NJ
May 29, 1947.

Mr. Sam Jacobs
431 Brandywine NE
Washington 20, D. C.

Dear Sam:

My apologies for not sending you that list before this; I attach it herewith.

By this time, you will have gotten the copy of the letter sent to our erstwhile local committee. I made 2 drafts; the copy you got was the first, and poorly worded one. A much better letter went to the bulk of our committee.

My attempt to call the local committee together again was a complete flop. I turned up, a representative of the SDF, and a representative of the SP. The requested representative of the national committee failed to arrive at all.

Personally, I think it's going to be a close to impossible job to get our committee together again - the members are too disgusted with the monkey wrenches thrown and the lack of any indication that NECNP, nationally, is really an organization with faith in itself and a desire to go places fast. Without such indication, they just aren't interested.

However, here is that list. I am personally much interested, and wish to be kept informed of anything that may happen. And I wish you luck.

Fraternally,

Pierson Cattrow

Northern New Jersey
Educational Committee
for a New Party

CONTINUATIONS COMMITTEE

Arthur Riley	371 Garfield St., Fairview	UAW
Hugh Dellard	89 Montclair Avenue, Newark	UOCC
Simon Smith	45 Tillinghast St., Newark 8	SP
Morris Riger	29 Huntington Terrace, Newark 8	TWUA
Pierson Ostrow	225 Meeker Avenue, Newark 8	WC
Aaron Trachtenberg	537 W. 159th St., NYC	IUMSWA
Irving Rosenberg	% UHDSE, 800 Broad St., Nwk.2	UHDSE
James Winfombe	199A Ege Ave., Jersey City	USA
Milo C. Jones	127 Isabella Ave., Newark	SDF
Milo Heins	% TWUA, 811 Summit Ave., Union City	TWUA
Philip Goodman	102 Astor St., Nwk, % ILGWU	ILGWU

Also notify

Sol Stetin	1060 Broad St., Newark 2 % TWUA	TWUA
Mrs. W. D. Febert	16 Raymond Ave., Nutley	Teacher

New Party

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY
Temporary Headquarters - 112 East 19th St.
Room 1105 - New York City, New York

MEMORANDUM TO: National Committee Members:
FROM: Mary Martinson, Administrative Secretary

The Editorial Committee with Harry Laidler as chairman are working on the basic statement for our committee. The next meeting will be Wednesday, July 3rd in New York City, and at that time will get the statement done so that a leaflet can be printed on "WHY A NEW PARTY". You will be sent a copy of the last draft immediately. Will you please rush your suggestions or criticisms to the office so that we can get the leaflet to the printer.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee last week the following recommendations were made:

1. To recommend formation of local and regional Educational Committees for a New Party, said committees to be based on subscribers to the monthly publication which we are to set up, plus others who agree with our general purposes.

2. That local and regional educational committees for a new party shall be connected with the national committee, but that there shall be no dues system, and that instead subscriptions to the publication and contributions shall be solicited.

3. To establish local and regional committees through - (1) members of NECNP in a city, (2) field work of national office staff, and (3) friendly groups in coops, unions, farm organizations, etc.

4. National Conference in December: To recommend that the national conference be held Saturday and Sunday, December 28 and 29th, and that a national committee meeting be held Friday, December 27th. Things to be considered: (1) statement of aims, organization, etc. (2) who can be delegates - individuals? Organizations? (3) agenda (4) speakers (5) staff and national committee (6) credential committee to keep out undesirables (7) weighted representation for organizations? (8) preliminary call for conference should be ready in September with final call coming right after November election.

5. Possible speakers or sponsors mentioned: Patton, W. Reuther, M. Lincoln, E. R. Bowen, R. M. Hutchins, Russell Davenport, Dubinsky, Charles LaFollette, Bob LaFollette, Clare Boothe Luce, Pat Gorman, Harry Lundeberg, Hugo Ernst, Arthur Garfield Hays, Morris Ernst, John Haynes Holmes, Bishop James C. Baker, A. Philip Randolph, Bishop Sheil, John Lapp, Albert Einstein, Urey, Oppenheimer, John Dewey, M. J. Coldwell, Michael Foot, Aneurin Bevan, Leon Blum, Jawaharlal Nehru, Leon Henderson, Dr. Mays of Moorhouse College, Pearl Buck, Shuster, Gideonse, Felix Morley, Irving Stone, Lillian Smith, Dorothy Thompson, Bishop McConnell, Alexander Meiklejohn, John Dos Passos.

The Finance Committee elected Israel Feinberg as Chairman. Suggestions for raising funds: (1) list of organizations and individuals (2) National Committee members to pledge monthly contributions (3) National Committee to be assigned a quota to raise each month (4) raise funds on the basis of literature and monthly publications. The problem on funds is acute. The treasury is very low and what is needed at the moment is enough money to print our basic statement. Members in attendance agreed to raise all the way from $50 to $500 in the next 30 days. The record was set by Mr. Feinberg who pledged to raise $500 within 30 days, but instead he raised it in three days. A few more like that and we could get our monthly newspaper started.

We look upon each of you to be the leader in your own organization and community to get people interested in our Committee and to raise funds from them to help insure our success.

Fraternally yours,
Mary Martinson
Mary Martinson
Administrative Secretary

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY
600 Hofmann Building
Detroit 1, Michigan

June 13, 1946

TO: National Committee Members
FROM: Administrative Secretary, Mary Martinson

Before actual organizational work can begin at least some direction must be indicated by the National Committee. The matter consists of three broad questions:

1. What are the most effective organizational means beneath the national committee for carrying out the educational work of the committee?

2. What shall be the basis for representation at the December conference?

3. Shall there be individual or organizational affiliation to the National Committee, and if so, on what basis?

Obviously existing organizations must be approached systematically, and efforts made to place our philosophy before their memberships, through their house organs and educational departments, and by resolutions endorsing the national committee. After assessing our strength and contacts in regard to the various organizations, CIO, AFL, Farmers' Union, Coops, etc., assignments could be made to specific individuals to carry on this work. We really need a number of field representatives.

However, the financial resources of the National Committee limits the staff, so that other alternative methods must be considered. State committees affiliated to the National Committee could be set up. From my experience it would be extremely unwise to set up such state committees without adequate leadership in a given state. Again, since such state committees would have the power to do good or harm to the prestige of the national committee, extreme care would have to be taken that such committees would represent the most well rounded elements, and would carry a specific political label other than adherence to the idea of forming a new party with a progressive program. Such Committees would be subject to review by the national committee.

Individual membership affiliations would bring us a constant flow of funds if the membership fees were high enough that servicing such a membership with literature would not constitute a financial drag on the organization. It would give a specific task to all who are connected to the organization which would contribute to the general morale. Organizational affiliations are really a problem. The failure of certain key organizations to affiliate with us might be taken as evidence of organizational weakness. It brings up the whole question of ultimate block affiliation to a new party, and might by precedent commit us to that policy, thus prejudicing the future actions of a future party.

At the present writing I favor representation to the December conference as follows: 1. Representation from organizations where organizations will send delegates, such representation to be on a numerical basis. (This will likely be the exception.) 2. Individual representation where the individuals importance both personal and organizational will contribute to the strength and prestige of the convention (by invitation). 3. Representation from existing affiliated state committees, and where such state committees do not exist by invitation or by approval of the National Committee.

These are some of the basic policy questions which I believe the committee should decide, and on which the Staff must have direction.

Further, we must set up some procedure for adding to the National Committee. Up to now we have been adding names at random.

It is imperative that we get our basic statment published so that it can be sent to leaders all over the country for comment. Besides this long document that Lewis Corey is preparing, we need a leaflet on "What is the National Educational Committee For A New Party". Lewis Corey has suggested that we publish a mimeographed bulletin to be sent to organizations and publications called, "Labor Britain Today". He feels that we should express our kinship with the British Labor Party and send out information on what our British friends are doing on housing, nationalization, education, and foreign affairs. Charles Paddock, Editor of New Party News, suggests that in our monthly publication that we include one section on activities of labor governments and commonwealths in other countries. The publicity committee will be bringing in recommendations on these various suggestions.

ODDS AND ENDS:

Michigan State CIO Convention: I am enclosing the resolution we sponsored at the CIO Convention which was passed with virtually no opposition, in spite of some pressure exerted. We got support for it from the followers of Leonard and Thomas plus the majority support from the so-called Reuther caucus. The leaders of the Communist Party did not vote when it came on the floor. We considered this a real victory for the National Committee and the MCF.

Emil Mazey was elected at the last convention of the UAW-CIO as an Executive Board member and Regional Director. He is a very influential person in the UAW and would be glad to serve on our National Committee. We would like to recommend his name be added to the Committee and if there are no objections, I would like to invite him to attend our June 22nd meeting.

I had a personal interview with Charles Bolte when he was in Detroit. He told me that the American Veterans Committee could do more good by working on legislation for Veterans if they did not get involved in politics at this time. He expressed the desire to work with our committee on issues. He was here lining up non-communist delegates to the AVC Convention this week end in Des Moines, Iowa. We will know at our meeting Saturday how much influence the Communists had at their Convention.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING

Saturday, June 22nd - Detroit, Michigan

10:30 a.m. - Syrian Hall - 1310 Temple
(Temple and Brooklyn - west of Grand River)

There will be an MCF Party at the same hall in the evening. We would like to have as our guests the National Committee members.

Hotel Reservations are a problem. I have rented five rooms with twin beds at the Park Avenue Hotel. I am also trying to get rooms at the Book Cadillac. Will you please notify me by return mail if you want me to make reservations for you, and please indicate the days you will be here.

* * * * *

The procedure of the National Committee is a little irregular at the moment. All the work previously has been handled from New York, and now is spread between New York, Detroit, and Chicago. A little patience will be required until we get the national headquarters established in Chicago.

Take to New Party meeting

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY

Office of the Chairman
217 West 125th Street
New York 27 New York

May 12, 1947

To members of the National Committee:

The enclosed reprint should be of real interest to many of the people and the organizations with which you come into contact. It was written for the labor press, and appeared in a number of AFL, CIO, and other labor papers. It should therefore be especially useful for distribution in union gatherings of all kinds. However, the appeal is broad enough so that you will probably find other organizations in your area within which it ought to be distributed.

The reprint will be part of a national mailing which we will make in a few days. It will be promoted from our national office in other ways as well. However, we must rely on you, the members of our National Committee, for whatever local promotion is possible. The price, given in the box on the leaflet, has been set low enough so that its distribution should put no great burden on anyone.

Will you do everything you can to help us get as many orders for copies of this article as possible? Orders will be filled promptly.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph,
Chairman

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

National Educational Committee
For A New Party
Minutes of Meetings

1946-47

UNDATED

Am Comm Fed

MEETING OF SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY, April 15, 1946

Present: Randolph, Willen, Davidson, Milgram, Lipsig, Fleischman

It was agreed that Willen would send letters to all who had made pledges in Chicago. She is to bring in a complete financial report at the next meeting.

It was agreed that a letter, giving highlights of the conference, and signed by Randolph and McLanahan, should be sent to those who attended, plus those who originally agreed to attend the Chicago conference. Those previously nominated will be asked if they accept.

Motion carried to recommend that National Committee at its meeting May 4th, consider adding to its number, the names originally suggested by the Nominating Committee, plus limited number of new key people. The above people to be invited as guests to attend the NRCNP meeting in Detroit.

It was agreed that the Sub-Committee get to Detroit early May 4th, so that a meeting of the full Sub-Committee could be held in the morning preceding the National Committee meeting.

The next meeting of the Sub-Committee with Gerber, Laidler, Eubanks, Feinberg, Campbell and Schwartzman asked to sit in, will be held, Monday, April 22nd at 2 P. M., at Room 1408, Hotel Claridge, 44th Street & Broadway, NYC. It will discuss finances, staff and headquarters.

Motion carried to thank Sam Colton for his splendid work in helping to arrange for the Chicago conference.

Suggestions for staff to be considered by the May 4th Detroit meeting, were: Tucker Smith and Nat Grey of American Friends Service Committee who headed labor anti-conscription drive; Brendon Sexton of UAW; and Harold Libros of Upholsterers International Union, AFL.

Suggestions for chairman were: Pearl Buck, Congressman LaFollette, Clarence Dyckstra, George Edwards, Charles Edison, Murray Lincoln, Leon Henderson, Marquis Childs, Thomas L. Stokes, Albert Einstein. Others suggested as national committee members were Herman Wold and Gregory Bardacke, Rust Brothers, Alfred Baker Lewis and Roma Gans.

Respectfully submitted,

RB

A. Philip Randolph, Chairman

MICHIGAN COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION

606 HOFMANN BUILDING
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN
RAndolph 0140

Executive Director
MARY MARTINSON

OFFICERS
Chairman
MATHEW B. HAMMOND
Vice-Chairmen
MIRIAM LEE
SIMEON MARTIN
JOHN TAYLOR
Secretary-Treasurer
PHIL LUTJEN
Trustees
HAROLD CHALK
LEON COUSENS
ELTON HANSEN
Executive Committee
JOHN EBELKE
CLAYTON FOUNTAIN
WILLIAM KENNEDY
IRVINE KERRISON
WILLARD MARTINSON
ALVA ROSS
DR. H. ZACKHEIM

May 17, 1946

Communication to National Committee Members:

The enclosed minutes of the meeting on May 4th are being sent to the members who attended the Detroit meeting because I have not received the full list of names from the New York office. As soon as I receive that list the minutes will be mailed out.

You will notice on Page 3 of the minutes the list of people to be added to the Committee. I do not have the addresses of any of these individuals with the exception of Bennie Smith, Jeanette Watkins and Arthur Elder who have already accepted. Will you please send me the addresses of any of these people that you know.

At the time of the last meeting I had forgotten a previous committment I had made to be in South Dakota the week of the 26th. I, therefore, wrote to Brother Randolph and asked that I not be placed on the payroll until June 3rd.

I have received two documents for our program from Albert Sprague Coolidge and Harry Laidler. As soon as these can be mimeographed they will be sent to all committee members.

There were a number of committees set up at the last meeting. I hope that the Chairman of these committees have called meetings and will have specific recommendations for the Committee on June 22nd. Lewis Corey writes that he will have his document in this office next week and then will be mailed to the Committee.

Dr. Burton, Bennie Smith, Mathew Hammond, the owner and Manager of the Park Avenue Hotel and myself spent a couple of hours with the Assistant Prosecuting Attorney on May 7th. The owner of the Hotel agreed to send a letter to Mr. Randolph advising him that this was not a case of discrimination, but a mistake in the reservations. I talked to the Manager of the Hotel yesterday and he will take care of all the Committee members for the June 22nd meeting. The English Room has been reserved already, so another place will be rented for our meeting, but you will be advised of that later.

Fraternally yours,

Mary Martinson

Mary Martinson

Minutes of Second Meeting of the
National Educational Committee
For A New Party

May 4, 1946
Detroit, Michigan

Organization

Members present: Levitas, Coolidge, Davidson, Burton, Elfenbein, Hammond, McLaurin, Gemmer, Corey, Neff, Fleischman, Martinson, Randolph, McLanahan, Yeater, Allen, Leidler, and Brown.

Guests present: Watkins, Lang, Smith, and W. Martinson.

Chairman: Randolph Secretary: McLanahan

Agenda

1. Minutes
2. Hotel discrimination
3. Sub-committee report
4. Provisional program
5. New business

1. **Minutes**

MSC to approve minutes of last meeting as read.

2. **Hotel Discrimination**

Burton refused room on racial basis at Park Avenue Hotel the night of May 3.

MSC that Burton prosecute suit against hotel and to recommend constitution of Detroit Community Committee by Mary Martinson and Bennie Smith to survey entire field of hotel discrimination in Detroit and take proper, non-violent action to halt such discrimination.

3. **Sub-committee Report**

(Recommendations of sub-committee and subsequent action follows)

a. Location of national office should be Chicago.
MSC (Burton-Gemmer) to approve.

Burton, Mclanahan and Martinson to act as office committee. To carry on from Detroit until moving practical.

b. Nat'l committee should be strengthened in Chicago area.

People from Chicago area are included in those added to the membership at end of minutes.

c. Budget for next year should be $35,000. $25,000 thru the convention and until 1947.

Executive Director.....	$5,000 to $6,000
Adminstrative Secretary....	3,750
Secretary.....	2,500
Subsidies regl & local work	3,500
Traveling expenses.....	5,000
Phone.....	1,000
Postage.....	2,500
Office Furn & Equip.....	1,000
Printing.....	5,000
Miscellaneous.....	5,000

MSC (Davidson-Allen) to adopt proposed budget.

Money to be raised from local unions and other organizations as well as a mass mail appeal to interested groups. All national committee members requested to send treasurer a list of individuals, unions and other organizations which might be willing to make contributions to our educational work.

MSC (McLaurin-Burton) that chairman appoint a finance committee. The following were named:

Fineberg	Coolidge
Green	Tibbetts
Elfenbein	McLaurin
Gibbon	Gemmer
Fleischman	Willen
Davidson	
Campbell	

Committee to be divided into regional sub-committees.

Contributors to be placed on mailing list for copies of all pamphlets and bulletins.

d. Consideration should be given to offer of Paddock that New Party News be made official bulletin of National Educational Committee For A New Party.

Discussion: Committee appreciative of proposal. Emphasized necessity to weigh wisdom of taking over another paper to become official journal of the new organization. Question of attitudes and views developed by the New Party News must be considered.

MSC (Allen-Davidson) that a committee consider and bring in report to next meeting. Chairman appointed:

Laidler	Bell
Levitas	Martinson
Allen	Corey

e. For Chairman the following names presented:

MacIver, Robert	Hutchins, R. M.
Agar, William	Childs, Marquis
LaFollette, Charles	Stokes, Thomas L.
Edison, Charles	Chase, Stuart
Henderson, Leon	Garrison, Lloyd
Bowen, E. R.	

Discussion: Need not have "headline" name at this time. Person ought to be one who will bring in the people at the grass roots. One who stands well with all groups.

Bowen called to ask to accept chairmanship. His reply that would be impossible at the present time.

MSC (Hammond-Davidson) that Randolph serve as chairman until next meeting.

MSC (Allen-Burton) that chairman appoint a committee of 7 to select a chairman and executive director and submit names to committee for referendum by mail. The committee named:

Davidson	Levitas
Burton	McLanahan
Corey	Randolph
Hammond	

f. For executive director the following names suggested:

Martinson, Mary	Grey, Nat	Amlie, Tom
Williams, Aubrey	Daniels	Thompson, Glenn
* Sweetland, Monroe	Sexton, Brendon	Jeffrey, Newman
* Hosie, Larry	*Lipsig, James	
Farquharson, Mary	Williams, Howard Y	
* Smith, Tucker		

Names with asterisk were considered possible and special committee named under above section to weigh these first.

4. Provisional Program

Corey read program. Incomplete at present time.

Discussion: Too long. Too short. Too direct. Too indirect. Summary of the feeling is a place for short statement of purpose of this committee in terms of the need for New Party Action, and place for a longer statement of program and steps thru which they are to be carried out.

Recommended that as many as will send in their statements of program and purpose, these to be considered by a special editorial committee.

Committee to draft statement and program to be sent to committee members before next meeting. Committee as follows:

Laidler	Allen	Levitas
Corey	Elfenbein	

5. New Business

a. Administrative Secretary

Unanimous approval that Mary Martinson be asked to become administrative secretary of the National Educational Committee For A New Party.

MSC (Hammond-Allen) that Mary Martinson be paid a salary of $60 per week and $20 a week expenses; plus all expenses related to the work as administrative assistant when out of Chicago.

MSC (Corey-Hammond) that Mary Martinson be placed on the payroll as of May 15.

Mary Martinson to work under an Administrative Committee made up of the following, until next committee meeting:

Randolph	McLanahan
Burton	Willen

b. New committee members

The following were voted to the committee. They are to be sent an invitation to serve.

Watkins, Jeanette	MacIver, Robert
Carner, Lucy	Agar, William
Paddook, Charles	Dos Passos, John
Smith, Bennie	Lincoln, Murray
Tripp, Myron	Holdridge
Fries, Horace	Allen, Harlan
Fiess, Edward	Wale, Fred
Kaufman, Mrs. Frances	Sparling
Tibbetts, Vinal	Lasch, Robert
Bowen, E. R.	Shapiro, Theodore
Elder, Arthur	McCulloch, Frank

MSC (Allen-Burton) that Gibbon and Schwartzman, who have indicated willingness to serve on committee be accepted as members.

c. Next meeting

Detroit, Saturday, June 22, 1946

Submitted

McLanahan

MINUTES - RESIDENT MEMBERS OF NAT'L EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY
New York City May 27, 1946 At Mr. Davidson's office.

Present: A. Philip Randolph, Chairman; Ben Davidson, Pearl Willen, Harry Fleischman Hiram Kifenbein, James Lipzig, H. Schwartzman, Morris Milgrom.
and labor draft

It was agreed that a statement on the Railway Strike/be sent to press, and that a committee including Jack McManahan, Harold J. Gibbons, and Mr. Burton try to see Mr. A.F. Whitney. Fleischman agreed to contact McManahan to get this started. Fleischman and Schwartzman to draft statement to be released by chairman.
FINANCE COMMITTEE: Motion: That Israel Weinberg be asked to call a meeting of the Finance Committee within a week. Carried. It was agreed that Margaret De Silver should be asked to serve on this committee.

NEXT MEETING OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE: Detroit was agreed on as the city for the next national committee meeting. It was felt by all present that if we could get action on national chairmanship, director, and the basic document, [illegible] on the out of these matters by the time of the next meeting, the June 29 meeting should be held as scheduled. Otherwise, it might be best to postpone till there was a concrete report available on at least two of these matters.

DIRECTOR: Milgrom reported that Laurence T. Hosie was willing to consider post, and it was agreed he be interviewed as soon as possible by resident members. (Mr. Randolph reached him for an appointment right after the meeting. Subsequently, Mr. Hosie declared he was not available, as his Syracuse Committee insisted he had a moral obligation to remain with them.)

STAFF: It was agreed, after a detailed discussion of Mr. Lipzig in his absence, that he would make an excellent assistant director, possibly in charge of Eastern work, with special emphasis on pushing fund-raising activities. Question is to be held in abeyance till a decision is made on the question of an executive director.

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN: It was agreed that Mr. Randolph should discuss this with Mr. Chas. LaFollette as soon as possible. Mrs. Willen had reported that he had expressed interest in the new party movement to her.

Respectfully submitted,

Morris Milgrom, secretary pro tem

MINUTES, NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT FEPC, THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 1946, 3:30p.m.

At Broadway Tabernacle, New York City

Present: Dr. Chalmers, chairman; Dr. Hunton, Mr. Shlesinglin, Miss Lowy, Mr. McLaurin, Mr. Dalson, Mrs. Staupers, Mr. Milgram, Mr. Aronson for I. Minkoff, Mrs. Hedgeman
It was voted that Mr. Milgram serve as secretary.

Dr. Chalmers reported for the subcommittee that had been set up at the last meeting to study organization and administration of the council, and to plan a campaign for amendments the bill, built around recommendations the findings of the subcommittee as to the minimum bill which the subcommittee would recommend. He declared that the Taft bill was not a practical question, the subcommittee had agreed, because it lacked organization support and thus couldn't be passed. The subcommittee, agreeing to go into the question of a minimum bill at a later meeting, had agreed on the following:

A. The FEPC Council's form of organization should be

1. Executive Committee as highest authority should continue, with deadwood on it replaced.

2. The Policy com., either as now or in the future constituted, shall be the administrative committee and shall act for the Exec.committee in the interim between Executive Committee meetings, both to carry out policy and to bring to the Executive Committee preliminary discussions of changes of policy.

3. Strategy committee should be renamed to indicate more clearly its function, as the Washington Consultative Committee or Council, or some such name.

4. A National Advisory Council, consisting of chairmen of local FEPC Councils, representatives of organizations and interested individuals, should be set up, to meet at least once a year.

B. The National Office should be moved to New York City, with a legislative office in Washington.

MOTION: to accept the report, with understanding there would be continuing work of subcommittee, and that item on moving national office would be discussed separately. CARRIED

After discussion, it was unanimously agreed that office should be moved to NYC.

Mrs. Hedgeman reported on the work of the Council, commenting on the victory of Senator Chavez in the New Mexico primaries, campaigns being carried out in various cities for funds, the June 25 mass meetings on the 5th anniversary of FEPC, being pushed in accordance with Mr. Randolph's suggestion, and the $6,000 monthly budget which the Council is unable to meet. A fund appeal by Dorothy Norman has just been mailed to 8,000 on the Council's lists.

Mr. Dalson reported on the work which a committee of Randolph, Hunton, and Dalson had done in visiting possible chairmen for the NY fundraising drive. The results look promising; the real need the committee has not been able to meet yet is the finding of competent fundraising workers.

Mrs. Staupers raised the question of raising money from women's clubs.

It was agreed that Mrs. Randolph, Dalson and Hunton be a subcommittee to work out a solution if possible to the problem of tax exemption for the Council's educational work. This committee would report thru the committee studying administration and the bill, which would meet Thursday, June 13, 2:30 p.m. at NCRAC, 386 Madison Av. Mrs. Hedgeman is to send a report on work, finances, administration and local councils to that meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

[redacted]

Minutes of the Third Meeting of the National Committee
of the National Educational Committee for a New Party

July 27, 1946
International House
Chicago, Illinois

Members present: Francis Heisler, Adella Langill, Mathew Hammond, Mary Martinson, Myron Tripp, Dr. Charles Wesley Burton, Arthur Elder, Robert Gemmer, Lewis Corey, Horace Fries. Guests: Walter Hendricks, Joseph Albano, Martin Diamond. Members arriving in the afternoon: A. Philip Randolph, Maynard Kruegar.

10:30 a.m., Mary Martinson as Administrative Secretary called the meeting to order in the absence of the Chairman, A. Philip Randolph who was delayed in Detroit. Mathew Hammond was elected as Acting Chairman. Brother McLanahan could not attend and Robert Gemmer was made Acting Secretary.

Sister Martinson reported to the Committee that members in the New York area felt that a representative group would not be able to attend the July 27th meeting and therefore, the nature of the meeting should be changed from a National Committee meeting to a regional strategy meeting.

Brother Corey pointed out that the members in New York had not had the authority to change the nature of this meeting and hence we should act as the National Committee.

MSC: Since the New York group had no right to change the nature of the meeting, the members present consider this a regularly called (postponed) meeting of the National Committee and will so act."

Brother Heisler said we didn't need such a motion and suggested as an amendment that "The national Committee now convene." Brother Hammond stated that a number of people had not attended the meeting because of the letter that was sent out saying that this was a regional meeting. He felt that the letter should not have been sent. Brother Burton pointed out that we had nothing to put over, and that we get started with the meeting - that no sub-committee has the right to repudiate decisions of the National Committee. Brother Heisler stated that our actions could be reconsidered at the next meeting the same as any actions could be reconsidered at later meetings. The motion made previously was carried.

Brother Burton moved that we adopt the agenda proposed at Detroit. Carried.

1. Administrative Secretary's Report
2. Finances
3. National Chairman, Officers, and Staff.
4. Additional names to be added to the National Committee
5. Basis of representation to National Conference
6. Location of National Headquarters
7. Discussion of basic statement
8. National Newspaper
9. Organizational and Educational Regional plans

A. Administrative Secretary's Report: Sister Martinson reported that a Committee had talked to Congressman Charles LaFollette from Indiana and felt that he would make an excellent National Chairman. He had seemed very interested in the idea of a new party and in the work of the committee. Congressman LaFollette will meet with small groups of people throughout the country to forward the interests of our Committee. He could attend a meeting in Chicago the last week of September. The suggestion was made that a committee be set up to work out plans for such a meeting.

She spoke at a meeting in Philadelphia of trade unionists who were quite enthusiastic about our Committee and were going to get key people in Philadelphia to support the work.

The Editorial committee held a number of meetings and the majority agreed to the statement "Why A New Party". The printed statement is now available for distribution. Progress is being made throughout the country. On the rest of the items on the agenda she stated that she would tell the members present the opinions of the members of the New York area.

B. Finances: The Committee had in the treasury $377.00 on June 24th. Mr. Israel Feinberg raised $550; Mr. Randolph $50, and Mrs. Martinson $50. A few pledges had been paid with the balance of $500. after current bills were paid.

Brother Corey suggested that all National Committee members make a monthly pledge and also try to bring $100.00 in cash they had raised personally to the next meeting. Adopted that all N.C. members not present be asked to make a monthly sustaining pledge to run for five months beginning with August, and that all members present make their pledge now. Pledges made:

Lewis Corey -	$5.00	F. Heisler -	$10.00	Mathew Hammond -	$10.00
H. Fries -	5.00	A. Langill	2.50	W. Hendricks	5.00
Arthur Elder	5.00	R. Gemmer	2.00	Dr. Burton	5.00
Myron Tripp	2.00	M. Kruegar	5.00		

The following pledged to bring at the next meeting:

Lewis Corey -	$100.00	A. Langill -	$10.00
Robert Gemmer	100.00	Horace Fries	50.00

C. National Chairman, Officers, Staff.

Brother Heisler suggested that the Administrative Secretary inform the sub-committee on Staff that the unanimous decision of the members present was Congressman LaFollettee for National Chairman and Sam Jacobs for Executive Director.

Understood that pending the election of the Executive Director the Administrative Secretary is an ex-officio member of all committees and it was understood that the Administrative Secretary naturally had the right to hire any necessary clerical assistance.

MSC: That the sub-committee dealing with officers and staff should report at the next meeting. It was suggested that individuals being considered meet with the sub-committee on Friday before the next meeting and attend the regular meeting on Saturday.

D. New National Committee members:

After discussion and consideration the following were voted upon individually and are all to be invited by the National Chairman to join the National Committee:

Walter Hendricks, 1155 E. 56th, Chicago 37, Ill. Professor
Eleanor Neff, 150 Fifth Ave., NY - Assoc, Sec. Christian Social Relations Methodist Church
Emil Mazey, Regional Director, UAW CIO, Detroit
Ernest Calloway, Chicago, United Transport Service Employees
Mrs. Annalee Stewart, President Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom

Carl Hutchinson, Ohio Farm Bureau
Ethel DuPont - Kentucky
Maynard Kruegar, University of Chicago.

Other names mentioned that action was deferred on, to in some cases see if they are interested and in others see if we want them:

Richard T. Leonard - V.P. UAW CIO - Detroit
Samuel Colton - Jewish Labor Committee
Perry Melton, Montana - sec-treasurer AFL
George Fischer - University of Wisconson
Willard UpHaus - Religion and Labor Foundation
A. J. Muste - Secretary F. O. R.
Walter Reuther - President UAW CIO - Detroit
Harry Binse, Editor, Commonweal
Stanley Earl, Sec-treasurer, Oregon CIO
Volney Martin, President Oregon Building Trades Council AFL
Henry Mayer - Labor lawyer - NYC
Hugo Ernst, Cincinnati, Hotel & Restaurant workers
Alexander Cohn, Jewish Daily Forward

It was agreed that hereafter anyone recommending someone for the National Committee must be present to tell about the person he is recommending or else send a detailed written recommendation so that the N.C. will know more about who it is adding. Also agreed that the person recommending someone to the N. C. is to regard himself "responsible" for the person he recommends.

E. Discussion of Statement of Basic Principles

Corey drafted first statement and Dan Bell, Clayton Fountain and Dr. Laidler made suggestions for the redraft. It was agreed it should be in simple terms. The statement was read by the Secretary and by Brother Corey and discussed. Several changes were made and several others were authorized and various members are to draft suggestions and send them to Corey to be incorporated in the document before its final consideration at the next meeting. Any other suggestions that anyone wishes to make are also to be sent to Brother Corey. The National Committee to give it more detailed consideration next meeting.

F. Basis of Representation at December Conference

MSC: A special five man committee consider the basis of representation at the December conference and to make a report at the next N.C. meeting.

G. Location of National Headquarters

Brother Randolph and Mrs. Martinson explained why New York members thought the headquarters should be in New York. Moved by Corey and Seconded by Randolph reaffirming the position taken at the May 4th meeting that the National Headquarters be set up in Chicago within 30 days.

H. Newspaper:

Brother Randolph suggested that specific plans on the paper be presented to the next N.C. meeting by the Editorial Committee.

I. Organizational and Educational regional plans:

1. It was agreed that there should be a Chicago based working committee or Executive Committee set up at the next N.C. meeting which could carry out the plans of the full N.C. between meetings.

2. That the Chicago members make plans for a meeting with Congressman LaFollettee the end of September.

3. Burton moved and voted that the statement "Why a New Party" be adopted as a preliminary temporary statement of the National Educational Committee, subject to later revision. Agreed that this statement should be issued to the press as a press release from the N. C. meeting.

4. Voted that Corey bring in recommendations on a Research Committee at the next meeting.

J. Committees:

Brothers Kruegar, Fries and Burton were added to the Editorial Committee.

The Committee on Representation was appointed as follows: Brothers Fries, Hammond, Corey, Burton, Kruegar.

The next N. C. meeting was set as August 24th, International House, Chicago.

Adjourned at 8:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert Gemmer
Acting Secretary

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE
FOR A NEW PARTY ROOM 1105
112 East 19th St. New York 26, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I should like to cast my vote for the National Committee meeting to be:

August 24th _____
September 23rd _____
In Chicago _____
In Detroit _____
Other suggestions:

_____
Signed

CONFIDENTIAL AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION

File NECNP

File Kenneth

MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY

The Hollenden Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio

November 16, 1946

The meeting was called to order by Dr. Laidler, in the absence of Mr. Randolph. The following committee members were present: Dr. Laidler, Kenneth Kramer, Mary Martinson, Lewis Corey, Robert Gemmer, Ben Davidson, Maynard Krueger, Harry Fleischman; also present were Wilma Caplin, office secretary; Natalie Fiess, substituting for Edward Fiess; and the following guests: Morris Milgrim, Jerry Raymond, George White, Vera Wiggins, Mary Lou Rogers, John and Mary Lou Diehl.

1. Mary Martinson reported that the leaflet "Why A New Party" had a 3rd printing and is being sent to a wide mailing list. She stated that a favorable response had been received from the Newsletter. The financial report showed a deficit of $600. Mrs. Martinson announced her resignation as administrative secretary and her plans for returning to Michigan.

2. The executive director, Kenneth Kramer, reported on meetings held in New York, Philadelphia and Washington during the past two weeks. The New York group is already organized, the Washington committee is to be formed late in November, and a planning committee for Philadelphia is to be called together about that time also. The Chicago organizing committee met November 12th and a continuations committee is now functioning.

Regarding the press release, Mr. Kramer reported that Paul Sifton had hoped to schedule one following the election, using Congressman LaFollette's support. However LaFollette, while sympathetic, has a 15 months' committment with the War Crimes Commission and is not free to endorse our program. It was felt that without LaFollette's support it would be unwise to go through with the press release at this time.

Mr. Kramer said that the job he and Mary Martinson would do at the CIO Convention in Atlantic City next week would be behind the scenes rather than on the Convention floor. The task is to promote support for NECNP. Mr. Fleischman pointed out that the CIO as an organization is not permitted to endorse or make contributions to any political organization; however, this prohibition does not apply to individual unions.

Mr. Kramer stated that out major job at present is that of lining up financial support in Washington and New York. He named several matters which required discussion and decision at the present meeting. Mary Martinson's return to Michigan raises the question of her future connection with NECNP. There is the problem of the basic approach to organizing: shall we concentrate on big names, or shall the emphasis be on building from the ground up, concentrating on local support and local organization? Another major problem is that of the budget. Mr. Kramer estimated that the national office will require at least $15,000 for the coming year: $8100, salaries; $3000, office equipment, rental, mailing costs, etc.; $2400, traveling expenses; and $1500, printing costs. He suggested that the staff should include, in addition to the executive director, a combined assistant and secretary. The travel allowance should be sufficient to permit committee members to do occasional traveling on behalf of NECNP.

With regard to future plans, Mr. Kramer proposed that local committees be established in all areas possible. Reprints from the Antioch Review will be circulated extensively. The Newsletter will be published monthly. Pamphlets on timely subjects will be issued from time to time.

Mr. Kramer requested definite direction from the national committee on membership of organizations and groups; on financial relationship of local committees with the national office; on ways of forming local committees; and on the important question of whether we are yet in the position to determine the type of organization we want: i.e., should we devote ourselves to getting support of big names, or should we concentrate on local organization, starting with individuals who are already for us. In summary, the problems before the present meeting involve: finances, policy on membership, responsibility of local affiliated groups toward the national office; and a general outline of the type of organization we want to be. The place and date for the spring conference also should be set.

3. In the discussion Mr. Fleischman asked if the Organization Committee was prepared to report on problems of relationship between the National Educational

Committee and local committees, according to its instructions at the October 5th meeting. It was learned that this had not been done. Mr. Fleischman also asked whether directives on procedure for organizing local committees had been worked out. Mrs. Martinson said that a tentative directive had been sent for corrections to Ben Davidson, who had the copy with him. Dr. Laidler moved, and CARRIED, that a committee of 3--later revised to 4--be appointed to work out organizational procedure for local educational committees. Davidson and Krueger were appointed, with Kramer and Martinson to serve ex officio. This committee agreed to meet at noon, and to report at the afternoon session; it was instructed to discuss the matter of relationship of national office to local committees re finances, powers, structure, etc..

4. Dr. Laidler asked for a report on progress of reprints from the Antioch Review. Mr. Corey stated that publication has been delayed because of a paper shortage but that the reprints would be out next week. It will be an attractive 32-page pamphlet with a foreword by John Dewey. The following issue of Antioch Review will carry a symposium on the Declaration of Principles; about 30 people have been invited to contribute, including Dewey, Max Lerner, Harold Ickes, Henry Wallace, Boris Shiskin, Walter Reuther, Patrick Gorman, etc.. Their contribution to the symposium will not necessarily indicate committment to the new party movement. Mr. Corey showed a sample of a Newsletter "British Labor Today", to be published soon by the NECNP Research Council. He stated the importance of tying up the activities of the present British government with the aims of NECNP. Mr. Krueger commented that such a publication can do an indirect job for us; its purpose is not to do direct plugging for NECNP, but rather to demonstrate how another government is already accomplishing what we hope our government will some day. Mary Martinson felt that a Newsletter such as this is important because of the feeling of pessimism in the U.S.; news about progress in Britain can be utilized to guild faith in America. An order sheet was circulated among those present. The cost will be $.10 a single copy; $.05 for orders of 50 or more. The first issue will be mailed free to those on the mailing list, as a means of advertising for subscriptions.

5. Vera Wiggins, of NECNP-New York, presented a statement to the national committee on the activities of the N.Y. committee. Of the 30 invited to serve on the N.Y. executive committee, 25 have already accepted. This committee met last week, appointed a chairman and secretary, discussed a number of problems, and agreed to meet after the CIO Convention. The N.Y. committee is prepared to give publicity, program and organizing help to the NECNP.

The meeting adjourned for luncheon. A representative group from Cleveland attended the luncheon meeting, where the organization and future plans of NECNP were discussed by Dr. Laidler, Ben Davidson, Lewis Corey and Mary Martinson.

Dr. Laidler called the meeting to order for the afternoon session.

1. The resignation of Mary Martinson. A telegram from the Michigan Commonwealth Federation was read: "MCF in Michigan facing crucial expansion. Request that National Committee assign you to Detroit and Michigan area or release you to work here. Feel that going party in Michigan will have dynamic effect by example on midwest. (signed) Emil Mazey, Arthur Elder, Mathew Hammond, Willard Martinson." Mr. Krueger stated that it was regretful to have some one who has done so much to build the organization leave; but there are 2 factors which can give a lift to NECNP; one is a successful spring conference; the other is local development in certain specific areas of substantial support for NECNP. From this standpoint, he declared, it makes sense for Mary to go to Detroit, with the aim of delivering substantial support there; this would do much toward putting heart in people elsewhere. He felt therefore, that the committee should release Mary to go to Michigan. Mr. Kramer suggested that Mary Martinson be named field representative under the direction of the executive director. Mr. Krueger, summarizing his previous remarks, moved, and CARRIED, that the National Committee express appreciation of Mary's work and that she be appointed as official representative of NECNP.

2. The Organizations Committee which met prior to the afternoon session, made the following recommendations on the relationship between NECNP and local organizations, and on the question of individual and group membership. NECNP will have no formal membership on an individual basis and will ask no dues. Membership of local groups is possible, but not on a dues basis. Any newly organized group must be in general agreement with the statement of principles in the Antioch Review and must be willing to use the name NECNP as its own name. It must be as broadly representative as possible and must try to get as broad representation as possible. Mr. Kramer proposed that a small affiliations committee be appointed, to act on the executive director's recommendation of approval or disapproval. In general discussion it was agreed that affiliation request would come before the National

Committee for review, but that a small committee could handle the problem of affiliations between National Committee meetings. It would also be empowered to revoke affiliations if necessary. Continuing with its recommendations, the Organizations Committee stated that the national office deserves priority on donations at this time, and proposed that local contributions of $25 or less be divided equally with the national office, that contributions above $25 be divided on the basis of negotiation of each individual donation. The following points were made on the problem of organization: 1. general organization is to be under the direction of the national office; 2. field representatives will be appointed to operate out of the national office as finances warrant; 3. local committees can be useful in organizing adjacent communities.

The Chairman called for comments on the above recommendations. Full discussion on individual national membership came first with the consensus leaning toward no national membership at this time. Mr. Davidson explained that while we want local affiliations, we do not now need a set, formal organization; we are still an educational body and the organizational set-up should be adjusted to this. Mr. White wanted clarification on whether local educational bodies can be set up, for example, in Michigan outside MCF. Mr. Corey asked for clarification re the status of individuals in communities where there is no local committee; he remarked that Michigan and N.Y. are special cases because of the MCF and Liberal Party, respectively, in these states. Mr. Corey felt that NECNP should have individual "sponsors" rather than formal membership. Mr. Davidson said that the recommendation of the organization committee was that individuals should have the right to be affiliated as well as groups, that they contribute to NECNP and receive the literature. Mr. Corey warned of the danger of such looseness of membership and wondered how we can avoid this, yet not require dues. Mr. Davidson explained the necessity of avoiding the impression that we are an established party, which is behind our policy of "no dues"; yet we do want money, support, relationship with individuals. In communities where local educational committees have been established, individuals will belong to local groups, which will be "associates" of the National Committee.

Discussion was held on those local groups who feel that their situation calls for direct political action now. These groups can, it was stated, start a political party if they feel their energies will be more useful there. They should not lose sight, however, of the value of the NECNP idea nationally and as a means to broaden support locally.

Mr. White brought up the matter of financing; he disapproved of NECNP being in the position of having to "beg" for funds; the 3rd party movement has been long awaited by many, and a regular form of dues-collecting, he felt, would not be premature. He also disapproved the policy of seeking support from the "big names", and strongly favored building from the ground up. He stated that stewards and committeemen can be very useful in building a solid foundation for a new party movement.

The Chairman then asked what we shall call the individuals who support us: associates, associate members, contributing members. The consensus was to call them "associates", and they will be urged to become paying subscribers to our various publications. The majority agreed that affiliating groups would pay no dues as such; they would have to be in general accord with the declaration of principles as stated in the Antioch Review; and these groups would be required to use the same name as the national organization. The question arose whether to allow affiliation of groups favoring "labor parties". The case of the "Committee of 1000 for the Formation of a Labor Party in New Jersey" was brought before the group. Mr. Fleischman favored their affiliation. Mr. Kramer warned of the danger of alienating much support by permitting such a name to be associated with ours; he urged that we retain control over this matter now. (Discussed later)

The problem of selecting a name for the national organization will probably arise in spring. Mr. Krueger stated that the name chosen should indicate clearly that this is not a party. In response to Mr. White's previous remarks, he stated that at some point we will move into a more formal type of organization, with definite structure and procedure on membership, financing, etc..

The next point on the organization committee's recommendations was that every group should be broadly representative. Mr. Krueger stressed the importance of this. Regarding the proposal that a committee of three act on local affiliations, Dr. Laidler asked whether the group wished the executive director to appoint such a committee. Mr. Krueger felt this would depend on the director's sources of information. Mr. Davidson suggested leaving the appointment up to the executive director and the 3 officers: Randolph, Willen, and McLanahan. Agreed.

The Chairman asked for comments on the proposal for dividing and negotiating contributions. Mr. Milgrim felt the donor ought to have the right to earmark his gift. Mr. Davidson urged that the national office be given priority now; it must be able to plan an over-all strategic approach. Mrs. Martinson also urged adopting the policy of negotiating larger gifts; she pointed to possible waste on the part of a local organization which retained 50% of a very generous contribution; it is the national office that carries the burden of literature, etc.. The membership approved the original formulation: dividing gifts under $25; negotiating larger ones.

3. The Spring Conference. Mr. Krueger wondered if we ought to aim at the largest possible conference, or attempt to get representative delegates; a mass kind of meeting can be very successful if the time is ripe, but he doubted whether NECNP should undertake such a conference now. Mr. Davidson declared we do want people who represent organizations; a basis of selection must be decided, probably according to size of group; a planning committee is needed to take responsibility for every step of planning. Mr. Corey suggested that the exec. dir. and exec. com. work on problems of what kind of meeting to attempt, and of representation. Mr. Davidson pointed to the danger of controlling a large number of delegates, yet felt we cannot win respect by allowing individuals who represent only themselves as much power as selected delegates. Mr. Corey felt progressive persons should not be eliminated just because they do not represent groups. Mr. Fleischman remarked that this is a conference by invitation, which ought to be sufficient control. Mr. Davidson moved that a committee of 5 be set up to work out procedure for selecting delegates; that the date and place be set today. Following discussion, it was agreed that the Conference be scheduled for the 19th and 20th of April, in Chicago.

4. Mr. Corey asked for the floor. Stressing the national office's urgent need for money, he proposed arranging an immediate bank loan of $2000. One loan of $1000 can be negotiated in Chicago, one in N.Y.; he volunteered as a co-signer. Mrs. Martinson stated the national office must become self-sustaining, and described the desperateness of the current situation. Mr. Raymond questioned the wisdom of getting into debt. Mr. Corey stressed that it was a question of keeping going <u>now</u>, for the next month. Mr. Kramer said we will have to depend largely on big givers--from $500 up; one of his jobs is to work on this; he pressed for a loan now however. Mr. Milgrim felt there should be a staff person with the specific responsibility of fund-raising; the exec. dir. should be free to do a political job without worrying about funds. It was brought out by Mr. Raymond that MESA had just made a $500 contribution and the committee expressed appreciation. Mr. Davidson moved, and CARRIED, that a National Conference Fund be initiated, with the aim of getting contributions of $5 from 500 people.

5. The Chairman opened nominations for additional National Committee members. Mr. Fleischman nominated Mathew Smith; Mr. Davidson nominated George White; Mr. Gemmer nominated Rev. Henry Crane. It was agreed that Mr. Smith and Rev. Crane be invited to serve; Mr. White, who was present, was elected.

6. Other items. Mr. Kramer announced that directives for organizing local committees, held up until now, will soon be circulated. Also, Dan Bell is to put out the next Newsletter from N.Y.. It will cover election results. Mr. Fleischman suggested an article on progressive forces in the south.

Mr. Kramer read an application for affiliation from the "Committee of 1000 for the Formation of a Labor Party in N.J.". He recommended that we welcome their affiliation on condition that they change their name to one acceptable to us and broaden their coverage beyond the trade union movement. Mr. Milgrim suggested that the exec. dir. have a personal interview with the leaders, commending them but urging them to come in our basis. This was approved by the group.

Mrs. Martinson told of a group of Michigan ministers who want to affiliate. Mr. White reminded members of the policy of broad representation. Mr. Kramer suggested it might be wise to have some ministers come in on the National Committee but that they ought not to be recognized as a formal group. However if they wish to set themselves up as a unit, we might permit them to be a cooperating group.

Vera Wiggins proposed a special N.Y. liaison committee on publicity to work with the N.C.. Mr. Kramer said this would be done, but required no formal motion.

Mr. Kramer asked that the date of the next national committee meeting be at the decision of the executive committee. Mr. Davidson made a motion to this effect, which CARRIED. He urged that Buffalo be considered as the place of the meeting.

The meeting adjourned about 6 p.m..

Respectfully submitted,

Wilma Caplin
Acting Secretary

New Party file

MINUTES OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING
January 17, 1947 - Chicago, Illinois

NEGNP

Present: Heisler, McLanahan, Diamond.

It was agreed that minutes of these meetings be sent to Sam Jacobs and A. Phillip Randolph. Others to be included as suggested.

A finance statement is also to be included each week. $45 came in from sale of pamphlets and payment on pledges during the week.

In view of the fact that Sam Jacobs is soon coming on the job, it was the opinion of the committee that all important questions and policies be cleared with him.

McLanahan will see Sam Jacobs in Cleveland the week of the 20th and discuss with him the general finance appeal letter, and the matter of dates for the next meeting of the National Committee.

Diamond reported that he had spent time at the office during the week and had begun to dig into the backlog of mail. Pamphlet requests and bundle orders have all been filled and mailed. Shortly the office will be operating on a "current" basis.

Rent in advance for not more than two months is to be paid in order to hold our present space, pending transfer of the office when Sam Jacobs takes over.

Part of the bill for mimeographing incurred by the New York office was authorized to be paid.

In regard to Chicago activities the following was reported:

a. Letter aking people to serve on a Chicago Committee has been sent out and a number of favorable replies received.

b. Plans for a Chicago meeting with Sam Jacobs and/or Vic Reuther will be scheduled for an early date, as soon as arrangements can be made.

C. J. McLanahan
Temporary Secretary

NECNP

MINUTES OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

National Education Committee for a New Party

April 9, 1947

Present: Heisler, Krueger, Halvorsen and Diamond

General Business

Correspondence is now up-to-date. From now on all incoming mail will be forwarded to Sam Jacobs in Washington. Most requests are for pamphlets.

Heisler will get form for filing tax exemption and send on to Jacobs for completion.

Jacobs has asked that money received be sent on to Pearl Hilton. Heisler took the view that until we were assured that adequate records were being kept the money should be held in deposit at the Amalgamated Bank in Chicago.

Finance situation

Fund raising letter has gone out to approximately 300 people.

Halvorsen stated that he had secured $300 for the Mid-west pledge. Heisler will see a number of people within the next few days. Krueger and Diamond also will work on a list; including H. S. Levin, William Toller, and the Machinists Local on the North Side.

Total available for next year's budget here is $900.

Future Action

The administrative committee is in favor of setting May 15th as a deadline date for securing the necessary funds to go ahead with employment of Sam Jacobs. Everything to be prepared ahead of time and all set for him to take over on that date.

It was suggested that President Reinlein call a meeting of the Executive Committee in New York about May 15th. In many of the regional meetings of the National Committee as possible should be urged to attend, and that whatever group is able to get together should assume the authority to act on any questions related to the future of the National Education Committee for a New Party.

Next meeting

Wednesday, April 23rd, 1:30 at Heisler's office.

Minutes of National Committee NECNP meeting Friday and Saturday,
May 16 - 17, 1947, at New York City.

Present:

Pearl Willen
Israel Feinberg
Harry W. Laidler
Harry Fleischman
B. F. McLaurin
Wm. C. Gausmann
August Claessens
Shirley Gross
Nathaniel Minkoff
H. C. Holdridge
Ethel Kahn
Humbert Gualtieri
Louis Yagoda
George Tichenor

Ben Davidson
James Lipsig
A. Philip Randolph
Boris Shiskin
Pierson Ostrow
Theodore Shapiro
Murray Gross
Feigel Levine
Sam Jacobs
Boris Shiskin
Bernie Kahn
Morris Hood (for Ethel Mazey)
Robert Gemmer
Frank Crosswaith

Friday, May 16

Randolph served as chairman.

A report of activities to date was read and accepted. Copy of the report is attached.

It was suggested that committee members send in lists of good key contacts in various states, and that the national office use the services of those national committee members who travel for meetings for NECNP.

FINANCES

It was reported that there was $1100 in the bank with approximately $2,000 to $4,000 in very good prospects from union groups.

MOTION 1: That a committee of Feinberg, Hood, Levine, Davidson, McLaurin, and Fleischman work out fund quotas for different areas and organizations. CARRIED. (The report of the Committee is attached.)

MOTION 2: To write national committee members to ask what unions, etc. in their areas we can get financial assistance from.

MOTION 3: That NECNP engage Samuel Jacobs as full time executive director at such time as he shall become available. CARRIED.

ORGANIZATION

MOTION 4: That national headquarters be transferred to Washington, D.C. CARRIED.

MOTION 5: That the chair appoint an administrative committee of three in Washington, plus an executive council of eleven throughout the east and midwest. CARRIED.

MOTION 6: That a nominating committee of Willen, McLaurin, Gausmann and Gross bring in nominations on Saturday. CARRIED.

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

A statement on ADA was read by Minkoff with the suggestion that it be revised, sent to the ADA board meeting May 24, and then released to the press.

MOTION 7: To appoint Laidler, Shapiro and Willen to revise ADA statement. CARRIED.

Saturday, May 17

FINANCE COMMITTEE REPORT was read by Feigel Levine

MOTION 8: To adopt the report with thanks to Levine and Feinberg especially for assumption of such great responsibility. CARRIED.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE REPORT by Pearl Willen.

MOTION 9: To elect Emil Mazey, Lewis Corey, C.J. McLanahan, Boris Shishkin, Donald Montgomery, August Claessens, Pearl Willen, Harry Fleischman, Israel Feinberg, Ben Davidson, B.F. McLaurin as national executive council with Randolph and Jacobs on ex-officio. CARRIED.

MOTION 10: That attendance of at least 5 members be required for a quorum of executive council. CARRIED.

MOTION 11: That the national administrative committee, located in Washington be composed of William Gausmann, Will Allen and Roderick Riley with Samuel Jacobs on ex-officio. CARRIED.

ANTI-LABOR BILL

MOTION 12: To elect committee of Davidson, Yagoda, Gausmann, Tichenor, Crosswaith and Gemmer to draw up statement for press release on Hartley-Taft anti-labor bill. CARRIED.

ADA STATEMENT

MOTION 13: To adopt revised statement on ADA. CARRIED. (Statement is attached.)

Holdridge spoke for a few minutes on the program of the People's Party.

DUES AND LOCAL GROUPS

MOTION 14: That membership fee in NECNP be $6, of which $1 is to be set aside to help organize local committee in area of member joining. CARRIED.

MOTION 15: To instruct executive director to proceed with organization and stabilization of local committees in Boston, Washington DC., Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, New Jersey, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis and Ohio by early Fall. CARRIED.

MOTION 16: To appoint organizing committee of Levine, chairman; Hood; McLaurin; Crosswaith, vice-chairman; Gemmer; Kahn; Davidson; Fleischman and Tichenor; and Claessens to help executive director set up local groups. CARRIED.

MOTION 17: To add to national committee all members of administrative committee or executive council not yet on national committee. CARRIED.

MOTION 18: That a full national committee meeting be held in Cleveland or Columbus, Ohio, September 20th, 1947. CARRIED.

MOTION 19: That at least one member of every functioning local committee be invited to national committee meeting. CARRIED.

MOTION 20: That executive council meet Friday, June 13th in New York City to receive report of fund raising and other affairs. CARRIED.

MOTION 21: That Gemmer prepare a statement on conscription to submit to the executive council. CARRIED.

MOTION 22: To thank Local 38 ILGWU and Feigel Levine for their hospitality to the national committee. CARRIED.

Fraternally submitted,

S/ A. Philip Randolph, Chairman

National Educational Committee for a New Party

Temporary Headquarters: 112 East 19th Street • Room 1105 • New York 3, N. Y. • ALgonquin 4-5865
New Headquarters: 141 West 40th Street, New York 18, N.Y., CHickering 4-1560

JOHN DEWEY
Honorary Chairman
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Temporary Chairman
PEARL WILLEN
Temporary Treasurer
C. J. McLANAHAN
Temporary Secretary
MARY MARTINSON
Administative Secretary

July 24, 1947

Dear Friend:

Enclosed you will find the minutes of the last Executive Committee meeting held in New York. Since that meeting we have obtained an office at 141 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York, Room 603, and are now prepared to go ahead with our work.

Our job has become a tremendous and most vital one, particularly in the light of the complete collapse of liberal strength in the Democratic Party and the attempt of the Communist-inspired Wallace movement to capitalize on it. Unfortunately, under our present economic system it requires large funds to do the huge job necessary. We, of the National Committee, cannot contribute by ideals alone. In line with the recommendation at our last meeting, therefore, will you please send your 1947 contribution to our new office.

You will be kept informed as to our activities. Any cooperation or suggestions that you can give will be most gratefully welcomed.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
Chairman

P.S. At the Administrative Committee Meeting held July 21st the following was decided:

1. National Committee Meeting in Cleveland, September 27 and 28. Agenda to be drawn up by the Administrative Committee.
2. Fund Raising Luncheons - 1st to be held September 24th, inviting 25-30 trade union people and independents.
3. An effort will be made to get Town Hall of the Air to run a meeting on "Resolved: That the Republican and Democratic Parties are inadequate to meet the challenge of our times."
4. A leaflet explaining the differences between the Wallace movement and the N.E.C.N.P., and answering the charges against a Third Party, is under way.

A.P.R.

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY

Minutes of the National Executive Committee, Meeting July 2, 1947, New York

Attending: A. Philip Randolph, Israel Feinberg, Feigel Levine, Pearl Willen, Harry Laidler, B. F. McLaurin, Harry Fleischman, Ethel Kahn.

Agenda: Housing
Administrative Committee, organization and personnel
Finance
New Business

1. It was decided to obtain an office in New York so that our national work may be continued, since Sam Jacobs has finished with his temporary work for us from Washington. Top rental to be $25. Dr. Laidler and Mrs. Kahn will look for space.

2. An Administrative Committee to carry on the work of the National Committee from day to day was appointed. Its members, to consist of Levine, Chairman, Laidler, Fleischman, Davidson, McLaurin, Willen, Feinberg and Jacobs, are to meet the first and third Mondays of each month in Feinberg's office.

   In addition a smaller Publicity Committee was appointed. Ben Horowitz, Sam Jacobs, Willen, Laidler.

   It was decided to have Mrs. Kahn run the New York office on a part-time temporary basis. $25 per week for her expenses will be paid in addition to office maintenance.

3. Finance Report - Cash - $840
   Pledges outstanding - 475
   Additional pledges do not specify amounts.

   In addition to continued mailings and personal contacts it was decided to canvass the National Committee Members for their 1947 contribution.

4. National Committee - Arrangements will be made for a National Committee Meeting in Cleveland or Detroit at the end of September as per the suggestion of the Mid-West.

5. Portions of David Dubinsky's speech at the ILGWU Convention on 3rd party should be reprinted.

   An NECNP statement will be issued to clarify our position as opposed to the Wallace movement.

6. Pearl Willen is to be the fraternal delegate to the Convention of Labor and Socialist parties of the British Commonwealth Parties to be held in Canada on September 6 and 7th.

7. National Committee Members are to receive copies of these minutes.

Respectfully yours,

Ethel Kahn

NCC FNP

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY
232 East Erie - Room 300
Chicago, Illinois

REPORT FROM ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE TO EXECUTIVE BOARD:

Meeting, September 16, 1946, 3:30 p.m. Full Attendance of Administrative Committee: C. M. McLanahan, Francis Heisler, Maynard Kruegar, Mary Martinson.

1. National Committee: The meeting will be held in Detroit on October 5th. A special luncheon for Congressman LaFollette has been arranged in Detroit with key community and labor leaders there. He was asked to attend a meeting in Chicago at that time, but will not be able to.

A discussion on possible candidates for Executive Director. It was suggested that Arthur Naftlin be considered.

2. After thorough investigation of office space, the Administrative Committee felt that the best place was at 232 E. Erie for $3500 a month. All offices in the loop were $100.00 or more and the Committee felt that the money could be spent to a much greater advantage elsewhere.

Each member of the Administrative Committee took the responsibility for getting office equipment together.

On the recommendation of Leonard Levy, Francis Heisler, and Mary Martinson it was voted unanimously to hire Mary Conley as office Secretary at $40.00 a week, if she was still available. Mrs. Conley has had ten years experience as clerk, private secretary, and bookkeeper. She had formerly been employed by both Mr. Levy and Mr. Heisler.

3. Financial Report: The Chicago office has $419.50 in checks payable to the NECNP. It was moved and carried that the bank account be established in Chicago under the name of the Committee. Any two of the following four were authorized to sign checks: Maynard Kruegar, C. J. McLanahan, Francis Heisler, Mary Martinson. Discussion: Mrs. Martinson did not want the responsibility of signing checks, but the rest of the Committee felt that it was reasonable and would be more expedient.

4. Committees for Chicago Area:

a. Publicity Committee. Dan Bell was suggested as helping to work on Publicity. Maynard Kruegar of the Administrative Committee would have this committee as his responsibility.

b. Organization Committee: C. J. McLanahan was put in charge of this committee.

e. Finance Committee. Francis Heisler was put in charge of this committee.

Discussion: A suggestion has been sent in by Horace Fries to advertise in the Progressive, New Leader, and other papers of this kind for money and contacts. The Committee could have half a page in the Progressive for $50.00 Mr. Levitas of the New Leader was contacted by the Administrative Secretary and he stated that the Committee would only need to send in the copy and he would be glad to take care of the expenses. The Administrative Committee felt that this suggestion should be authorized by the National Committee and will be recommended at that meeting.

The Administrative Committee was authorized to send out a Newsletter. The Administrative Secretary and Publicity Committee were requested to get one out as soon as possible.

5. Chicago Meeting: A luncheon of twenty-five key people in Chicago was voted for. The luncheon will be at the YWCA on Friday, September 20th. Brother Randolph will be the main speaker. The purpose of the meeting is to get an organization started in Chicago to help on both National and local work. The people who are attending the luncheon is a well represented group.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE National Educational Committee For A New Party

PRINTED MATTER

1944-46

UNDATED

Sec. 562, P.L.GR.

AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH PARTY
417 S. Dearborn Street
Chicago 5, Illinois

DRAFT DECLARATION *of the* AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH PARTY

and

Comments on a Program of Action

Price 10c

THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH PARTY wants a democratic road to better and fuller democracy, with greater equality and security, expanding and guaranteeing more effectively those basic economic, political, and personal freedoms without which the word "democracy" would be mere sham. We present to the people the general goals and our comments on a corresponding program of action as the standards by which we expect to be judged.

FRANCIS HEISLER
Chairman

WALTER HENDRICKS
Treasurer

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER
Secretary

LUCY P. CARNER
For the Executive Board

Christmas Week, 1943

American Commonwealth Party

417 So. Dearborn Street — Chicago 5, Illinois

DECLARATION OF THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH PARTY

(A Draft)

The people of the world are the victims of ever more body-and-soul-destroying wars and depressions. They did not want this second world war, but the struggle against it was lost from the beginning. It was lost because the people, hoping against hope, tried to prevent it without attempting to get rid of the conditions which led, unmercifully and unavoidably, to the terror of war and to the aftermath of new injustices, sufferings, and conflicts. This war has not yet ended, and already the people of the world are filled with fears of future failures and catastrophes, of future depressions, and of new and even bloodier wars.

The people of the world, the victims of wars and depression, are not without guilt in the recurrence of these catastrophes, which not only undo the results of long and painful efforts, but tend to destroy the democratic faith in the possibility of human progress. We have permitted an economic and social order to continue even after it has become clear that economic and political crises are natural to it. We will not solve the present crisis without getting at the roots of the evil. Merely attempting to do so will only lead ultimately to bigger and bigger hurricanes of social destruction.

Responsibility for Present Chaos

We have permitted the spiritual and political leaders throughout the world—in this country no less than elsewhere—to guide us on a path which of necessity leads only to the chaos of today and of tomorrow. By words and deeds, by promises and threats, by playing on the noblest and the basest aspirations of mankind, by bribes of temporary prosperity and security, by the sufferings of unemployment and the frustration of even modest hopes, by acts of commission and of omission, and by incompetence or criminal negligence, the leaders of the nations have continued to rule over the people, continued to misrule them, continued to make them accept their lot, and continued to prevent all but the most perverted attempts to find new ways of living together and new leadership. And the fact that they were able to do so and still are able to do so, the fact that the world is getting more and more out of bounds, the fact that even victory over the most concentrated form of evil which threatens all mankind appears to so many but

as a brake on a downward drift—these are a terrible accusation against all of us, against the common people of the world.

And yet, it was not with pride and purpose, but with a hopeless resignation that the peoples accepted the past leadership that led but to destruction. With a deep longing for a better future for themselves and their children and for all mankind, but with confusion in their hearts and minds, the people did not dare to take their fate into their own hands. They stifled all their impulses to more decisive action, or exhausted them in sporadic deeds of futile despair. And why? Because they did not find really promising alternatives, no effective new methods and leaders, no new organizational ground on which to build the future of the common people. Some believed that they had discovered such an alternative, only to find that neither good-will and enthusiasm, nor appeal to reason, nor enlightened self-interest are enough to conquer the world in which we live. Thus, they either became tired and sceptical or dug themselves into a cave of sectarianism or opportunism.

Men's Minds Are Astir

But see what is happening all around us! The victims of past and present wars and depressions are on the move. They do not want any more wars and depressions. They do not want any more complacency or complicity in the maintenance of conditions that have led but to chaos and useless suffering. Still frightened by the immensity of the misfortunes that have befallen them, still benumbed by the inhumanity of the bloody happenings, still fearful of future senseless insecurities and defeats, the common people of this and other countries are already stirring to get out from under the wreckage and to clear the ground for the reconstruction of a better and more stable world.

The mind of the people is already set on the rebuilding of the world. The common men of the world are ready, as they have always been when there was need, ready to do the heart-breaking and the back-breaking work of rebuilding. Shall their generous and courageous impulse now once more be captured and subverted by those who have led us again and again into chaos, whose greed and ambition thrive on the economic, political, and spiritual conditions which of necessity breed destruction and despair? There is grave danger that just this will happen once more unless the people here and elsewhere find new and positive ways of making ever more articulate their deepest discontents and hopes.

A Comprehensive Task

The fight of the common people against the forces of destruction and for a better world must be fought on many battlefronts and in many places: in the most backward as well as in the most "advanced" countries; in education and religion as well as in the economic and political fields; in our own hearts and minds as well as in the organizations of society. But it implies no neglect of the comprehensiveness of the task before us, if we insist on the overwhelming importance of *political action* by and on behalf of the common people. All their aspirations will come to nothing if they do not find new and better *political* goals and organs of action. The chief evils which poison our social and personal lives are the product of social organization which cannot be significantly changed without organized collective action, that is, *political action.*

In these days which again try men's souls there is, therefore, a sacred task for those who share the hopes and fears of the common people and who by partial successes and frequent disappointments gained a measure of political experience, ability, and insight into necessary goals and methods. That task is to devote all their efforts to finding and entering the path of *fruitful political action.*

What About the Old Parties?

For Americans the first question must be: Is there any reasonable hope of making decent political instruments out of the *existing* parties and their leadership? On the record, there is no such reasonable hope. The old parties are either ineffective or rotten, and they are inextricably tied to those vested interests which oppose and obstruct social reconstruction. In organization, in leadership, and in program, neither of the present major parties lives up to the needs of the times.

Does anyone still believe that the *Democratic Party* will be able to lead us to a better future? Before our very eyes we see it torn apart by internal contradictions and conflicts. There is the reactionary wing of Southern Bourbons and advocates of white supremacy. And there are the "New Dealers," continually compromised by their alliance with corrupt city machines, continually stalemated by "progressive" big business elements who pretend to be their friends. The New Deal did not solve the depression problem. That problem was lifted from the New Deal's doorstep by the war. And when the real test came in the form of the war, the New Deal revealed its spiritual and political weakness by surrendering to the dollar-

a-year men one temporarily-conquered position after another, and now ends by surrendering even its very name.

Held together by fear of the loss of patronage rather than by common hopes and principles, the Democratic Party may once more elect a President. But does anyone believe that he would get sufficient backing in Congress to avoid a disastrous deadlock and the virtual self-liquidation of his party? Let us as quickly as possible provide a new home for the progressive forces in the Democratic Party who are now more and more the captives of reaction and of political futility.

Who really expects that the *Republican Party* will succeed where Roosevelt and Wallace failed? Whether it espouses old-style reaction or tries to give it a modern dress, whether it chooses nationalistic isolationism or the imperialism of the American Century, the Republican Party is the party of BIG BUSINESS AND VESTED INTERESTS. The Republican Party may have more unity than the Democrats can ever hope to achieve. But why? Because they have succeeded in getting rid of any element of genuine progressivism, because they are the party of cheap compromise and drift; and because they appeal only to a longing for the good old days that were never good enough and to the futile hope to preserve what cannot and ought not to be preserved.

Patronage without Principle

The truth is that both major parties, when faced with the tasks of social reconstruction in this country and in the world, cannot be expected to succeed because they are caught by their very nature. They are essentially unprincipled patronage parties catering to the immediate interests of pressure groups of varying combinations, but always without a workable plan for a better life for the people. Willingly or unwillingly, but mostly willingly, these parties are the instruments of powerful economic interest groups devoted to the conservation of the old catastrophic order of things. Above all, they are the conscious or unconscious tools of giant corporations and monopolistic big business, taking money from the rich and votes from the poor on the pretext of protecting each against the other.

America could, for a time, perhaps, afford such a system of patronage parties and vitiated, dehydrated democracy, but she can no longer put her trust in organizations and leaders who lead either nowhere or backward. Democracy requires better instruments of action.

What About the Minor Parties?

For quite different reasons, we cannot set our hopes upon the existing *minor parties*. Few words need be wasted on the *Communist Party*. In its structure and in its results, if not also in its aims, it is an undemocratic and antidemocratic party to which we cannot entrust the future of mankind. People who have had even a little experience of freedom and democracy ought not and will not accept the program or tactics of the Communist Party as the solution of their problems. In fact, that party, posing as a progressive force, thrives only on the political inefficiency of the really progressive forces. The advance of such a party will only strengthen the forces of reaction and fascism. That communist totalitarianism is the only alternative to fascism is simply an oft-repeated untruth. Once we succeed in organizing the many dispersed and exploited progressive elements in American society into an effective instrument of political action, it will no longer be necessary for people to try to choose the lesser of two evils, as between communist totalitarianism and fascist totalitarianism.

The other minor parties—the more permanent as well as those which appeared sporadically on the American scene, fulfilled certainly some useful function in American democracy. They have concentrated upon some clear set of principles by which to judge the performance of the major parties. They have raised new problems, and impressed upon the major parties the need for at least some partial concessions to the people. But they never showed any ability to become a majority party willing and able to take over the governing of the country. If they had such intentions, they did not use the proper means to success. For all practical purposes they waited for the masses to see the light rather than organize as a party of and for the masses. This situation led to an exaggerated concentration on the purity of political doctrine and to a continuous process of schisms and secessions.

Why Politics at all?

What we need is a political party with mass appeal based on democratically realizable principles. We are convinced not only that such a party is urgently *needed*, but that it is *possible;* not only that it is possible, but that it is possible *now*. We are convinced that such a political movement will find the active and enthusiastic support of those many individuals and groups who are tired of hope deferred, who are now politically inactive, or who exhaust their strength in ultimately futile actions. There are

many who would rather boldly and courageously grasp the promise of a better future than be condemned to stand still or to muddle backward. There are many Americans who are willing to act intelligently and to act together for the conquest of war and poverty and for the achievement of that fellowship of free men which is our noblest destiny.

But is it necessary for them to act *politically?* Since the Republican and Democratic parties have reduced politics to a stench in the nostrils of the people, why is any political movement necessary or desirable at all? There are two groups which might raise this objection. One group consists of the good citizens who talk over-much about good government, but who avoid participation in "politics" and will not touch a precinct with a ten foot pole. Confusing the practices and organizations of patronage parties with those of other kinds of parties, they virtually abdicate political democracy and leave the field to the corrupt machines, the bosses, the pressure groups, and the monopolists of press and radio. Though it is the privilege and the obligation of the free citizen to take a stand on matters of common concern, these "good" people want to be left alone, or they want to sit on the fence, or they apologize for mixing into politics by using the label "independent" or "non-partisan." However well-meant their protest against corrupt machine politics, these "good" citizens do not thus serve the cause of democracy.

Should it be a Labor Party?

The other group which denies the need for a new political realignment consists of the more backward elements in the labor movement and in farm organizations. It has been traditional in this country for the unions of organized labor to devote their energies almost entirely to the immediate aims of improving wages, hours, and working conditions—improvements necessary to a decent life. If there was need for political action in pursuit of these immediate interests, they usually confined themselves to bringing pressure to bear upon one or the other or both of the major parties, or upon the administration in power. But wherever the unions have used the political process to further their goals, they have used it only sporadically and ineffectively, and only for the defence of those immediate interests. Gains thus made have almost always been lost in the face of new depression or new war. The concerted power of labor has not been used to attack the great obstacles to the advancement of labor: monopoly, depression, and war. Organized labor, not politically organized, in-

effectively rewarding its so-called friends and ineffectively punishing its more obvious enemies, without a political conception of a better social order, has therefore thus far also failed to achieve its basic aims of security and justice and effective freedom for the working man and woman. Indeed, pursuing only its immediate legitimate interests within a more and more monopolistic capitalist system with growing economic and political instability, labor could scarcely avoid contributing to those very tendencies which cannot but hamstring and vitiate the very functions of labor unions. Literally the same statements must be made concerning most organizations of farmers.

Or a Farmer-Labor Party?

In the very interests of workers and farmers we need a new *political* movement with a proper political organization and a proper political program of social reorganization. Should the new movement, therefore, be merely the political organ of the labor unions as they exist? Or of the farmers' organizations? Or of both? Our reply to all three questions is in the negative. We do not propose a political party which is merely a more effective tool of the unions and their existing bureaucracies for the exclusive pursuit of their immediate interests. However legitimate these interests are, experience has shown that they cannot be pursued with continuous success and without violating the more basic interests of labor and of society at large. This is impossible because the exclusive pursuit of such immediate interests does not allow for an attack upon basic causes of social evils. A political labor party, conceived merely as a trade union organization, would find it impossible to change those conditions out of which grow depressions and wars. It would soon have to fall back into the game of the present patronage parties of log-rollers, fighting vested interests by the vesting of interests not yet vested.

One important reason for the ultimate ineffectiveness of a purely labor party is that it would antagonize farmers and force them into opposing economic and political organizations. The same would be true if the new political party were to constitute itself as the mere agent of the immediate interests of dissatisfied farm groups.

Immediate Interest Not Enough

What then about the attempt to organize the new party as the political organ of *both* trade unions and organized farm groups in the pursuit of their immediate interests? Temporarily, such a party might have

some success, but at best only temporarily. The present problem of inflation during and after the war illustrates, perhaps better than anything else, how labor and farm groups, pursuing only their respective immediate interests, tend to antagonize each other. This is not inevitably so. They do have common interests, they do have common enemies. Labor and farmers, white-collar workers, professional people, all the small independent enterprisers whose existence might be economically and socially desirable, and finally the returning servicemen—all of these are the eventual victims of inflation and monopoly, of depression and war. All of these groups, as producers, have a common interest in an expanding and continuous production, securing to them all stable employment and adequate income. All of these groups, as consumers, have a common interest in an expanding *production for use*, securing to them all a higher standard of living. However, within the present system of log-rolling parties, all these groups are easily turned against each other. They become less and less able to reconcile one producer group with another, and less and less able to reconcile producers with consumers. Thus big business wins and the people lose.

How to Achieve Unity

For those who earn their keep by doing the necessary work of the world, unity is not to be found in the temporary alliances and compromises of political log-rolling within the corrupt old parties nor within any cleaner new party of the old type. That essential unity of useful people is to be achieved rather in a political movement which rallies men and women of all occupations and all races around an over-all program of social reconstruction—a program that goes beyond the more and more futile attempt to patch up and harmonize the conflicting immediate interests of diverse groups—a program which attacks the *common* enemy of all actually or potentially progressive social groups *at the strategic points*—a program that is based on a vision of a new social order and yet is realistic enough to permit the selection and pursuit of those immediate group interests which are justified as stepping-stones in the achievement of a consistent long-range policy of social reconstruction.

Most certainly we expect that such a program and such a party will appeal to labor and farmers and white-collar workers and to all groups and persons who are willing to attempt something more bold and far-reaching than the mere defence of self-interest regardless of surrounding conditions. The new party will, then, not be a labor party in the older sense of

"party" and "labor party." It will not be merely the political tool of some or all of the unions, nor of farmers' organizations, nor of both taken together. It has higher and broader objectives. Just because of that, it hopes to be of more effective and more permanent usefulness to such groups than sectional interest parties could ever be. It will be the party for labor and for all other groups who suffer under the present order precisely because it is the party of the NEW COMMONWEALTH with which their fate is indissolubly bound.

A New Kind of Party

There is need for a NEW party in the American COMMONWEALTH—need not only for a new party, but for a new *kind* of party—a party with the clear hard-hitting *program* and a strong tight-fitting *organization*. We want and are determined to develop a party that gives expression and direction to the progressive aspirations of the American people; a party that does not confine itself to pointing out the true causes and proper solutions of our social evils, but, with effective organization, a party that wants to become the majority party and is willing to use all the necessary organizational means for political success in a democracy; and yet a party that has *and sticks to* a real program which is not a mere fig-leaf for unprincipled opportunism.

America and the whole world needs such a political movement. We know that the causes of the present crisis are not to be overcome merely by the military defeat of Nazism and other forms of totalitarian nationalism. We know that if we do not attack the economic and political and social causes of this crisis while there is yet time, nothing in the experience of this generation will equal the denials of human dignity and the cynical use of violence which will be experienced by our children. Salvation from such horrors lies only in the achievement of a stable economy *productive* enough to be tolerable and a peace *just* enough to be durable. Of all the countries in the world, America bears now the greatest responsibility for good or evil. Men do not expect a utopian, perfect social order; they do demand the best that is possible by decent means. But there are times when a *bold* policy is the only *practical* policy. Now is such a time!

We Are Not Alone

We propose to begin *now* the organization and the training of the kernel of such a new political movement with the mass support for which the time is

more than ripe. We realize that we are not the only ones in this country who, encouraged by developments in Britain, in Latin America, in Canada, and by similar forward steps in other countries, aim at this same goal. This is not surprising, since it is the common goal of people who are much the same everywhere. We have full confidence that in due time there will be formed a national organization out of similar local and regional developments in different parts of the country. The success of a national organization thus to be formed will be the more likely, as more and more local groups will cooperate and develop the best possible program. The continued success of such a movement must be predicated upon the whole-hearted cooperation of similar local groups in the United States and in other countries throughout the world.

The AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH PARTY wants a democratic road to better and fuller democracy, with greater equality and security, expanding and guaranteeing more effectively those basic economic, political and personal freedoms without which the word democracy would be mere sham. We present to the people the general goals just stated and the corresponding program of action as the standards by which we expect to be judged.

Comments on a Program of Action

(The following does not constitute a program of action. It is rather our comment concerning vital questions, which comment is designed to indicate the direction in which our thinking is carrying us on matters of international and domestic issues, world economic reconstruction, and the extension of democracy. These comments are intended to initiate now the discussions out of which the program of action of the AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH PARTY will be expected to rise in the Spring of 1944.)

In the later phases of the world war our first concern as an *American* party must be with *international* reconstruction of the devastated territories and of the destroyed physical properties, and the rehabilitation of the suffering people. Such a reconstruction cannot be restricted, even in theory, to a physical one, but must, to be successful in the long run, include a spiritual one as well. More than that, the spiritual reconstruction must initiate, animate, and control all our activities directed towards a physical rehabilitation. The approach by the peoples of the warring nations, must be one which, during the mutual cooperation for reconstruction, will lay the foundations not only of new dwellings, but also of a new psychology of working and living together to replace the psychology of fear and distrust. Such a spiritual rehabilitation of all the peoples of the world will make for permanency of the physical reconstruction. A new approach in our thinking will bring about the displacement of slogans of imperialism and narrow nationalism by solidarity among the peoples gained from their cooperation and by understanding among the nations based on knowledge, and thus a first step towards world peace will be made. By such a process motives of self-interest and the interest of special groups will be replaced by consideration to be given to general needs of the common people, and thus a first step towards a world federation will be made.

The United States, to achieve success in the war, made itself an integral part of the world at war. To be successful in peace, she must be and remain part of the world at peace. The success of peace, its permanency, is conditioned on our willingness and the

willingness of other nations to cooperate in a world reconstruction. Only by cooperation will we have a peace among equal members of the human family. That is the peace we want because "only a peace between equals can last, only a peace, the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in common benefits. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance."

Peace based on force failed in the past and will fail in the future because a "peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms upon the victim . . . accepted in humiliation, duress . . . would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms peace would rest, not permanently, but only on quicksand." We do not want to have a peace of force, because now we know or ought to know that those who attempted to enforce peace turned out to be all "generations of failures." In dealing with the peace, we do not want our children and children's children to become as others before them, failures.

Just as cooperation among the nations will guarantee the permanency of peace in the world, in the same way cooperation among the members of the same nation will be conducive to establish peace at home. Intolerance practiced against the weaker, discrimination against minority groups, cannot have any place in a country where democracy is a living reality. We believe that such living reality, such a practical democracy, is possible. We propose to work to bring it about.

ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

How shall the peoples of the devastated areas be fed?

If the proper spirits exists, this problem can be solved. Those countries which have surplus food, or can produce in excess of their needs, must supply those people who are in want. Need should be the only consideration. International organizations now existing, enlarged to function with speed and efficiency, should be in charge of the distribution, carried out impartially among the people of allied and of former enemy countries.

Who should be responsible for the reconstruction of devastated territories?

All of us, the people of the world. We are all partners in the destruction, so it is only commonsense that we all pitch in to provide roofs over the heads of those made homeless. Surplus war materials should make such rebuilding prompt and reduce its cost, since such materials would otherwise either be wasted or turned over to private individuals and corporations for their private profit.

Labor for reconstruction should be provided by the people of the territories to be reconstructed. In case of extreme inability of a country to provide its own labor, workers might be *invited* in from other countries, but then as free labor at prevailing wages. We are against forced labor abroad as well as here at home.

What about the cost of feeding and reconstruction?

When all of the political nonsense is stripped off, the answer is that the cost must be borne by those countries whose economies have been largely unimpaired by war. That means that the United States must be prepared to pay more than its per capita share. This will be politically possible only if full production and full employment are achieved and maintained at home.

Shall we ever be repaid?

For materials advanced to allies in a joint war no repayment should be demanded. For reconstruction purposes, lend-lease (and reverse lend-lease) should be continued into the postwar period. No immediate accounting will be needed, and in the long run the exchange of material goods and services going back and forth between the nations can be brought into balance.

How should such a World-Wide program be organized and supervised?

Representatives *of all of the peoples* must be brought together to solve the problems of allocation and distribution in a spirit of cooperation. Such a body of *peoples' representatives*, while dealing with the most urgent matters of rehabilitation, should proceed to establish territorial limits in controversial areas. It should recommend and establish educational and informational institutions. It should take measures to fortify understanding and encourage support for administrative, executive, and judicial bodies for *all* peoples of the world. It should undertake to solve by substantial agreement all of those problems and conflicts of immediate interest out of which wars otherwise develop. It should also recommend and organize regional administrative agencies embracing groups of nations.

Do we want the tariff and immigration laws abolished and thereby destroy our standard of living?

The question raises a false conclusion. The abolishing of the tariff will not necessarily decrease American wages nor will it necessarily decrease our own standard of living. It will do so only if the people abroad are kept in subjugation and wages depressed and their standard of living kept on a level much below ours. The establishment of a true democracy throughout the world will bring about an ever-increasing improvement in the living standards of the world. Under those conditions, the abolishing of the tariff will stimulate a natural exchange of goods and will exclude importation based on slave labor wages.

Under the latter conditions the abolishing of restrictive immigration laws will bring no jobless hordes to this country because there will be no such jobless hordes abroad.

Which is preferable for the United States, alliances with friendly powers or participation in international organization?

Genuine international organization is far more likely to keep the peace for us than any system of alliances which we could develop. Any world police force, if it is not to create more problems than it solves, must meet three conditions. It must have back of it such adequate machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes that most disputes never be-

come police problems. It must not be used to maintain imperialism. It must be a genuine *world* police force, not merely an Anglo-American or a three- or four-power force for the policing of the rest of the world.

Who should determine the policies of such an All-Peoples'-Parliament?

The peoples themselves, with free expression of opinion, unhampered by the "power politics" by which so many governments have tried to serve the interests of special classes. No American soldier and no American dollar should be used to suppress the free expression of opinion and the free development of peoples' movements *anywhere* in the world. We oppose the use of American troops to restore or maintain any king, any dictator, any oligarchy, or any empire anywhere.

How about the prolonged occupation of defeated countries?

If the peoples' movements are permitted to develop in the defeated countries, if we refuse to support and encourage reactionary special-interest groups, the people of the defeated countries will take care of their own governments, including the policing of their own countries. Foreign forces of military occupation can contribute little but distrust and resentment by their presence. The help which we as a nation extend to the reconstructed governments of the defeated countries must be optional with them, not mandatory.

What can be done about the rights of minority peoples within a nation?

We aim at political, economic, and social democracy. That includes respect for the rights of minor nations as well as minority peoples. No government should be able to expect our help or support as long as it tolerates arrogance toward and discrimination against its own minority peoples. But the influence of the United States in this direction will be ineffective unless and until full and effective democratic rights are guaranteed to our own minorities. Where true democracy prevails there will be no need for minority groups to organize themselves along racial or religious lines for political purposes.

ON CURRENT DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

What should be done about the increasing cost of living?

Let us stop pretending that we can put half of the total national goods production into the war without a tax bill which takes about that same proportion of the total national monetary income. Inflation is the product of that pretense. The O.P.A. and subsidies can help if effectively administered, but only if the major part of the job is done by taxation. Increasing the output of consumer goods by rapid reconversion will also help, as will the elimination of profits on war contracts.

What should be done about the tax system?

It should be completely overhauled. At the Federal level, we should depend almost entirely on the income and inheritance taxes, refrain from taxing incomes which are below a decent standard of living, abolish dozens of the indirect taxes and *adopt no Federal sales tax.* At the State level, we must stop depending on the general property tax, abolish the sales tax, abolish most of the indirect taxes, and adopt the progressive income and inheritance taxes as the backbone of the State revenue system.

Is a new crop of war millionaires being created?

Yes, and they will remain to plague us after the war. By a combination of renegotiation and taxation, all wartime profits should be prohibited or recaptured.

How about maintaining military conscription permanently after the war?

A bill to that effect has already been introduced into Congress. It should be opposed. For many decades, one of the great advantages of this country over European countries was that we did not have such a system of militarism.

How about extending the conscription principle now to the drafting of men and women for private employers?

It is unnecessary. Production by American labor is at an all-time high. It is undesirable, being a form of involuntary servitude. It is intolerable in a democracy which wants to remain a democracy.

Will unemployment become a serious problem before the war is over?

Yes. It is already becoming serious. Too little attention is being given to the reconversion of plants to production of peace-time goods.

ON POSTWAR ECONOMIC ISSUES

What will be the main economic problem after the war?

After a flurry of further inflation, the main problem will be mass unemployment. Even if six or seven millions of the people now working disappear from the labor market for their own good reasons, and even if private industry maintains its production at a level as high as that of 1929, there will still be from eight to twelve million workers who will not be able to get jobs from private industry.

Will public works and the social insurances solve this problem?

They will not. Extensive public works must be planned and planned now. The social insurances should be widely extended in coverage and improved in benefits. But the maximum extension of social insurance and the maximum of what are classed as "public works" cannot take care of more than half of those who are likely to be unemployed.

What, then, is the next step?

The next step is public ownership and operation of important sections of the economic system. The banking system should have been taken over in 1933 when it proved unable to function. The billions of dollars worth of government-owned war plants should be kept in public hands, converted to peace-time uses, and kept in full operation in order to provide both goods and jobs at a thirty-hour week. The railroads and the coal mines should be publicly owned and operated nationally just as the traction business and other public utilities should be publicly owned and operated locally. Public low-cost housing should be greatly expanded, with Federal standards, Federal financing, and local administration.

How should a public enterprise be organized?

Either as a cooperative or as a public corporation on the general pattern of the T.V.A., not the pattern of the Post Office. The Board of Directors should represent the low-price interest of the consumers, the high-cost interest of the workers, and the general interest of the public.

Do we need a planned economy?

We do, and nothing is more certain than that the United States will have a planned economy. But

planned by whom, and for what? We can have planning by private corporations for monopoly and private profit, we can have planning by government for restriction of output in peace-time and expansion in war-time, or we can have *planning by public agencies under democratic controls, for the standard of living and the security and welfare of the people.*

What should be done for returning veterans?

We should provide adequate rehabilitation services of many kinds and free education for those who want it. Beyond that, the job problem for veterans is simply one big part of the entire problem of getting full production and full employment. No island of security can be provided for one group in a sea of general insecurity.

ON THE EXTENSION OF DEMOCRACY AT HOME

During this war we cannot be content merely to defend at home those freedoms which we think we have already won. Democracy can survive only by moving to new frontiers. Unless we are willing to act now to extend democracy at home the "Four Freedoms" are made a mockery.

Is democracy in America to be for "Whites Only"?

In jobs: We favor the extension of facilities for the training of Negroes for skilled jobs, and the full use of the maximum powers of the government to eliminate all racial discrimination in employment practices. The Fair Employment Practices Commission has been a step in the right direction, but it has not been supported by the government itself. In the city, the state, and the nation, racial discrimination in jobs must be *abolished.* It has been eighty years now since the end of the Civil War.

In the armed services: We demand the full enforcement of that section of the Selective Service Act which prohibits racial discrimination in the armed forces.

In housing: *We oppose the "restrictive covenant"* in any form. It segregates Negroes into ghettos which are no more defensible in America than in Nazi Germany. The "restrictive covenant" in no way solves the basic housing shortage. We favor low-cost public housing for all citizens who want it.

In education: We oppose discrimination and segregation in the school system. Such practices as double-shift and triple-shift schools for Negro boys and girls must go! We recognize that this will require the abandonment of racial boundaries between school districts.

Should the payment of a poll tax be a requirement for voting?

It should not. It effectively disfranchises millions of white and colored citizens. It has been suspended for the duration for servicemen. It should be eliminated for all citizens permanently, by Federal action.

Should voting procedure be simplified for servicemen in 1944?

It should. In 1942 only 28,000 out of 7,000,000 were able to vote. In spite of its few shortcomings, Congress should pass the Green-Lucas bill to provide for a Federal War Ballot Commission. Otherwise about one-fifth of the electorate will be disfranchised in 1944.

Should civil liberties be maintained in war-time?

They should. There should be no discrimination against citizens because of their national origin; no restrictions on freedom of expression; and no such heavy requirements as there are now to prevent a new political party from getting on the ballot in order to break the political monopoly of the old parties.

Are labor unions essential to a democracy?

A vigorous labor movement and a thriving cooperative movement are essential to the functioning of democracy in a modern society. They must be democratically controlled by their own membership, and they must not be allowed to lose their independence by becoming mere administrative agencies of any government.

If you are interested in helping to establish the AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH PARTY throughout the nation, as it is being established in Illinois, address your correspondence to the AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH PARTY, 417 So. Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Illinois. Make all checks payable to Walter Hendricks, Treasurer.

☐ Please send me ..... copies of your Draft Declaration, for which I am enclosing the sum of $..... (The price is 10c apiece or 20 for a dollar.)

☐ I want to help you build the American Commonwealth Party and send you my contribution of $..... for that purpose.

☐ I am interested in the formulation of a truly democratic Declaration of Principles and an effective Program of Action, and am sending you my comments attached hereto.

.....
Name

.....
Street Address

.....
Occupation

.....
City *Zone* *State*

FOUR-BRANCH GOVERNMENT

as proposed by

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Inc.

	Legislative	*Executive*	*Judicial*	*Economic*
FEDERAL	U. S. Senate and House of Representatives	President	Supreme Court and Federal Courts	National Board of Directors, elected by the Guilds.
STATE	State Legislatures	Governors	State Courts	State Boards of Directors, elected by the Guilds. City and County Boards of Directors, elected by the Guilds.
LOCAL	Municipal Assemblies	Mayors and City and County Managers and Commissions	Municipal and County Courts and Industrial Courts	*Local Guilds* or *Cooperatives* Transportation, Agriculture, Welfare Sanitation, Education, Textiles Construction, Foodstuffs, Steel Public Utilities, Communications, etc.

Somebody paid for this. *Pass it on.*

"Of the People, By the People, For the People"

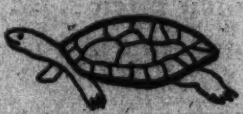
THE

PEOPLE'S PARTY

of the

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Principles and Program



When he sticks his neck out,
He makes progress;
When he pulls it in,
He immobilizes himself.

National Headquarters
726 ELEVENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

Brig. Gen. H. C. Holdridge, U.S.A. retired, Chairman
Henry J. Sutton, Treasurer
Mrs. Minnie Frost Rands, Secretary

To the People of the United Staes

Fellow Citizens:

OUR COUNTRY is slipping into a depression
Depression look like a Sunday school picnic.
are steadily carrying us toward a war compare
rehearsal. If we do not take prompt and ener
of 1929-1941 will repeat itself.

The people of this country do not want
must we again go through this tragic experience
nomic system which makes recurrent periods o
warfare inevitable—which, in fact, *cannot con*

Mass production has at one and the same
output of goods and services and (2) decreased
millions of workers who, deprived of their wag
able. This throws more millions out of work
pression; the economic life of the nation becom

In addition, mass production, when opera
because it piles up surplus profits which, seekin
less developed foreign countries, cause interna

However, mass production does not of its
were carried on, not for private gain, but for p
curse; it would mean steady employment, ecc

The basic fault in our economic set-up is
method of distribution. There is the bottlene
stagnation and the factor which ultimately lea
these scourges, we must eliminate the root cause
aim and motive power of our system of distribu

If enough of us make up our minds to do
legal means, without civil war or violent revo
and the Constitution of the United States. Th
Britain and other countries; it can be accompl

There is nothing sacred or indispensable
prise. It has had its day and served its purpose
our necks. The time has come to get rid of it
brotherhood and mutual aid for greed and selfi

It is, however, hopeless to expect either of
in our economic system; they are merely two w
maintained by and operated for the beneficiari
for a new party, organized to do away with pri

We invite everyone who agrees with us to
to convert our economic system into one desig
rest of us poor, but to bring to all the people p
things of life. Our country possesses ample m
accomplish this. It can be done—*let's get to w*

ion which, if not headed off, will make the Hoover
ic. At the same time, political and economic forces
ared with which World War II was only a dress
nergetic action on both these fronts, the history

nt either a depression or another war. Why, then,
nce? Because we are living under an outworn eco-
s of economic depression and almost continuous
ontinue to function without them.

ne time (1) enormously increased the potential
sed the consumer demand by abolishing the jobs of
vages, cannot purchase the goods or services avail-
rk and still further deepens and prolongs the de-
omes paralyzed.

erated for private profit, inevitably leads to war
king opportunities for investment, especially in
rnational friction and, ultimately, armed conflict.
itself cause economic depression and war. If it
r public welfare, it would be a blessing, not a
economic security and abundance for all.

is to be found, not in production, but in our
leneck which causes unemployment and economic
leads to international warfare. To put an end to
use of both of them, PRIVATE PROFIT as the
ibution.

do this, it can be accomplished by peaceable and
evolution and within the framework of our laws
This is being accomplished by degrees in Great
nplished here.

le about private profit, or so-called "free" enter-
ose; it is now out-of-date and is a millstone around
f it and to substitute cooperation for competition,
elfishness.

of the old parties to make the necessary basic change
o wings of the same old bird, the Capitalist Party,
iaries of the profit system. The new conditions call
private profit and private capitalism.

s to join us in a peaceable and democratic movement
signed, not to make a few people rich and keep the
e peace, security and an abundance of the good
e material resources, manpower and intelligence to
work and do it!

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

DECLARATION

We, the undersigned citizens of the Un
March, 1947, organize ourselves as

The PEOPLE'S PARTY of the
on the following basic principles:

Allegiance to the Constitution of the Un
as written in the hearts of the American peop

Affirmation of the spiritual values in t
great religions and founded on the dignity
Materialism to be the means to the end, not

Realization of the fact that the United
has a responsibility to help establish a pros
can achieve this end only if we first set our o

Recognition of the historic fact that p
spiritual or the material well-being of masse
insecurity, human misery, bankruptcy and w

Reconstruction of our economic syste
the political to the economic field (from wh
of a fourth coordinate branch of democra
the present Executive, Legislative and Judic
people, not in oligarchies or bureaucracies,
profit of a few, and founded on cooperat

All objectives to be accomplished cons

Membership to be open to all American
color, creed, or previous political affiliation

OUR

Reconstruction of our economic
from the political to the economic field
through the establishment, by peaceable
ment, the Economic, coordinate with t
branches, controlled, not by an oligar
the people, based on cooperation, not c
a few, but for the welfare and happi

No More Depressions!

ON OF PRINCIPLES

United States, meeting together this Thirtieth day of

the UNITED STATES of AMERICA

United States, to the Bill of Rights, and to Democracy
people.

n the lives of all human beings, as expressed in all
ity of the individual and the brotherhood of man.
ot an end in itself.

ed States, as the wealthiest nation in the world today,
rosperous, democratic and peaceful world, but that we
r own house in order.

t private capitalism has failed to advance either the
sses of our citizens, as evidenced in its record of greed,
d war.

stem by extending the principle of democracy from
which it is now excluded), through the establishment
cratic government — the Economic — to supplement
dicial branches. Control to rest in the hands of the
es, and to be directed toward the welfare of all, not the
ration, not selfish competition.

onstitutionally and in an orderly legal manner.

can citizens, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race,
ion.

R OBJECTIVE

ic system by extending the principle of democracy
eld (from which latter it is at present excluded)
ble and legal means, of a fourth branch of govern-
h the present Executive, Legislative and Judicial
archy or a bureaucracy, but democratically by all
t competition, and operated, not for the benefit of
piness of all.

No More Wars!

(*Released to the Press, April 19, 1947*)

The launching of a new political party which asserts that the free enterprise system is no longer able to meet the needs of mankind, leads inevitably to war and unemployment and must be replaced by an economic system based on cooperation and geared, not to private profit, but to public welfare, was announced yesterday by Brigadier-General Herbert C. Holdridge, U.S.A. retired, temporary chairman of The People's Party of the United States of America, in a press conference at the headquarters of that organization, 726-11th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

"Scientific invention and technological progress," the General explained, "have developed mass production to a point where it has undermined the foundation of the capitalist system by making the maintenance of profit impossible except by open or camouflaged government subsidies or through wholesale destruction by means of war. When the supply of goods exceeds the demand, the market becomes glutted and the goods cannot be sold at a profit any more than sand at the seashore.

"At the same time, mechanical inventions, chemical processes, speed-up and labor-saving shop methods, the development of electric power and now the discovery of atomic energy mean enormously increased production, while at the same time they drastically reduce the number of consumers by throwing millions of workers out of employment. The result is recurrent periods of economic depression, more and more frequent, widespread and prolonged.

"On the other hand, the mounting profits of the owners of industry, piling up and seeking opportunities for investment—in order to pile up still more surplus profits—result in increased competition for material resources and markets, especially in the less developed regions, and lead to more and more frequent and destructive wars."

The new party, the General said, advocates that the people of the United States, instead of allowing the disintegration of their economic life to proceed to the point of chaos and violent revolution, employ rational, legal and peaceful means to head off the threatened catastrophe.

"There is enough natural wealth and native intelligence and energy in this country," the General declared, "to provide everybody with an abundance of food, clothing, shelter, cultural enjoyment and leisure if we will resolutely subordinate selfish interests to the general welfare. Furthermore, the change-over to an economic system suited to modern conditions can be accomplished within the framework of the laws and Constitution of the United States and without injury or injustice to anyone.

"The task is primarily a psychological one. We

need merely to recognize that the change is both possible and necessary and make up our minds to put it through. When we have reached that point, the problem becomes merely one of social and industrial engineering and bookkeeping."

The plan proposed by the new party provides for the addition, by constitutional amendment and orderly legislation, of a fourth branch of the government, the economic, coordinate with the present legislative, executive and judicial branches and charged with the responsibility of organizing and directing the machinery of production and distribution in such a manner as to provide everyone who does his share of work with a maximum of goods and services and leisure to enjoy them.

The People's Party stresses with particular emphasis that its plan must not be imposed and managed from the top down, as in totalitarian states, but adopted by the will of the people as a whole and at all times under their control through an integrated network of guilds covering the various industries and professions. Promotion of workers to better jobs would come through election from registers open to all who, by examinations and practical tests, showed themselves qualified for greater responsibility—all persons so elected, from foreman to general manager and the overall directors of the national economy, to be required to stand for reelection every year or two.

According to the People's Party plan, a process of national planning and accounting would determine annually, for each line of goods or services, the maximum output desired and the total of materials and manpower required. Quotas would then be assigned to the various units of the available productive plant. Similarly, by a nationwide system of bookkeeping, the total product would be apportioned among the various geographical divisions of the country in accord with their respective needs.

As to the method of taking over the machinery of production and distribution, the new party argues that it would be cheaper to buy out the present owners and let them live out their lives in leisure, rather than to plunge the country into turmoil and civil war. Instead of "liquidating" them in a revolutionary upheaval, the nation would liquidate their holdings at a fair price and let them go fishing—or, if they so desired, file for election to managerial positions in competition with other candidates.

The People's Party intends to spread its organization as rapidly as possible into all the states and territories of the union. Membership is open to all citizens of the United States 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, color, creed, national origin or previous political affiliation, but persons who do not subscribe without reservation to the basic principles of the party's program will be automatically barred from membership.

LIBERAL PARTY

As adopted by the Convention at which the Liberal Party of New York State was organized

MAY 19 - 20, 1944

LIBERAL PARTY

DECLARATION
and
PLATFORM

Issued by
LIBERAL PARTY OF NEW YORK STATE
160 West 44th Street • New York 18, N. Y.

250

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HARRY UVILLER, *Treasurer*

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FOREWORD

On May 19, 1944 over 1,500 delegates representing various labor, farm, business and professional groups, organizations, and interests met in convention to organize the Liberal Party of New York State. These men and women, experienced in political activity, were fully conscious of the gravity of the responsibilities they were assuming. They were united in the conviction that the liberal and progressive forces in the State of New York, and ultimately in the nation, needed a new political party to give expression to their aspirations and to provide means for the realization of their purposes. They were impelled to this action by their recognition of the fact that America is entering a new age—an age fraught with unlimited possibilities for good and evil.

They had suffered two world wars in their generation—wars that had become total in character, that had removed the distinction between soldier and civilian, that had destroyed vast and irreplaceable material resources, and that had revived almost forgotten patterns of barbaric behavior.

They had lived through the most profound and prolonged economic depression in the history of their nation—a depression that had paralysed the productive energies of the economy, that had brought unemployment to millions, and anxiety to all, and that had placed in jeopardy their democratic institutions and ways of life.

They had watched the decay and the death, one after the other, of the democracies of the old world, and the rise of a modern form of despotism—the totalitarian state with its denial of civil liberties, its aggravation of class, religious, and racial differences, and its dogma of the master race and the general degradation of the human spirit.

They had become aware of the revolution in transportation and communication that has made of the whole world a neighborhood.

They had witnessed the transformation of the instruments and modes of warfare that has made of war a threat even to the very survival of civilization.

They had come to understand the changes in modes of production that had harnessed mechanical energies on a fabulous scale, that had achieved a production for war purposes of 180 billions a year, and that had made possible an economy of abundance for all, beyond the dreams of all earlier ages.

They were convinced that neither of the major political parties is equipped by composition or by ideas to serve adequately the forces of democracy in this new age. They were convinced equally that political movements of the left, bound as they are by economic and social dogmas, and speaking an idiom unfamiliar to America could not and should not gain the confidence and broad support of the people of the United States.

They resolved to develop through the Liberal Party a political movement characterized by integrity of purpose, experimental in outlook, and indigenous to the American soil.

In launching the Liberal Party they expressed their outlook and philosophy, their hopes and purposes, in the Declaration and Platform which follow.

John L. Childs.

Chairman of the Liberal Party

DECLARATION

DECLARATION OF THE LIBERAL PARTY

1.

THE NEED FOR A NEW PARTY

We live in a fateful period. Democracy throughout the world is in a grim struggle for survival. That struggle will not end with the military defeat of the Fascist powers. Fascism is a modern system of tyranny developed by ruthless men, but these men gained power by exploiting deep disorders in our civilization. These disorders still exist, both within the internal affairs of nations, and within the patterns of their relations with one another. As long as they remain, the threat of Fascism will remain. The development of a new framework of relationships and institutions to overcome these disorders constitutes the supreme moral and political task of our period.

Of one thing we may be sure: home affairs and foreign affairs are today so inter-related that they cannot be treated successfully as separate things. Only as we re-order our domestic economy so that we can maintain a high level of production and employment, can America mobilize its full strength for the effort to organize a postwar world of security, of political freedom, of racial equality, and of economic and social progress. On the other hand, only as our nation is made secure against aggression—through the development of a stable world order—can we attain the desired domestic reconstruction. Coordinated, democratic initiative on both fronts is required if we are to win the peace.

We are convinced that neither of the major American political parties can lead in this full task of domestic and international reconstruction. The growing lack of faith in the integrity of

these parties—marked as they are by fundamental cleavages and inner conflicts—is a primary source of the uncertainty, pessimism, and even cynicism of the common man about the possibility of getting any lasting good from the suffering and sacrifices of this global war. The American people know that the new productive powers which science and technology have given us could provide better houses, better food and clothing, more adequate medical care, finer communities, and richer educational and cultural opportunities for all, but they have no confidence that the coalition of forces constituting each of these political parties can or will work whole-heartedly to achieve these humane ends.

Those elements in American life which are seeking to preserve feudal power and privilege in our industry and agriculture cannot be trusted to promote an economy of abundance. Those now struggling to maintain the white man's supremacy in our own country will not pioneer in efforts to get rid of the imperialism of the white man in world affairs. Those who are seeking to turn our country back to the economic royalists will not give the millions of our demobilized soldiers and war workers a square deal once the war is won. Those who regard political parties primarily as means to attain personal or narrow group advantage will not develop statesmanlike programs capable of resolving either domestic or foreign problems.

Entrenched in both major parties, these forces of privilege, of race-prejudice, and of patronage are daily becoming more aggressive and intolerant. They are attacking the rights of organized labor, economic justice to small farm-owners and sharecroppers, equal treatment of races, and every proposal or agency for the democratic, planned use of our nation's natural and industrial resources.

The hold of these reactionary groups over the political affairs of our nation must be broken. This can be done if the democratic forces of city and country will unite and organize a determined political movement to overcome the disorders from

which we now suffer. Until this new political instrumentality is created the progressive forces of America will lack an organ of political expression and action adequate to meet the demands of our period.

The organization of the Liberal Party of the State of New York is a concrete step toward the development of such a political movement. We invite all liberal-minded citizens, regardless of occupation or previous party affiliation, to join with us to forge this new political instrument—a party which will give the leadership of the nation to those who really believe in government of, by, and for the people.

In view of all that is at stake in the approaching national election, our party will first concentrate on this campaign. We shall clarify and put into bold relief its real issues, seek to elect liberal aspirants to state office, and throw our full weight on the liberal side in the national election.

Our plans, however, extend far beyond this election. We are in the midst of one of the most decisive moments in the history of American democracy and the world. In these days of profound change our party will strive to play an increasingly effective role in shaping our common destiny.

2.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD

For the second time within a quarter of a century we are engaged in a world war. This in spite of our firm resolve never again to get involved in the conflicts of the Old World. The stubborn fact is that the technique and scope of war have been revolutionized by scientific developments. War is today literally a total, global thing. No matter where it begins, war now tends to spread its disturbance over the lives of everyone everywhere.

The American people now realize that the two oceans no

longer give us automatic national security. For better or worse we are inextricably involved in the highly interdependent world modern technology has created. When the war is over our country must develop a new foreign policy for we shall not return to the traditional practice of pacifist isolationism.

Although favored by some, neither nationalist expansion nor a power-alliance with other nations are policies which will give us the desired security. These alternatives are the roads to more wars, not peace. We demand therefore that every resource of our country be used to develop a genuine system of international security at the close of this war. We know that to accomplish this supreme aim grave difficulties must be overcome, but we also know that America is in a position of strategic power. We believe that bold initiative by our country could well prove to be the decisive factor in converting the war-time coalition of the United Nations into an agency for lasting world order. On the other hand, hesitation and confusion on our part might mean that this war will be followed by renewed rivalry for national power, mounting military expenditures, and, eventually, a third World War.

Our party will be controlled in these matters by a policy of democratic realism. We shall strive to have our government back democratic movements, including labor and liberal groups, in all occupied countries as these are progressively liberated from the Axis forces. We shall respect the rights of peoples in these territories to choose their own form of government. It is our responsibility, however, to see that these choices are genuine peoples' choices, not spurious selections dictated by reactionary and feudal remnants.

We recognize the crucial role the United Nations, and particularly the four leading partners—Britain, China, the Soviet Union, and the United States—must take in the organization of the postwar world. We shall strive to develop from the agency of the United Nations a lasting system of world order. We shall emphasize that a just international organization must provide

for economic and cultural cooperation, as well as for political and military cooperation. We shall oppose all unilateral and imperialistic tendencies either by our own country, or by any nation with which we are associated. We are convinced that the American people are ready to support the government in whatever steps are necessary to organize the world which will make it possible to supplant the ways of war with the ways of peace. As a party we shall seek to direct and organize this deep popular yearning for peace into effective forms of political action.

3.

PROBLEMS OF DOMESTIC READJUSTMENT

The frontier with its free land has gone from American life. Our earlier agrarian civilization, with its simplicities, its democratic safeguards, its self-sufficient farms, its independent rural neighborhoods, and its small business enterprises, has been superseded by a vast complex of industrial relationships and institutions which are literally national and international in scope. The livelihood of each of us is now dependent upon the continued functioning of this huge industrial system.

The last two decades have shown how insecure and precarious life for the common man has become in this new industrial America. Just as the close of the period in which we could rely on our favored geographical position calls for profound change in foreign policy, so the close of the pioneer and agrarian period calls for equally fundamental readjustments in domestic outlook and practice.

The plain fact is that many of the factors which now condition our livelihood can no longer be controlled by individuals, by families, by localities, or even by state and regional authorities. The task of developing new arrangements by which these complex means of production and distribution can be democratically controlled in the interest of all is now our most urgent

domestic problem. We believe that without the continuing cooperation of the Federal Government and the great functional groups—business, labor, agriculture, and the professions—this need cannot be satisfactorily met.

Since the turn of the century, a vast centralization in private control has been taking place in our economy. This centralization must give all friends of democracy grave concern. This vast concentration of control has been accompanied by a parallel concentration of income. In the year the depression began, one-tenth of one percent of the families at the top received practically as much as forty-two percent of the families at the bottom of the scale.

Significant as these facts about income distribution are, they do not disclose what the common people have suffered because of this unprecedented concentration of economic power. The much greater loss comes from the failure to produce that which could have been available in goods and services had our economy been controlled so as to maintain a high level of production and full employment.

The record of the war has demonstrated how great this loss has been. In the short space of three years, notwithstanding the fact that over ten million of our most productive workers were withdrawn for service in the armed forces of our country, we have increased the total productive facilities of our nation by nearly one-half, and have also doubled the total national income. This remarkable record calls for a revision of all former estimates of what is possible and desirable.

Our party is resolved to maintain during times of peace this level of production and employment achieved to wage war. Any other course will mean periodic economic paralysis, mass unemployment, lowered standards of living, undernourished children and youth, inadequate health services, reduced educational opportunities, the growth of slum conditions in city and country, the spread of a mood of fear, anxiety and despair, and the

embitterment of class, racial, religious and sectional relationships. Under such conditions our democratic institutions and practices could not survive and the way would be open in America for the rise of dictatorship. On the other hand, if we succeed in maintaining without serious interruption a high level of production and employment, the many and difficult problems of domestic and international adjustment can be solved.

Instead of a finished blueprint for a Utopian future, we offer a balanced program to meet current issues and to solve fundamental problems. This program is based not on a sterile, rigid attachment to dogma but on practical experience, warm sympathy with humanity, and a desire to see a better world.

But our experience as well as our observation of American life have put certain things beyond dispute. The open-market and free competition have been destroyed by mass production, business monopolies and cartels, and the growth of labor, farm and professional organizations. Unregulated private enterprise can no longer maintain stability and balance in our economy; neither can it conserve the natural and human resources of the nation. Today, real freedom for the individual requires more than the absence of external restraints; it requires the maintenance of positive economic and social arrangements. These can be equitably provided only through governmental action. This means that the earlier police power conception of the role of the state has been outmoded by the inexorable march of events. In order to maintain a high, sustained level of production and employment, deliberate planning and control must be introduced into our economy—through the agency of government.

It is a basic error to assume that public planning and private planning—public enterprise and private enterprise—are antagonistic or mutually exclusive. Our whole national history demonstrates that the development of public enterprise in appropriate spheres may be the friend, not the enemy, of productive private enterprise. Witness the building of canals, the government sup-

port of railroads, the provision of public services, the conservation of natural resources, the new housing projects, the various agricultural programs and the power projects of which the T.V.A. is one notable example.

Our party believes that once the war is over our country should undertake a drastic program of domestic reconstruction. This program should be guided by and committed to the attainment of the following purposes:

The unrestricted use of science and technology in the public interest.

The progressive release of the productive energies of the nation.

The achievement of full employment.

The guarantee to the worker of the rights and freedoms of his job.

The maintenance of the rights of workers to join free and independent trade unions, and to bargain collectively.

The reduction of the concentration of economic power in private hands.

The reduction of inequalities in income.

The encouragement of private enterprise by individuals and groups to take the initiative and risk involved in launching new productive activity.

The protection of legitimate private enterprise from monopolistic encroachment.

The promotion of conditions favorable to small business.

The abolition of poverty and depressed areas in both city and country.

The extension of health, educational and cultural services to all.

The conservation and rational use of natural resources.

The maintenance of civil and political liberties for all, regardless of race, color, or creed.

4.

DEMOCRACY AS END AND MEANS

As the foregoing goals indicate, our party will be committed to democracy as both *moral end* and *social means*. We reject the defeatism of those who assert that we cannot achieve these far-reaching reconstructions in American life by peaceful, educational, and democratic political and economic processes. We affirm in the light of the history of the last twenty-five years that these processes constitute the only trustworthy and tolerable road to the future.

In its organization, its controls, its policies and its practices our party will be wholeheartedly devoted to the principles of democracy. We invite all who share our faith to unite with us in achieving these democratic purposes.

PLATFORM

PLATFORM

PLATFORM OF THE LIBERAL PARTY

I.
AMERICA IN THE WAR AND THE PEACE

I. Guiding Principles

Our first task is to win the war. Without victory over the Axis powers, our democratic way of life will be imperiled, and there will be no possibility of peace or progress anywhere. Our party therefore dedicates itself to a maximum effort towards defeating Germany, Japan and their satellite states.

But victory is not enough. We know that we cannot hope for unbroken prosperity and steady advance toward economic and social justice if the world is subject to periodic wars and threats of wars. Even the fear of a third World War will obstruct social progress, because it will be used by reactionaries to justify measures that reduce the benefits and rights which all men should enjoy. A primary concern of all liberal forces in the nation should therefore be the achievement of a lasting peace.

Only two roads will be open to the world after this war. One is the road of nationalist rivalry and of military and strategic security for each powerful nation, with the virtual absorption of the smaller and weaker states. This policy is bound to breed further wars which will undermine the foundations of democracy. The division of the world into spheres of influence among three great powers will unavoidably lead to rivalries and jealousies. Alliances will have the same effect. The resulting atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion would produce a new wave of militarism and armament competition. At the same time the smaller nations, forced to become satellites of

their big neighbors, would strive to regain their national independence, thus provoking acts of suppression. Obviously, should conditions such as these develop, it would be impossible to create a world in which democracy could grow in either the smaller or the larger nations.

The second road is the road of collective security and world organization. In our shrunken and technologically interdependent world, this alternative is the hope of the freedom, happiness and prosperity of mankind.

For these reasons we reject isolationism and imperialism for America. Isolationism would make it impossible for the United States to participate in a general international organization for peace. Moreover, isolationist abstention from such an organization would make it necessary for us to take unilateral measures for national security. Such unilateral measures would constitute an American imperialism which would disrupt all efforts at world organization.

The Four-Nation Agreement, signed at Moscow on October 30, 1943, promised "a general international organization . . . for the maintenance of international peace and security." This was a step in the right direction. Unfortunately, this promise has not been implemented. Meanwhile governments have been and are taking unilateral actions toward national security which are in conflict with collective actions for international security.

The British insistence that the Empire be maintained intact, and the Smuts proposal for the establishment of a British sphere of influence in Western Europe; the efforts of the Soviet Union to establish a sphere of influence in Eastern Europe, and its insistence upon a strategic frontier which it alone is to determine; proposals by certain eminent Americans for a vast expansion of naval and air power, including the retention and extension of strategic naval and air bases for use by the United States alone; and the support which has been given to undemocratic elements that have collaborated with Fascism are engen-

dering widespread fear in this country and abroad that these powers are thinking of the peace in terms of restoring or preserving the patterns of the past and not in terms of a new world in which alone there can be peace. The only way to put a stop to the present tendencies toward unilateral actions for national security will be for all the great powers to agree simultaneously to adopt collective actions for international security.

II. Specific Recommendations

1. We therefore call for the immediate creation of a United Nations Council. In addition to representatives of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China, this Council should also include representatives chosen by the other members of the United Nations.

2. As soon as possible after the war we urge the creation of a permanent international organization with authority and power to maintain peace and carry out its decisions. We believe that only by creating such an international organization can the free peoples of the world preserve and realize in practice the promise of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms.

3. We believe that the purposes of the international organization should be (1) to prevent and check aggression, by whatever economic or military measures may be required, and (2) to eliminate the political, social and economic causes of war. We believe, moreover, that only to the extent that the international organization succeeds in eliminating the causes of war will its war-prevention instrumentalities prove finally effective. For if the conditions that breed war are allowed to remain, no purely negative measures against aggression will suffice. While recognizing, therefore, the necessity of adequate preventive measures, we emphasize the paramount value of curative measures.

4. We hold that in order to achieve these purposes and to endure, the general international organization must:

(a) Provide the political framework for a continuing collaboration of the United Nations and, in due course, of neutral and enemy nations;

(b) Make provision for the orderly and peaceful revision of the terms of the peace settlement;

(c) Provide an agency to adjudicate disputes between states and build up a body of international case-law;

(d) Organize an effective system of international policing to suppress aggression;

(e) Assure equal protection of the rights of all nations and peoples;

(f) Promote an International Bill of Rights comprising a code of liberties to be guaranteed to national, racial and religious minorities, as well as to every individual person;

(g) Foster international economic cooperation with a view to achieving a stable world economy expanding at a steady rate, preventing cartels from restricting world production and leading to the gradual reduction of trade barriers;

(h) Grant freedom to colonial peoples now ready for freedom and constitute an international trusteeship which will lead other colonies as quickly as possible to a point where they can be completely self-governing;

(i) Provide the conditions in which progressive disarmament and the abandonment of compulsory military service would be possible for all nations;

(j) Lead the way to the establishment of a democratic world federation.

5. Within the framework of the general international organization, we hold that regional cooperative bodies should be established, both for solving problems common to the members of the region and for adjusting differences between them; but all the nations with interests in the region should be represented in the

cooperative bodies, even if they are not geographically a part of it, and all decisions reached should be subject to the approval of the general international organization and in harmony with its principles.

6. Along with the general international organization, we believe that there should also be a number of functional agencies of world-wide scope. Such functional agencies should include:

(a) The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, to minister to the immediate needs of the liberated peoples for food, clothing and shelter;

(b) The International Labor Organization, to carry on not only its present functions of raising the working standards of the world, but to cooperate with all agencies whose work affects labor;

(c) A United Nations Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to enable the devastated nations to rebuild and to develop the colonial and backward areas of the world;

(d) A World Stabilization Fund, to help countries overcome temporary shortages of foreign currencies and to maintain a high degree of stability of exchange rates;

(e) A Food and Agriculture Administration, to guide the development of agriculture and the distribution of foodstuffs throughout the world and to make chronic undernourishment and periodic famines things of the past;

(f) An International Office of Education, to improve the quality of education throughout the world and to see that all children everywhere are guaranteed free education at public expense;

(g) An international organization to deal with problems of health, sanitation and the prevention and treatment of disease; and other similar functional agencies.

7. We support the decision of the United Nations to punish war criminals of the Axis powers and to make it impossible for

these nations ever again to wage aggressive wars. But we hold that, in the interests of permanent peace, the peoples of the enemy countries should not be treated in the spirit of revenge but in such a way as to help them to become useful members of the community of peaceful nations. Nor should territory which has long been theirs, historically and ethnographically, be taken away from them to compensate the victor nations, for such territorial grabs are bound to encourage irredentism and lead to new wars.

8. Hitler's systematic offensive to wipe out all national minorities has been a part of the Nazi drive for world domination. This assault reached its most bestial form in the thoroughly planned and ruthlessly executed Nazi campaign to exterminate the entire Jewish people of Europe. In the interest of all mankind, the United Nations cannot allow the Nazis to attain this ghastly goal. Particularly the leading powers of the United Nations—America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union—must come to the rescue by taking immediate positive action. The restrictive White Paper should be revoked during this grave crisis, so the Jewish people can find a haven in Palestine. All territories into which the Jews can be received should be asked to open their doors to them. We urge our government to lose no time in setting up "free ports" for the refugees from the Hitler scourge. We call upon the State Department and other government agencies to save lives by speeding the issuance of visitor and immigration visas. We believe that all the civilized nations —neutral as well as belligerent—should give full support to the President's War Refugee Board.

9. We hold that the world cannot be organized for a just and lasting peace without the cooperation of the United States, and we believe that an overwhelming majority of the American people favor participation in world affairs. But experience has shown that a minority of thirty-three members of the Senate can and may block ratification of a treaty, and thus may prevent our country from meeting its international responsibilities and

carrying out the will of a majority of our people. We therefore urge that the constitution be amended to eliminate the provision requiring treaties to be ratified by a two-thirds majority of the Senate, and that pending such amendment understandings with other nations be made, wherever possible, in the form of executive agreements to be ratified by a simple majority of both houses.

2.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY

I. Guiding Principles

American democracy is committed to the fulfillment, in its everyday practices, of the principles of social, political and economic equality for all members of the community regardless of color, creed, national origin or sex.

The emergence of well-organized political anti-Semitic and other Fascist movements together with the deepening pattern of inter-racial conflicts in our country must give alarm to all who are aware that these same divisive practices spearheaded reactionary movements in other lands. The relaxation of war-time controls and restraints may strengthen these divisive tendencies.

It is imperative that no time be lost in the establishment of immmediate and specific programs for the eradication of the more subtle as well as the overt manifestations of prejudice and discrimination.

Only a political party which thoroughly believes in and is prepared to fight for the basic and elementary right of all people to work, live, study and play on the basis of their merit and need and without discrimination or segregation can cultivate in the American people those moral and spiritual impulses and attitudes upon which our commonwealth depends and without which we cannot keep our free institutions.

In order to make the American ideal a living reality our party calls for:

1. Equal access to all employment opportunities.
2. Equal access to decent homes and surroundings.
3. Equal medical and social welfare facilities for care and treatment.
4. Equal and unsegregated education and teaching opportunities.
5. Equality of treatment in the armed forces; the elimination of segregation and discrimination.
6. Equality of political participation.
7. Equality of civil rights.
8. Equality of treatment for all immigrant groups.

II. Concrete Proposals

To overcome the indefensible gap between the equality which the nation professes and the inequality it practices, we urge:

1. Enforcement of the Fair Employment Practices Act and passage of permanent legislation, both national and local, to prohibit discrimination by either private or public employers, or by workers' organizations in matters of employment, promotion and pay.
2. Prohibition of discrimination in all public or publicly-subsidized or tax-exempt housing.
3. Outlawing of restrictive, discriminatory covenants in leases or deeds which limit occupancy or ownership.
4. Establishment of training facilities and free access to appointments in public or publicly-subsidized hospitals, medical and social welfare institutions.
5. Equal access and unsegregated care and treatment in all public or publicly-subsidized hospitals, medical and social welfare institutions.

6. Creation of Federal and State commissions to investigate the denial to minority groups of free access to classroom work, vocational training, recreational facilities, guidance and counselling, new school buildings, as well as teaching and administrative appointments.

7. Establishment of scientific teaching of race, the history and contributions of minority groups, and special training of teachers for this purpose.

8. The immediate creation of volunteer mixed units in the armed services in order to demonstrate that members of different races can work together harmoniously, with a view toward ultimate elimination of segregation and discrimination.

9. Elimination of all barriers to membership in political parties, and to voting in both primaries and elections, including outlawing of the poll tax and all indirect discrimination such as gerry-mandering.

10. Passage of a Federal Anti-Lynching Law.

11. Establishment of fair practices with regard to juries, trials and court procedure to insure equality before the law.

12. Enactment and enforcement of civil rights law to eliminate Jim Crow practices in hotels, restaurants, transportation facilities, places of amusement and recreation.

13. Elimination of segregated blood banks.

14. Elimination of racial disqualification for citizenship.

3.

THE TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE

I. Jobs for the Demobilized

When the war ends, the United States will confront a huge and difficult problem of demobilization and reemployment. All postwar problems—domestic and foreign—will be profoundly

influenced by the manner in which we make this transition from the war to the peace economy.

After the last war, our nation made little provision for the absorption of returned soldiers and discharged war workers into normal peacetime industry. Hence, many of them fell victim to reactionary forces which sought to channel their discontent into crusades against labor, and against men and women of other races, other colors, other religions, other national origins and other social convictions with whom they were madly competing for jobs that did not exist.

This tragic neglect of our social responsibility must not happen again. We must, as a nation, plan, with all the statesmanship at our command, for the day of demobilization.

We urge:

1. That a federal governmental authority, on which labor, agriculture, industry and education should be adequately represented, be immediately set up to cooperate with military and industrial forces in planning an orderly system of demobilization and in adjusting those demobilized to the civilian life of the nation.

2. That industrial enterprises be permitted to resume civilian production, whenever such resumption does not interfere with our war effort, in order to provide maximum employment opportunity for those released from the war industries.

3. That relocation allowances be paid to discharged war workers where their skills cannot be utilized in areas where they have worked during the war.

4. That unemployment compensation be paid to returned members of the armed forces and unemployed civilian workers until they have been located in other jobs. They should likewise be provided with needed medical and health services during this transition period.

5. That city, state and national governments, in order to provide productive employment for those unable to get work in private industry, prepare comprehensive public works programs:

   For the clearing of the slums and the building of decent and modern dwellings for the lower paid income groups;

   For the rebuilding of our cities;

   For highway construction;

   For the conservation of our resources, including soil conservation and reclamation, reforestation, fire and flood control;

   For the development of our power resources and rural electrification;

   For the construction of needed public buildings;

   For the expansion of our educational, recreational and health services.

6. That the federal employment services be greatly expanded. Adequate staff for counselling individuals seeking employment should be provided.

7. That the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, with its more adequate provision for the aged, the unemployed, the sick and disabled, be immediately passed by Congress.

8. That the young men and women in the service of the nation whose education was interrupted by the war be encouraged to complete their education to the useful limit of their capacities, by the payment for their tuition and subsistence.

9. That adequate provision be made for disabled veterans.

10. That price, priority, rationing and other controls as may be necessary be continued to prevent inflation during the reconversion period when consumer demand will be in excess of the supply of many commodities.

II. Disposal of Government Stock Piles

Following the war, the government will have on hand vast stocks of surplus goods of great value to the civilian populations of the United States and of other countries.

At the end of World War I, no plan had been devised for the proper disposal of the war surpluses. Sales branches were hastily set up in each department of the government, resulting in confusion and waste. This confusion, this waste, must not occur again.

After the war, a canvass should be made of the needs of this country and other nations. Consideration should be given to the requirements of the various divisions of government, federal, state and local, of tax supported charitable institutions and non-profit cooperatives and of those in desperate need in other lands. The possible future needs of public works projects should be taken into account. In disposing of these surpluses to private industry, nothing should be done to augment the power of private monopoly. In no case should these commodities be destroyed when they can help to raise the level of living of the common man here or in other nations of the world.

III. Disposal of Government Owned Plants

The government will likewise have in its possession after the war a new vast national domain in the form of industrial plants and lands. Private industry is demanding the rapid disposal of these plants which are operating, in many instances, in monopolized and semi-monopolized industries.

The government should retain ownership of these plants (except where it is definitely not feasible), hiring them out to private or public agencies on condition that they be fully utilized, maintain adequate wage standards, observe enlightened labor practices, and produce socially necessary commodities at fair prices. In no case should the government dispose of these plants in such a way as to strengthen private monopoly.

Some of these plants should be converted to new and useful purposes or developed with a view of assisting in needed public works projects. Some might be well adapted for voluntary co-operative enterprise.

The sole aim in the leasing, sale, or public operation of our "new national domain" should be full use of our productive resources for the common good.

4.

AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR POSTWAR AMERICA

I. Guiding Principles

American democracy must rest upon a solid and stable economic foundation. This means in our present industrial society full production, full employment and a high and steadily rising standard of living. America is entering a new era in which the right to work is an essential condition of our freedom. Our democracy cannot live under the strains, frustrations, coercions, deprivations and anxieties which unemployment and unused economic capacity place upon all classes. Through technological developments we have reached an age of plenty, with the possibility of continued rapid increases in our standard of living, provided we have the social vision to organize our productive forces, and provided further we give to the Federal Government adequate powers to maintain the full utilization of our resources.

No modern society can long endure deflation, unemployment, and depression. In meeting these economic problems we cannot depend upon laissez-faire. The depression of the thirties proved that private action cannot provide the economic coordination and expansion which is required. The American people must now take the economic steering wheel firmly in their own hands. We know that the economic system as a whole does not adjust itself automatically.

We believe that our economy should be organized in such a way that the level of employment and production will not depend upon haphazard, isolated decisions. It should be based upon over-all policies planned and directed by government toward the welfare of all the people.

If the American people assume responsibility for their economic system they can achieve levels of production which will provide a large measure of economic freedom and democracy in the years to come. It is possible to raise civilian production above pre-war levels by at least fifty percent. In terms of 1944 prices this would mean a national net personal income of approximately 150 billion dollars. It would also mean that we could continue to employ 55 to 60 million people after the war, including the returned soldiers and all civilians who want to continue working. Moreover by ironing out domestic economic instabilities we would be making a very great contribution to world organization for peace.

II. Recommendations for Policy and Program

1. The Federal Government must assume the ultimate responsibility of assuring the full employment of workers and the highest possible level of production.

2. The economic policies of the Federal Government should be directed toward a continuing program of national development and the prevention of depressions rather than only toward the salvaging of human and material resources during depressions. Public investments should promote this program of national welfare. They should include cultural as well as economic projects since we are not aiming at a mere "brick and mortar" society.

As we expand our public investments, public and private enterprise must be coordinated. We are not opposing private enterprise. On the contrary, we believe that it has a large role in the economy of the future. There is a large field in which public enterprise does not hamper, but rather helps, private

enterprise. Public enterprise should expand in those fields where (a) the activities, services or functions are socially desirable but do not fit the criteria of private business, (e.g., education, public health, recreation, police protection); (b) where the services are not satisfactorily provided by private enterprise or where government control is needed to protect the consumer, (e.g., highways, air ways, water resources, flood control, reforestation, prevention of soil erosion, land rehabilitation, slum clearance, low-cost housing, scientific research); (c) where because of temporary emergencies special government projects are needed to absorb the unemployed. We favor public ownership of utilities, of natural resources, and of monopolistic enterprises, wherever this is necessary to maintain production or to serve other desirable social ends.

3. The Federal Government's chief economic function should be to provide an adequate total volume and use of purchasing power or investment and consumer demand so that maximum employment and production can be maintained. Responsibility for maintaining this demand cannot rest on private individuals and corporations. Private individuals are naturally guided in their spending by the immediate and long-run needs of their families. Corporation officers must be concerned in their spending decisions with the interests of their shareholders. It is therefore only the government, acting in the interests of the economy as a whole, that can guide the total rate of spending so as to prevent both depression and inflation.

4. A permanent National Economic Council, responsible to the Congress and the President, should be established by the Federal Government to direct and plan the national development program and to maintain adequate purchasing power for full employment. Its membership should include representatives of labor, business, farmers and consumers appointed from panels submitted by these groups. Its functions should include:

(a) Planning of the fiscal policies of the Federal Government relating to the maintenance of adequate purchasing

power and the administration of these fiscal policies in accordance with the economic needs of the country within the limits assigned to the Council by Congress.

(b) Planning the projects of the program of national development, and proposing related legislation.

(c) Coordination of domestic with international economic programs.

(d) Establishment of public enterprises such as the Tennessee Valley Authority.

(e) Prevention of monopolistic price fixing or restriction of output.

(f) Prevention of the freezing of employment in American industries after the war through restrictions of output, monopolistic price control and international cartel agreements.

(g) Recommendation of changes in the patent laws so that inventions may be developed and production made available for public use, and not held back for any restrictive purpose or used for exploitation.

(h) Provision of adequate credit for farmers and small business men and maintenance of adequate demand for farm products through the government credit agencies.

(i) Provision of fair conditions for small business, the source of so much socially useful private enterprise. These provisions should include marketing, research and information facilities usually available only to large corporations.

5. We recommend that every effort be made to enhance the economic status of women. We believe in economic equality between men and women and we hold that all women who desire to work should be provided with opportunity to work. Economic prosperity removes the economic excuses for all economic discrimination on the ground of sex, religion, nationality or race.

6. It is recommended further that the Federal and other governments (a) promote the use of progressive taxes such as the personal income and inheritance taxes, (b) reduce or abolish general indirect taxes as far as possible and especially oppose the use of the sales tax, (c) remove, as far as possible, all major tax loopholes, and (d) subordinate the tax system to the policy of maintaining full production and employment and preventing inflation. New attitudes toward taxation and the public debt are needed in the postwar economic era. The public debt, even at the high levels which will prevail after the war, need not be regarded as excessively burdensome. It must be remembered that the interest payments on internally held national debt, as well as the debt itself, are not lost to the nation but merely transferred from some citizens to others. Public investment should not be checked merely because it increases the public debt. The expansion of public debt is not dangerous if the fiscal policies of the nation are properly managed so as to maintain prosperity and prevent inflation.

5.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE GENERAL WELFARE

I. Labor's Right of Organization

The hard won right of working people to associate themselves in trade unions of their own choice, and to act collectively for the redress of economic grievances and the improvement of their status, must be maintained inviolate. The National Labor Relations Act, designed to enforce and implement this right by preventing the use of coercion and discrimination against workers who join trade unions, is the expression of a democratic principle which gives to working people the same freedom of association which other groups in our community have always enjoyed. Without that right there can be no sound approach to the solution of our economic and social problems.

We oppose any legislation which would impair or limit the right of workers to organize freely, or which would restrict the legitimate activities of trade unions. We believe that labor unions can contribute enormously to the general welfare in the solution of economic and industrial problems and in the reduction of industrial strife.

Organized labor has abundantly demonstrated its readiness and ability to cooperate for the common good wherever it has been given an opportunity to assume responsibility. As emphasized in other parts of this platform, the representation of labor on planning boards and other governmental economic and welfare agencies is indispensable for social progress and the preservation of our democracy.

We call for the early repeal of the Smith-Connally Act.

II. Agriculture

We believe that an American standard of living should be provided for all who live and work on our farms. In our national economy, industry and agriculture—city and farm—are interdependent. A depressed agriculture means shrinking markets, restriction of production of both factory and farm, growing unemployment, a lowered standard of living, and failure to do our part to maintain an expanding world economy. A prosperous agriculture must be a primary concern of postwar America.

Over two-thirds of our own people need a more adequate diet. Abroad there is desperate need for the food and fibre products of American farms. The maintenance of agricultural production to meet these needs is the only sound approach to a program for farmers. Only if we organize for national prosperity, full employment, and world economic cooperation can we achieve this result. We refuse to accept the doctrines and the practices of scarcity.

Specific Recommendations

1. Adequate support of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the early establishment of an International Food and Agriculture Administration;
2. Continuation of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to guide and coordinate production of crops with the needs of domestic and foreign markets;
3. Maintenance of price guarantees for agricultural products at a level which will assure farmers a fair return and promote full production;
4. Support and expansion of the Farm Security Administration to lift tenant farmers to the status of owner-operators of family-sized farms and to assist farm families to acquire modern agricultural machinery and equipment;
5. Development of a program of rural public works, comprising the provision of decent farm homes, the conservation and improvement of agricultural lands, including soil conservation, irrigation, drainage, clearing and the extension of the crop area, and the conservation and improvement of forest lands;
6. Extension of the services of the Rural Electrification Administration;
7. A program to raise the diet level of the lower income groups, invalids, the sick, children and workers in factories, through the use of food-stamps, the distribution of free milk and hot meals in schools, the establishment of factory canteens, and the like;
8. A widespread program of nutrition education, to teach the American people how to choose foodstuffs wisely;
9. Provision of cooperative marketing facilities where necessary to eliminate waste and to protect farmers and consumers against exploitation;

10. Development of an adequate program of medical care for the rural population;

11. Expansion of the rural adult education work of the Cooperative Extension services of the Department of Agriculture.

III. Cooperatives

Because Consumer Cooperatives hold down the cost of living by setting yardsticks for fair prices and quality, increase purchasing power by widespread distribution of savings from their operations and extend democratic processes into the realm of business where, to a great extent, the major decisions affecting the lives of citizens are made, we urge every encouragement to the growth of the Consumer Cooperative movement.

We urge the extension of those Producer Cooperatives which equalize opportunity, improve the income level of underprivileged groups, improve production and marketing methods, and promote economies to the advantage of consumers.

IV. Social Security

Social Security is not a substitute for a sound economy but is an essential of it.

A sound economy will minimize resort to Social Security benefits but will not eliminate distress when ordinary income is interrupted by contingencies that are bound to occur. While striving thus to reduce the incidence of some of these contingencies, we must provide for them when they occur by means of a comprehensive system of Social Security. In alleviating want we also help maintain the level of purchasing power and thus assist in keeping our economy in balance.

A system of Social Security which we regard as indispensable should assure security from want to each individual not wilfully idle or improvident. We favor:

1. Increased unemployment benefits and the extension of unemployment insurance to agricultural workers, domestic workers, employees of non-profit organizations, all employees regardless of the number employed and to the self-employed;

2. Old age and survivors insurance for all and increased benefits;

3. Health insurance for all including disability payments, and adequate medical, surgical, nursing, dental and optical care, hospitalization and laboratory service, maternity and infant care;

4. Adequate assistance to persons involuntarily in want not otherwise covered;

5. Consideration of subsistence allowances for dependents.

We regard the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Social Security Bill as a substantial advance toward these ends. Therefore, we urge its immediate adoption and its gradual extension as experience is gained.

V. Housing

A decent home for everyone is a reasonable objective in present day American democracy. The fulfillment of that objective, it is estimated, requires the construction of fifteen to eighteen million homes.

"Private enterprise" alone cannot meet this need. Experience has shown that it is unable to provide at a profit good housing for the lower income groups at rentals they can afford.

The problem of bringing America's homes up to standard, therefore, must be accepted and executed as a public responsibility. The necessary outlay for this improvement of human living is well within our resources. Coordinated with the demands of postwar industrial reconversion and the backlog of

necessary public improvements, the fulfilling of America's housing needs will serve to promote and maintain full employment of the highest usefulness. Moreover, public housing will supplement, not supplant, the regular construction and rebuilding by "private enterprise."

The necessity of government leadership and initiative in this vital field is beyond controversy. We call for an extended program of coordinated and integrated federal-state-local cooperation. The program should include:

1. Federal and state grants, loans and guarantees to the full amounts that prudently can be put to use, with due regard for the over-all national objective of maintaining a high and stable economic level;

2. The establishment and enforcement of proper standards of construction and maintenance including non-discrimination because of race, creed or national origin;

3. Provision of technical guidance and advice to local agencies and private groups;

4. Stimulation and guidance of local initiative;

5. The enlistment of quasi-public resources (managerial and financial) concentrated in insurance companies, savings banks and like institutions.

VI. Civil Service

To improve the general level of public service, as well as to provide greater justice to civil service employees, we urge:

1. The wide extension of the competitive principle so that employment in the civil service – everywhere – shall be non-political and on the basis of fitness and merit, with opportunity for advancement by competitive and promotional examination.

2. Fair and adequate compensation with provision for an adjustable cost of living differential.

3. The recognition of the right of employees to associate themselves in trade unions or other associations of their own choice.

4. The maintenance of grievance machinery, including protection against arbitrary dismissals or other disciplinary measures by the right of proper hearing on charges, and the right to representation at and adequate review of the hearings and decisions.

5. The elimination of sinecures.

6. The observance of higher standards in the appointment of executives.

We believe that disqualification of civil service employees from political activity does not operate in the public interest.

6.

CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

I. Public Education

An authentic aim of American democracy is to give all of its children an equal start.

Hence we hold that, in addition to universal public education, it is the responsibility of the public, operating through government at federal, state and local levels, to supply any and all deficiencies whenever a family cannot provide its children with adequate care, food, clothing, health services, recreation and other cultural opportunities.

While we believe education to be a function of the state, the inequality among states of tax resources, as well as of popula-

tion in relation to such resources, makes it necessary for the federal government to cooperate with the states. Hence we advocate federal aid to the states for public education. Such federal funds should assure to all equal opportunity for educational and allied services, without discrimination on the ground of race, creed or color. They should assure a cultural minimum wage to the teachers so as to provide properly qualified teachers.

Within each state we advocate the widest possible expansion of facilities in nursery schools, kindergartens, health services, guidance, recreational facilities, adult education and an expansion of the system of college scholarships. Classes should be no larger than educationally advisable. Schools should be staffed adequately with properly qualified personnel. To attract proper personnel and keep them at their maximum efficiency, they must be appointed and promoted on the basis of merit and fitness, receive a cultural wage, be assured of tenure and proper pension protection.

The system that has grown up in the army and navy of college education for promising men should find its counterpart in peacetime. The government should provide college education for qualified youth of both sexes through federal payment of the cost of subsistence as well as tuition.

II. Civil Liberties

The program of our party is grounded in two fundamental convictions. We believe, first, that the general welfare now demands basic readjustments in our domestic and international relationships and institutions. We believe, second, that these readjustments can be made by peaceful educational, economic and political means. This peaceful transformation can be achieved only if the rights to associate, to investigate, to discuss, to listen, to criticize, to learn, to teach, and to publish are maintained unimpaired in the postwar period.

The extension of governmental functions need not abridge these rights guaranteed in the Constitution. During the past decade the exercise of these liberties has been actually strengthened even though peacetime functions of government have grown, and we have had to endure the severe strains of total war.

Another threat to these rights, however, has steadily grown. The concentration of control in industry and finance has been paralleled by a concentration of control over the major means of communication. Today five companies dominate the motion picture market and own the theatres that receive seventy percent of all that is paid at the movie box offices.

Four radio networks dominate the air of America. Moreover, most of the important listening time is limited to one hundred giant business corporations, because of the prohibitive cost. In addition, one-third of the radio stations are dominated by the newspapers. The number of daily papers is steadily contracting; within the last few years they have declined from 2300 to about 1700, and of those that remain, many are syndicated. This "boiler-plating" of the American mind constitutes a major peril to our democracy.

We are opposed to this cartel of the information-disseminating and opinion-making industry of our country. We consider it one of the most dangerous of all concentrations in private hands.

Our party will seek to unite all liberals to develop means by which a free competitive market in opinions and ideas can be restored and maintained. We consider these freedoms, and the independent mind which they make possible, the very foundation of our democracy.

If you wish more information or want to help the Liberal Party, communicate with or visit the nearest office.

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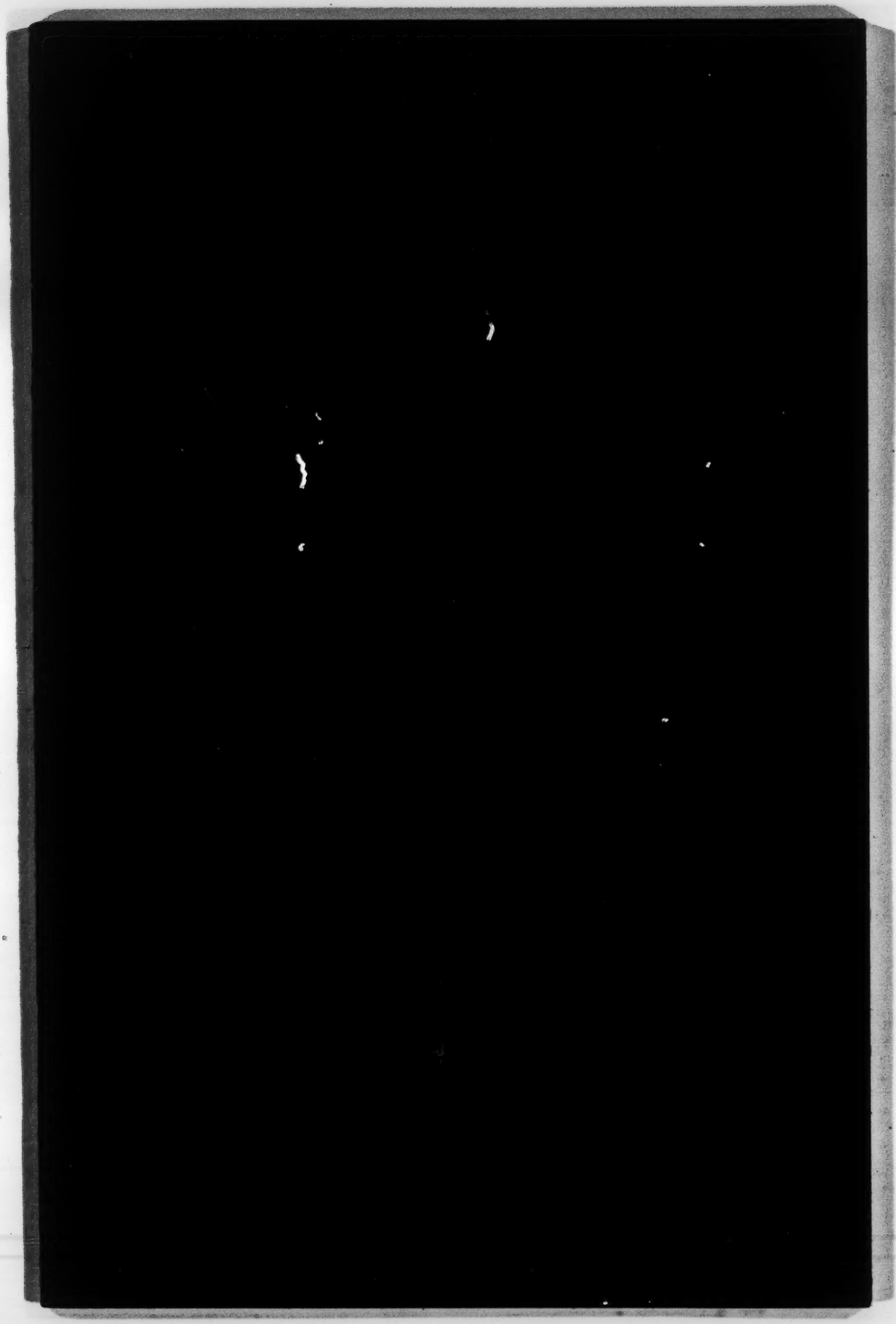

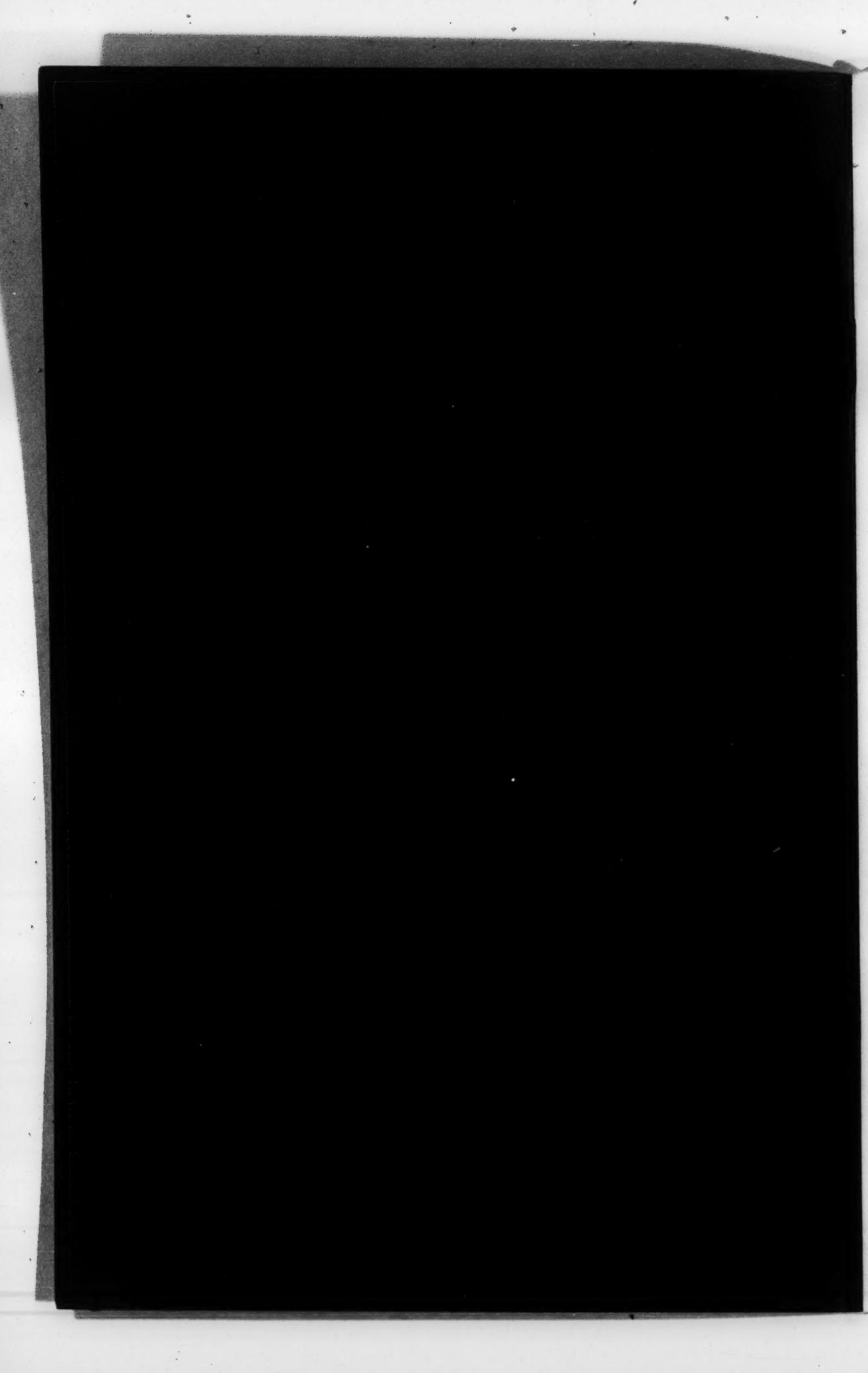

IDEAS FOR A NEW PARTY

Provisional Declaration of Principles

National Educational Committee for a New Party

with a

Foreword by John Dewey

National Educational Committee for a New Party

Chicago - - - 1946

FOREWORD

Just before the recent national election an experienced political commentator wrote an article on the campaign. He began by saying that in the presence of an election "the idea of a new and third party evaporated." The reason he gave is that "the periodical change between the two parties is enough to satisfy the accumulated discontents and protests." So much for the beginning of his article. His concluding paragraph is entitled "Real Issues Obscured." In its course he asks whether "it can be said that the American people have a clear idea of what either the Republican or the Democratic parties as such stand for in the field of domestic policy?" His reply is negative. "From the leadership of neither party," he says, "came an appraisal of what the nation faces in the troublous months that lie ahead." He then plaintively inquires, "Why shouldn't the electorate be stimulated to a better understanding of the true issues of the postwar period?" Why should "misrepresentation of truth, innuendo and smear" and "contest of personalities" set the tone of our campaigns?

There is probably nothing in what has been quoted that isn't a commonplace to every intelligent observer. The commentator, however, did not seem to be aware that he was admitting that the periodic change between parties, which he believes to be the cause of the failure of third-party movements, is admitted to be that the electorate is swayed by irrelevant vote-catching devices and by accumulated irritations both of which are irrelevant to actual issues which are not understood. And they are not understood because, as is also admitted, the actual issues have not been presented. Under such circumstances the commentator's complaint about the ignorance of the voting public and the failure of "leadership" on the part of political chieftains would seem to be futile platitudes of an unusually empty sort.

Whether the commentator's remarks are in effect a plea for a new party or not, they are certainly a plea for a persistent educational campaign dealing with those troubles that have to be faced and out of which genuine political issues grow; an educational campaign to bring home to voters what those issues actually are and how they can and should be dealt with.

If the commentator really means what he says in the article from which I have quoted, and is not himself yielding to the habit of substituting irrelevancies for actual issues, he and others like him should at the very least get back of the educational activities to whose statement the present pamphlet is devoted. If he and others who feel as he does (for the question raised is not in any sense limited to a person) are certain in advance that such an educational campaign is bound anyway to fail of practical political effect, they should at least cease bewailing the present state of politics and confess that they are hopeless as to the possibility of the success of liberal democratic methods in determining party political policies.

From the standpoint of vote-getting the most effective advertising I have seen in the recent campaign was, "Had enough? Then vote Republican." If effective for the sake of vote-getting, it should be effective among intelligent people to convince them of the need for a political movement based on the realities of our life here and now, a movement directed by an educational movement to bring home to voters the facts of issues which are genuine, not evasions or double-talk.

As I have said, the issue is not limited to one person nor to any particular group of persons. It is a clear-cut matter that affects every aspect and detail of American

life. Of the Declaration of Principles that follows it is enough to say that it faces and states actual, not fake, problems and that it outlines definite and reasonable policies for meeting them. Failure to respond to this appeal on the part of those who have the responsibility for political enlightenment of the public is a practical confession of satisfaction with the political situation in which issues are covered up and distorted in the interest of office-holding by devious, uncertain and confused "leaders"—the blind leading the blind.

If enough of the men and women who are genuinely concerned respond to the appeal to take part in the needed educational work to be done, there need not be undue concern for the ultimate effect on party lines.

November 10, 1946 JOHN DEWEY

THE DECLARATION'S ORIGIN AND SIGNERS

Early in 1946 a conference was held in Chicago. An organization was formed, The National Educational Committee for a New Party, and a national committee was elected to carry on until another conference.

The basic ideas in the Declaration were discussed at the Chicago conference; a draft was then drawn up which was discussed at several meetings of the National Committee, and finally adopted for discussion, criticism and suggestions. Final adoption of the Declaration will come at another national conference to be held in April, 1947.

The Declaration of Principles is signed by *John Dewey*, as Honorary Chairman of the NECNP and by *Kenneth L. Kramer*, its Executive Director. The following sign as members of the National Committee of the NECNP and as individuals (all titles are for purposes of identification only):

Daniel Bell, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago; *Lewis Corey*, Professor of Political Economy, Antioch College; *George S. Counts*, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; *Ben Davidson*, Executive Director, Liberal Party of New York State; *Arthur Elder*, Vice President, American Federation of Teachers, AFL; *Israel Feinberg*, General Manager, Cloak, Suit and Reefer Makers Union, ILGWU-AFL; *Edward Fiess*, Instructor, Department of English, Oberlin College; *Louis Fischer*, author and lecturer; *Horace Fries*, Professor of Philosophy, University of Wisconsin; *Martin Gerber*, Regional Director, United Automobile Workers, CIO; *Harold Gibbons*, Regional Director, United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes of America, CIO; *Louis P. Goldberg*, Councilman, New York City; *Patrick E. Gorman*, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL; *Matthew B. Hammond*, State Chairman, Michigan Commonwealth Federation; *Granville Hicks*, novelist and critic; *Brigadier-General Herbert C. Holdridge* (retired); *Maynard Kreuger*, member, National Committee, Socialist Party; *Harry W. Laider*, Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy; *Sol Levitas*, Executive Editor, "New Leader"; *Simeon Martin*, President, Michigan Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America; *Emil Mazey*, Regional Director, United Automobile Workers, CIO; *C. J. McLanahan*, Educational Director, Cooperative League of the U. S. A.; *H. L. Mitchell*, President, National Farm Labor Union, AFL; *Donald Montgomery*, Consumer Counsel, United Automobile Workers, CIO; *A. Philip Randolph*, International President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL; *Vinal Tibbetts*, American Education Fellowship; *Samuel S. White*, Kansas City Joint Board, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL; and *Pearl L. Willen*, Director Women's Division, Liberal Party of New York State.

IDEAS FOR A NEW PARTY

The American people need a new political alignment and policy to secure satisfaction of their urgent economic, political and social wants, in a world where pressing inescapable problems call for progressive answers.

The Republican and Democratic parties demonstrate an increasing inability to meet these wants. Liberals in the Republican party are frustrated, while the New Deal is a spent force in the Democratic party.

A never-ending danger is present in the bi-partisan Congressional coalition of reactionary Democrats and Republicans. Progressive measures are adopted against the coalition's savage opposition. The coalition prevented adoption of legislation for fully effective reconversion and price control, for measures to encourage full employment and for fair employment practices, for an adequate housing program that is so needed by the American people. It has prevented adoption of anti-discrimination laws while crackpot groups inflame the racial and religious hatreds that can explode in fascism. It has opposed measures of a progressive foreign policy to make the world safe from war.

The American people need a new people's movement with a policy of basic economic reconstruction for economic security, human welfare and freedom. They need principles and a program to meet the challenge of our modern age to build, out of the achievements of science and technology and of American equalitarian traditions, a new world of greater equality, liberty and justice.

The achievements of science and technology can make humanity's dream of the good life for all come true. It is no longer necessary that any human beings should be ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, overworked; that there should be unemployment and want in the midst of plenty; that people should live in economic dependence and insecurity, ignorance and ugliness.

Our productive forces have so multiplied, and continue to multiply, that they can gratify *if fully used* all basic material human wants. Machines that move with scarcely the touch of a human hand are constantly being made more efficient, while new inventions in the fields of electronics, of synthetics and plastics are steadily increasing our capacity to produce an abundance of the good things of life. The productive forces will be able to turn out a still larger flow of goods and services to meet human needs with the coming economic application of atomic energy and photosynthesis, which will unlock for men's use the mysteries of nuclear and solar energy.

With this tremendous and increasing productive capacity we can easily end poverty. We can do more: we can rebuild cities, towns and villages, whole regions, remold the American environ-

THIS DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES is being distributed for study, discussion and criticism. At a coming national conference a final Declaration will be adopted. Meanwhile we want to know what you think of these ideas for a new party. We ask you to send in your ideas for consideration and inclusion in the final Declaration. Write to Lewis Corey, Research Director, National Educational Committee for a New Party, 232 East Erie, Chicago 11, Illinois.

ment into areas of convenience and beauty in which freer people co-operate for nobler living. Increasing leisure, and the means to enjoy that leisure as one desires, is possible for everyone: a life of independence, moral worth and dignity for all men and women.

Yet still men and women are tormented by unemployment and insecurity, and by the *fear* of unemployment and insecurity. Starvation and misery stalk most of the world's peoples. Americans have jobs, but they ask, "When will the next depression come?" Humanity lives in dread of a more destructive atomic war as apprehension grows that the new effort for world co-operation and peace may fail.

Mankind is caught in a crisis of institutions and ideas because of failure to adjust them to changes wrought by scientific and technical-economic developments. This crisis is the first universal crisis since the breakdown of feudalism and the emergence of capitalism.

Social change speeds up while progressive ideas and action lag. The depression of the 1930's was a collapse of economic institutions that war only temporarily saved. Fascism is a collapse of human moral values, a monstrous reaction against the ideals and practices of liberal democracy. War ends but the danger of war becomes worse and the crisis of institutions and values remains. It is either-or: Either the achievements of science and technology will be used, through new ideas, new political alignments and new institutions, to build a world of greater security, freedom and peace, or they will be used to destroy man's world.

There is the challenge! We must develop the ideas, the people's movement and the will to meet that challenge now.

I. DOMESTIC POLICY

There must be well-paid interesting work for all who want work and need work. The economic wastes of unemployment are tragic: in the ten years of the depression of the 1930's at least $250,000,000,000 *more* of goods and services could have been produced if the unemployed had been kept at work. Still worse is the human degradation of unemployment, for there is not much independence and dignity for the man or woman who wants and needs work but cannot get it.

War brought work for all who wanted work. Because of full employment and production for war the American people, in five years' time, nearly doubled the physical output of goods: and this with 12,000,000 workers in the armed forces. Because of full employment and production for war the civilian Americans enjoyed higher material standards of living than they did in the peace-depression years of the 1930's.

Can only war bring jobs for all? But employment for war, however necessary, is barbarism. We need full employment for *peace!*

Yet never in the past 100 years has American industry been able to provide jobs for all in peacetime, not even during periods of the most flourishing prosperity. And prosperity always crashed into depression with its enormous unemployment. Neither monopoly Big Business nor the New Deal government was able to end the depression of the 1930's. It must be remembered that 10,000,000 people were still unemployed when war came in 1939.

The war proved to the American people that they can solve the problem of production. It proved that we can *now* produce enough to supply every American family, rural and urban, with a minimum yearly income of $3,000 to $4,000 (at 1941 prices) — *providing there is continuing full employment with the full use of productive resources.*

What interferes with realization of the economic plenty that is possible with full use of our resources is the "boom and bust" cycle which is inherent in our economic system. Unless we end that cycle a new depression will again occur in the near future.

But a new depression would unleash dark forces of reaction, intolerance and chaos. It would bring economic disaster not only to us but to other nations as well, and make impossible world co-operation and peace.

Program for Action

Labor, the farmers and small businessmen, salaried employees and professionals, the consumers must press for action to sustain prosperity and prevent depression. As a program, around which to organize for action to achieve the economic and human welfare potential in our great productive resources, we suggest the following basic measures:

1. *Co-operation of union labor, management and the public to insure prosperity*

Co-operation for a high-wage, low-price and low-profit policy is needed to bring and keep prosperity. Only such a policy can achieve the full consumption without which full production and employment are impossible.

Unless there is co-operation for production and abundance among all useful functional groups there will be

scarcity, group warfare and breakdown. A new economic policy is needed to promote co-operation for production. We might well experiment with industry councils (including public representatives), bound together in a national economic council (including the farmers) with government participation. Co-operation should move upward on different and successive functional levels.

2. *An increasing share for farmers in prosperity through a progressive farm policy*

Although price stability of farm prices is necessary for the farmers, a progressive farm program must go beyond price policy. Too much reliance on prices makes farmers victims of the "boom and bust" cycle.

The farmers need more co-operative electrification, an extension of farm credits, crop insurance, soil conservation and improvement, and lower prices for agricultural implements and materials. They need a larger share of the consumer dollar through reductions of processing and distribution costs.

The problem of farm surpluses cannot be solved through exports to foreign markets, for which the American farmer has been waging a losing battle. It can be solved only through a planned program to encourage greater and more varied food consumption, the diversification of agriculture in surplus-crop areas, such as the cotton regions, and increasing use of surpluses for manufacture of synthetics and plastics.

An expanded farm security program must work to transform tenants and sharecroppers into free owners of their own farms or free partners in co-operative farms. In a liberal democracy the prevalent form of farming should be the family-type farm or independent co-operative farms in the field of large-scale agriculture. Free farmers can get the benefits of collective action through the use of co-operatives of all kinds, including the purchase, leasing and marketing of commodities. Legislation is desirable to discourage corporation farming and other forms of absentee landlordism, with a land tax to make unprofitable the speculative ownership of farm lands.

More regional projects of the TVA type are needed to develop backward agricultural regions. A network of small industries, especially under co-operative ownership, should spread throughout the farm regions to absorb surplus agricultural products and surplus agricultural labor. Greater regional economic balance, in the form of decentralization of industry and the industrialization of over-agricultural regions, is imperative to provide the rural population with larger economic and cultural opportunity.

3. *An increasing share for workers in industry's earnings; retention and strengthening of labor's gains*

Higher wages and shorter hours, made possible by constantly increasing productive efficiency, are basic elements of enduring prosperity since they contribute to the greater consumption and leisure which alone can support the greater production of goods and services.

The welfare of all useful groups in the community, not the welfare of labor alone, is promoted by higher wages, for workers spend their money on the community's output of goods and services. Community welfare is recognized directly in the new stage of collective bargaining which ties in higher wages with a low-price and low-profit policy.

Working hours can go down and wages go up, moreover, as increasing industrial efficiency yields a production of constantly more goods and services with constantly smaller amounts of human labor. Hours worked fell from 70-60 hours weekly in 1870 to 40-35 in 1940; they can fall to 30 hours weekly, and fall again, as the new technological revolution works its productive marvels.

Democratic equality calls for abolition of discriminatory wage differentials of all kinds and for industry bargaining and agreements to implement their abolition. It calls for a guarantee of the worker's right to the job and to the income security of full employment.

There must be no legal limitations on the freedom of labor unions to carry on their work. Bargaining can only be collective, the individual worker is helpless against the employer. Labor is not free if limitations are imposed upon its right to organize, to bargain collectively and to strike. If the unions abuse their rights and power the correction must come from the liberal democratic use of intelligence and mediation, not by crackdowns. Limitation or suppression of labor's rights is likely to prove the beginning of fascism.

Unionism and collective bargaining are the foundation for constitutional democracy in industry. This democracy becomes more meaningful as labor's rights grow to include a voice in industry's councils through progressive union-management co-operation.

Labor's welfare and freedom are indispensable for the community's welfare and freedom. The reverse is also true and important, for labor lives and works in the community. Labor's problems require community understanding and support for their solution. Hence labor unions cannot afford practices that antagonize or injure the progressive community. As the most powerful mass organizations the unions must develop a growing sense of the responsibility of power in relation to union practices and community needs. Union labor is a bulwark against reaction only when it is democratic and thinks and acts beyond pressure-group terms. Otherwise labor invites opposition and disaster that can lead to total suppression by a totalitarian state.

4. *An increasing share in economic welfare for salaried employees and professionals*

The welfare of white collar workers, of technical-managerial employees on intermediate and lower levels, and of professional people is of increasing importance. Their numbers multiply, while the number of industrial wage-workers tends to decrease as the technology of industry becomes more automatic and complex and rising living standards call for more performers of professional services.

These useful functional groups cannot promote their welfare *against* the interests of workers and farmers. Their welfare can be promoted only on condition that the primary incomes of farmers and workers keep on rising through continuing full production, on which, in final analysis, depends the welfare of all people engaged in useful occupations.

White-collar workers need the self-organization and self-activity of unions. The professional organizations should broaden their horizons to include larger social understanding and social action. The scientific, technical-managerial and professional people in the new middle class must decide to use their skills, talents and power to co-operate in eco-

nomic reconstruction for security, freedom and peace. Or they will be forced to degrade their skills, talents and power to serve tyranny and war.

5. *Encouragement for small independent businessmen who combine ownership with management*

Free enterprise is most active in the field of small business. Yet the statistics of failure among small business concerns are appalling. Monopoly oligarchs cry "save free enterprise" while they carry on practices that destroy the free enterprise of small independent business.

The strangling power of monopoly Big Business must be broken if small businessmen are to live. Taxation can be used to encourage independent business; public research projects should be set up to serve it; government war plants, where they are not converted into public corporations or sold to co-operatives, should be sold on easy terms to small independents.

Cultivation of friendlier, more understanding relations among small businessmen, labor unions and co-operatives will prove of mutual advantage.

The decline of small business shows it has no prescriptive right to survive. Most of the decline comes from development of large-scale industry. But much of it is a result of monopoly power-domination and the mistakes of small business itself. Small businessmen can survive only as they prove an economic and social justification for survival. They must co-operate to give greater service for economic progress and human liberty.

6. *The encouragement and expansion of co-operatives*

Co-operatives function as a democratic way to replace and prevent exploitation and as a means of raising the standards of living of farmers and city consumers.

Co-operatives offer a means for people to solve economic problems on a local level without danger of top-down authoritarianism. Valuable government aid can be given to co-operatives, without danger of government control, by means of taxation and by making capital funds available to co-operatives at low interest rates. Such aid has been extended to private business through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and to certain types of co-operatives through the Bank for Co-operatives and the Rural Electrification Administration. The movement which operates under the misleading term "tax equality" spearheads an attack on non-profit co-operatives.

As a basic economic force for human welfare the co-operatives can become a yardstick of progressive labor relations. They promote friendly relations among nations through co-operative foreign trade which is independent of monopoly cartels.

7. *Use of government war plants to promote prosperity*

The war plants were built by public initiative, public money and public risk. They are not a product of private enterprise. Why then, should they be turned over to the private ownership of monopoly Big Business?

Some of the plants may be operated directly by government as yardsticks to achieve desirable economic objectives. The majority should be converted into public corporations, on the model of TVA but with inclusion of representatives of management, labor and consumers on the directorates. Smaller plants can be sold to independent business or co-operative interests.

Public ownership of the larger war plants, converted to peacetime uses, would realize at least four great benefits: (a) Supply to industry and agriculture a growing amount of cheap materials, including fertilizer for farmers and materials for low-cost housing, thus promoting economic expansion and prosperity. (b) Develop industrial research independent of monopoly profit and power, with the results freely available to American and foreign industry. (c) Strengthen the trends toward production directly for human welfare. (d) Limit the power of American monopoly to carry on aggressive, imperialistic struggles for foreign markets, since most of the war plants' productive capacity is in the basic materials (aluminum, magnesium, synthetic rubber) in which international cartels operate.

8. *A comprehensive program to rehouse the American people*

Americans today need upward of 15,000,000 new homes to live in comfort, decency and health. The building of these homes, together with construction of needed hospital, recreational facilities and schools, could keep America prosperous for many years to come.

Yet few efforts are being made for a comprehensive housing program. Neither public planning nor private enterprise is doing the job. What is needed is national, regional and local planning which unites the efforts of government on all levels, of architects, builders and manufacturers, of labor unions and co-operatives.

A comprehensive housing program would include adequate federal and state subsidies for substantial low-cost housing, measures to reduce building costs (including land costs) and the use of pre-fabrication in a way to prevent both unemployment among building trades workers and the fostering of new slums. All rural and urban slums must go. The country must be brought to the towns and the towns to the country through planning for decentralization in a more widespread distribution of industry. An equalization and increase of educational, recreational and health facilities is imperative, and the abolition of racial and religious discrimination. The public condemnation power and taxation should be used to get rid of obsolescent dwelling places and areas and to prevent speculative holdings of unused land.

Already there are enough garden cities and towns to show what can be done to build spacious, cheerful homes set in the midst of communities of life-giving, moral-building beauty: a constant joy and inspiration for the men, women and children who live there.

9. *Social security for everyone from the cradle to the grave*

An adequate social security system will ensure everyone, from the cradle to the grave, against the hazards of illness, accidents, unemployment and old age. A majority of the people today are propertyless. But early liberals, among them Thomas Jefferson, argued that ownership of property brought individual security and liberty. Hence social security under democratic control supports human individualism and liberty.

The requirements for adequate social security are these: coverage for all groups of people, including the self-employed; substantial unemployment benefits and old-age and survivors' benefits, with optional retirement at age sixty; a system of medical insurance and hospitalization. In the operation of

health insurance there should be freedom of choice for physicians and patients, with encouragement of group and co-operative medicine. Expanded facilities for medical education are needed to eliminate the shortages of doctors and nurses. A widespread program of nutrition and temperance education is imperative to cultivate the most healthful choice and use of foodstuffs and beverages. Union-industry welfare funds are a desirable grass-roots amplification of social security.

10. *Public planning, spending and taxation to sustain prosperity*

Planning is necessary on all levels in the complex world of today. Yet planning in its larger aspects is blocked and distorted by monopoly's economic and political power.

We must press *now* for the organization of research and planning councils for the investigation and survey of America's economic needs. Public planning on this level would aim constantly at the problem of the gap between consuming power and production potential. These national councils would provide the areas of information and the mechanisms indispensable to genuine economic planning, as well as a fund of material demonstrating the conflict between monopoly control and full production.

Because the economic system does not distribute enough consumer purchasing power to allow consumption to keep up with production, we must press for the *emergency* use of government spending on public works to help avert depression and to help bring recovery from depression.

To reduce the unequal distribution of wealth and income, which impairs the ideals and practice of liberal democracy and which is a basic factor in the economic unbalance, over-saving and under-consumption that generate depressions, higher taxes are necessary on the larger incomes and lower taxes on the smaller incomes, with more stringent taxation of speculative and inheritance gains.

11. *Rational conservation and use of natural resources*

Rational conservation and use of natural resources calls for a larger program of flood control, soil conservation, and reforestation. It also requires the rebuilding of regions ruined by quick-and-big-profit exploitation.

Conservation should encourage the most rational use of resources. We can step up research, for example, to find fuel-and-power substitutes for petroleum and coal, and so conserve these resources for their immense variety of chemicals.

There is pressing need, moreover, that two principles, until now largely ignored, be built into the national, regional and local program on conservation. The principles may be said to rest, in the words of a TVA representative, "on the fact that men are creatures of the land, and that there is an organic relationship between men and the natural world of soil, plants and other animals. In our scientific and industrial civilization the great majority of the people live as if this were no longer true, and are doing things which are rapidly cutting away the natural foundation from under our civilization."

The first principle is that citizens, especially the landowner, be educated to a responsibility to manage and use the land in the community interest as well as the individual interest. It is fallacious to assume that government must subsidize *all* conservation not im-

mediately profitable for the private landowner. This doctrine will ultimately bankrupt the land and further diminish intelligent understanding of the land and of its potentialities and needs.

The second principle is that the health of the land as a whole, not merely the supply of its constituent "resources," needs conserving. Land, like other things, has the capacity for self-renewal (that is, for permanent productivity) only when its natural parts are present, and functional. It is a dangerous fallacy to assume that we are free to discard or change any part of the land we do not find "useful" to immediate economic gain (such as flood plains, marshes and wild floras and faunas). Unintelligent and violent modification of the natural order has repeatedly disorganized the land's capacity for self-renewal.

Conservation policy does not, as yet, deal with these basic principles of harmony between land-use and land-health. It must do so if we are to achieve a stable and humane land-economy.

12. *More and better education for living and social action*

Our economic support of education is not enough. Throughout the educational system there is imperative need for higher teachers' salaries and for smaller classes. More use of Federal grants-in-aid (without, however, bureaucratic control) is urgently needed for schools on all levels to realize educational equality for states, for urban and rural communities, and for racial minority groups.

The American people want an educational democracy in a greater economic, political and social democracy. They are moving toward universal higher education through the combination of an increasing economic surplus, rising family incomes and more public support of higher education. The idea that most people, or any large number of them, are "unfit" for higher education is an aristocratic hangover or a support of totalitarian domination by intellectual and bureaucratic "elites."

An increase in the quantity of higher education must be accompanied by changes in quality to strengthen its liberating creative elements. We need a full-orbed unification of the intellectual, vocational and moral aspects of education for living. This must replace the hidden pseudo-vocationalism and empty or up-in-the-air liberalism which now characterizes much of our higher education, whose object seems to be to fit human beings as cogs into a machine. The ancient aristocratic dualism between vocational and liberal-arts training must go. Farmers, workers and clerks, not only "intellectuals," have ability and a right to understand the social relations in which they live, and to develop their individuality fully through education and activity for the appreciation and realization of the beauty of living.

We need education that is a growing activity that carries on beyond the school; that stresses the reacting relation between experience and education; that cuts through dogmas, vested interests and prejudices to the social-human realities and needs of society. We need an education that infuses morality with scientific intelligence and scientific intelligence with morality to prevent the appearance of "educated barbarians" and to combine the rational scientific approach with human moral emphasis on the supreme worth and dignity of the individual.

Art activity and appreciation are an essential part of the beauty of living. They are also essential for the adequate

integration of effective ideas, motives, emotional responses and loyalties. They serve as a means for the progressive articulation and expression of basic social and human interests. Hence serious efforts must be made by the new people's movement to foster art on all levels in education and living. It must, in addition, develop theatre, movie, photographic, literary and other art projects to make effective use of economic, social, and psychological materials for creative expression.

13. *The removal of all restrictions on civil and human rights*

Removal of restrictions on civil liberties and human rights is necessary if liberal democracy is to live and grow. Our race relations, especially the treatment of Negroes, are the ugliest aspect of American civilization and subject our country to attacks throughout the world. All political, economic and social discriminations against racial minority groups must go to insure full equality of opportunity in life and work.

Civil liberties require the freest expression of criticism and new ideas. They depend today, in large measure, on freedom of the press and radio. But chain newspapers and chain broadcasting systems, and joint radio-newspaper ownership, set up monopolistic controls that limit freedom. These controls must be broken through effective enforcement of a policy of regulation for freedom. Increasing independent ownership, including ownership by labor, farmer and co-operative organizations and by educational institutions is needed.

14. *Opposition to militarism as a danger to freedom and human welfare*

Militarism is a menace to liberal democracy and helps to prepare the way for totalitarianism and to support it.

While, until universal disarmament comes, preparations for national defense will be necessary, the imposition of universal peacetime conscription is neither democratic nor is it effective defense in the atomic age. Our country, and the world must, for security, move beyond reliance upon the traditional methods of power politics and militarism, which are suicidal in the world of today.

American democracy owes much to the relative absence of a large military establishment. During the war the military tried to usurp civilian authority and functions. All such usurpation must stop; especially is this urgent in any national commission set up for the development and regulation of atomic energy.

Against Monopoly Reaction!

Yet the economic and political forces of reaction are resisting, they will continue to resist, the realization of measures to broaden the life, liberty and happiness of the American people. The driving force of reaction is capitalist monopoly.

Where is Free Enterprise?

Within the competitive capitalism of free enterprise there has grown up a monopoly oligarchy which today rules the economic system. Monopoly Big Business is a system in which a small group of giant corporations—from 4 in manufactures to 45 in transportation—control from one-third to nine-tenths of an industry's output. It is a condition of economic feudalism that mocks free enterprise, economic freedom and welfare.

Consider the postwar behavior of monopoly Big Business: It unloosed a

campaign against the high wages with low prices and low profits which are needed for full production. Mergers and combines are being formed on a scale larger than in the 1920's. Monopoly is moving toward renewal of international cartels and imperialism. It drives toward destruction of the surviving elements of free enterprise.

Consider the power of monopoly Big Business: In the prewar years, around 1,500 giant corporations dominated industrial activity taking up to 70 per cent of *all* corporate profits. Monopoly grew stronger during the war, as anti-trust prosecutions were dropped and monopoly's "$1-a-year" men moved into the government's agencies for war production. More than two-thirds of the primary war contracts went to 100 corporations and another 100 corporations got most of the balance. In 1944 the 250 largest corporations operated two-thirds of America's manufacturing facilities. Monopoly—a handful of corporations—dominates mining, manufacturing, transportation, public utilities and banking. This concentration of economic power is unified through the interlocking of ownership and directorates, of industry and finance.

Free enterprise? Monopoly capitalism misuses the ideas of free enterprise to cover up its destruction of economic freedom. For the manifestations of free enterprise are: widespread ownership of small productive property; a large number of small independent producers selling in a free competitive market where prices move freely in response to changes in costs, supply and demand; where no one producer or combination of producers is strong enough to control the market and fix prices or restrict production. But monopoly represents an overwhelming centralization of ownership and control in giant corporations that "regulate" markets, suppress competition, and fix prices. Monopoly pursues the opposite policy of truly free competitive enterprise which makes more money only as it produces and sells more goods and services. Monopoly is strong enough to restrict output and make more money through its policy of low output with high prices and higher profits, which means a *smaller* output of goods and services.

Free enterprise? But free enterprise meant the economic freedom of widespread democratic ownership of the means of livelihood in the form of widespread ownership of small productive property. This economic freedom largely existed in the America of the 1820's, when 80 per cent of the people owned productive property which they worked and from whose working they made a living. *Today, however, upward of 85 per cent of the American people own no productive property but depend upon a wage-or-salary job for the opportunity to work and live.* Capitalism "for the many" has become capitalism "for the few."

The earlier democracy of free enterprise is replaced by an economic oligarchy of monopoly domination. Ownership of corporations is concentrated in a small group: 75,000 big stockholders own 50 per cent of all corporate stock, 300,000 stockholders own upward of 80 per cent. This represents a monstrous concentration of parasitic absentee ownership, since the owners own but do not manage while the technical-managerial employees manage but do not own. Effective control is in the hands of an inner oligarchy of perhaps 25,000 key officers, big stockholders, and directors.

The monopoly oligarchs praise free enterprise while they bury it. They say to small stockholders: "What you own we control and do with as we like." They say to labor: "What you work we control and do with as we like." They say to farmers and consumers: "What you depend upon and support with your buying we do with as we like." You can take it or leave it!

Oppression and Economic Crisis

All useful functional groups of the people are oppressed by capitalist monopoly.

Monopoly oppresses workers by its opposition to unionism and high wages. Monopoly oppresses farmers with high prices for supplies the farmers buy and by paying low prices for products the farmers sell. Monopoly oppresses small businessmen with destructive competition and the high prices it charges for the materials small business has to buy, while concentration of profits in giant corporations means smaller or no profits for business independents. Monopoly oppresses functional managers and technicians through restriction of output and a profit-at-any-price policy which frustrates their craftsman urge for greater efficiency and greater production.

Monopoly oppresses the people as a whole by restriction of production, of consumer purchasing power and of consumption.

Moreover, opportunities for profitable new investment are limited by monopoly, which uses little outside investment capital because it expands primarily by reinvesting part of its profits. Yet the 1,500 dominant monopoly corporations distribute upward of $5,000,000,000 yearly in interest and dividend payments, four-fifths of which go to the small number of big stockholders who save for investment most of their large incomes. These payments are the major source of "over-savings," of the unusable surplus capital which, because it is not invested, upsets the economic system and prevents continuing full production and full employment.

Hence monopoly Big Business is the basic cause of the economic crisis of our age. The crisis manifests itself in the increasing gap between consumption and potential production, and in the depressions and unemployment which create want in the midst of plenty.

The crisis is not one of a "mature economy," as argued by economists who built up a theoretical justification for New Deal spending. In terms of human needs a great economic expansion is necessary, and possible, to supply the American people with more goods and services and more leisure. The economy is mature only in a *relative* sense, on the basis of capitalist *production and investment for constantly higher profits.*

Agreement is general that increasing profitable investment is the basis of capitalist prosperity. The great stimulants of investment have been: (1) Mechanization of old handicraft industries after the industrial revolution. (2) Development of wholly new industries, among them artificial gas, railroads, new materials like aluminum, electric light and power, telephones and telegraph, the automobile, radio; (3) Industrialization of new regions—settlement of America's western wilderness, where millions upon millions of people settled on farms, built cities, plants and railroads, opened up mines; and, in smaller capitalist nations, the imperialist investment of capital in foreign backward regions.

These stimulants called for enormous and constantly larger amounts of new capital. Today, however, it is different. We have a huge industrial plant which renews itself, *and increases its productivity,* through depreciation and obsolescence reserves; no handicraft industries are left to mechanize; new industries develop neither as rapidly nor on so large a scale as in earlier years; and backward nations want no imperialism but economic independence and their own capital for industrialization. Hence the relative decline in opportunities for new capital investment. But new capital for investment piles up through interest and dividend payments on existing investment, especially in the monopoly areas, and the unequal distribution of income: primary causes of "over-saving" and "under-consumption."

This crisis of capitalism is basic. It marks a new economic stage where greater consumption is needed. Government spending to bolster consumer purchasing power is, except for emergency purposes, an escape from the major issue. Greater consumption must come from *within the economy* through permanent measures of economic reconstruction to bring profits down as productivity and production go up. Only as prices and profits go down while wages and the salaries of lower-salaried employees go up can there be enough purchasing power and consumption to make possible full continuous production. Industry must distribute *more* income for consumption than for investment.

But monopoly Big Business sets a "break-even" point at 25 to 50 per cent of capacity, with high prices, which restricts output, consumption and employment, while profits become fantastic as output moves upward to 100 per cent of capacity.

Regulation and Monopoly Reaction

Monopoly, moreover, is authoritarian in organization and policy. It regiments industry, labor and society. Its reaction against economic freedom merges into reaction against political and intellectual freedom.

All government's anti-trust efforts to break up monopoly have failed: monopoly Big Business has grown stronger. All government's efforts effectively to regulate and control monopoly have failed: monopoly Big Business increasingly exercises an irresponsible oligarchical power that thwarts government and the people. The economics and politics of monopoly drive toward monopoly totalitarian states: as in Germany, where the administrative oligarchs of monopoly corporations merged into fascism.

The failure of government to solve the crisis through the breakup or regulation and control of monopoly Big Business is accompanied by failure of government spending and planning to solve the crisis. Planning and spending by bits-and-pieces cannot overcome the over-saving and accumulating deficiency of consumer purchasing power—the gap between consumption and potential production—brought on by monopoly production and investment for profit. Monopoly ownership and power resist government efforts to plan, to tax for social-economic purposes and to spend. This resistance calls forth more government controls and regimentation. But they do not work. The crisis goes on. It calls forth more government controls and regimentation that do not work.

The result is a monstrous mixture of "capitalism" and "socialism" that is neither free enterprise nor planning, with none of the advantages of either and all of their defects. In a "capitalist mixed economy" there is perpetual economic unbalance and political turmoil that calls forth an endless succession of government controls that do not work, that do not end the crisis.

A succession of bureaucratic controls that do not work, and do not end the crisis, will move toward totalitarian statism. Bafflement and despair bring loss of faith in the liberal democratic way of life, a drift toward acceptance of totalitarian ideas and the danger of a disastrous conflict between totalitarians of the fascist "right" and totalitarians of the communist "left."

Disaster can come from a policy that sums up all economic wisdom and needs in government "planning and spending" while it ignores the reactionary economics and politics of monopoly capitalism. The answer to monopoly reaction is a new economic policy of reconstruction for liberal democracy to reshape particular economic institutions for abundance, freedom and peace.

We must, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, "disbelieve that nothing can ever be devised more perfect than was established by our forefathers" . . . we must "dare to go forward, not backward."

For a Liberal Economic Democracy!

The reaction and crisis can be ended only by taking monopoly corporations out of private ownership and transforming them into public enterprises of various kinds to promote production and consumption. Economic freedom can be restored in the monopoly areas only by a new type of free enterprise *—the democratic public ownership and operation that constitute economic freedom in new institutional forms.*

The need for public enterprise in the monopoly areas is imperative, not only because monopoly is the basic cause of the crisis of our age, but because it tramples upon the liberal justification of the "rights of property" and "free enterprise" as agents of economic progress, individual security and liberty.

Property and Free Enterprise as Freedom

Monopoly property is a negation of the "right to property" as understood by earlier liberals, among them Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson. Property, for them, was a means to promote individual liberty, democratic security and human rights. The "right to property" was a right to individual functional ownership whose justification was, *"What I work I own and what I own I work."* Where property is no longer functional, as monopoly absentee ownership is not, and no longer serves liberal democratic ends, it must give way to public or co-operative property to serve freedom.

Free enterprise meant economic freedom against the strangling controls of mercantilism in the absolute monarchical state. Mercantilism subordinated economic activity to serve political ends: state power. The state set up monopoly enterprises and monopoly controls over economic activity: economic and political absolutism supported one another. The philosophers of free enterprise emphasized freedom from the state to promote the *economic* ends of production as property, indi-

vidual welfare and liberty, operating through free competition in a free market. Hence the liberal limitation of state power.

It meant progress for a time, despite great inequality of economic and political freedom. But out of free enterprise monopoly arose to negate the right to property and to limit or destroy free enterprise as economic freedom. Private monopoly replaced state monopoly and now moves toward the neo-mercantilism of the fascist monopoly state.

The concepts of "property" and "free enterprise" as economic freedom are neither absolute nor unchangeable. It was the *free* in "free private enterprise" that brought economic and political progress. Free private enterprise must remain where *it is* free, where ownership is combined with management. But unfree monopoly enterprise must give way to free public enterprise for security and liberty.

Set-up of Liberal Economic Democracy

The crisis of liberal democracy is a crisis of *particular* economic institutions within it. Economic reconstruction for freedom must retain the basic liberal democratic procedures and values: a limited-power state within which flourish the free multi-party system to secure representative government and the voluntary consent of the governed, the freedom of association on all levels, economic, political and cultural, the inalienable civil and human rights of the individual with which governments cannot tamper. In short, economic reconstruction for freedom must retain *and strengthen* the diversity, pluralism and measurable autonomy of social groups, institutions and individuals which provide the conditions for free choice and action.

Hence the scope and forms of economic reconstruction are of crucial importance. Nationalization of industry in itself is neither enough nor desirable, for evidence is growing that nationalization and totalitarianism can support one another. Replacement of private capitalist monopoly with state monopoly is a revival of absolutism. A liberal economic democracy calls for a *limited* socialization of industry. It rejects the old orthodox Marxist and the communist conceptions of absolute collectivism in the form of total state ownership and operation of all economic enterprise, with its destruction of freedom in a new class-political despotism.

A liberal economic democracy recognizes that there is no automatic or dialectical process which will either avoid or transcend the dangers of bureaucratic statism. But it recognizes that economic, political and cultural diversity and pluralism are the indispensable framework of freedom. It emphasizes the need for the discovery and promotion of types of economic enterprise and of democratic administrative principles and techniques which provide for increasing participation of the citizen in the administrative as well as the legislative activity of economic and political institutions.

A liberal economic democracy is a free society whose economic set-up combines five major elements:

1. Public enterprise, national, regional and local, in the fields primarily of natural resources, of large-scale industrial enterprises and of the great banks and related financial institutions now in the grasp of monopoly. Public enterprises will not be centralized in the

absolute control of a bureaucratic state. They will operate typically as public corporations, which function far more independently of the state than do departments of government under which the Post Office, for example, is administered. Public corporations are run as economic enterprises, they have operational autonomy and are not under civil service. They are autonomous institutions independent of the state except for over-all policy and planning. The utmost in administrative decentralization prevails for grass-roots control. There is full recognition of unionism and collective bargaining, and the right to strike remains even though the need for strikes may not arise. Public corporations will give representation on their directorates to interested functional groups: technical-managerial staffs, the workers, farmers, and consumers. Consumer interests can be further safeguarded by independent Consumer Boards, as is being done in the liberal democratic socialism that the British Labor government is building up. In a liberal economic democracy the consumers will still have freedom of choice in a free market, only their freedom will increase with the increase of consumer purchasing power and of leisure. Profit in public corporations is limited to the needs of replacement and expansion. Their policy is production for human welfare; and since they will cover two-thirds of the industrial economy they will set the directions of economic policy and morality.

2. *Private enterprise in the field of small independent business, where owners are not absentee owners but perform useful managerial functions.* Under a liberal economic democracy the small businessmen are freed from monopoly exploitation and control. Their independence and prosperity will be promoted by public corporations, which operate in other fields and which, through unrestricted production, lower prices, raise purchasing power and stimulate greater prosperity. Under these conditions small business can live and flourish without the terrible exploitation of workers (and often of owners themselves) which is so often the case under monopoly capitalism. No business, big or small, has the right to exist unless it is beneficial to the people. Small independent business must set its objective as service to the people's economic and democratic needs: the only justification of a "right to property." A liberal economic democracy, moreover, has need and place for a free private enterprise that is truly free, and competitive, to prevent overwhelming concentration of power in a bureaucratic state. Independent enterprise is especially important in the economic activities that support the "opinion industries" — printing, publishing, broadcasting — where freedom of enterprise, individual and co-operative, will promote freedom of criticism and ideas.

3. *Free farmers operating use-owner family-type farms with an admixture of co-operatives.* Free working farmers are sturdily democratic. Collectivization of farms is economically unnecessary and politically undesirable as it means bureaucratic statism. In a liberal economic democracy all farmers will be free individual or co-operative farmers (over 2,000,000, or two out of six, are now tenants or sharecroppers). Landlordism will go, with use-ownership the only title to land. The new technology, which already is beginning to produce agricultural implements that make family-type farms more efficient

and feasible, will be consciously slanted in that direction to enlarge the independence and incomes of farmers. Free farm ownership, individual and co-operative, will easily fit into democratic economic planning on all levels.

4. Co-operatives of all kinds that are independent of the state except for over-all planning. Co-operatives are growing. They will grow still more as, in addition to their economic benefits, it is increasingly recognized that co-operative voluntarism, individual participation and grass-roots self-government are sturdy supports of liberal economic democracy. Co-operative ownership is as much a form of no-profit ownership as public enterprise. Autonomous co-operatives are indispensable to economic reconstruction for security *with* freedom. Co-operatives can flourish especially in the "twilight zone" between big and small enterprises, which may be too big for individual ownership and too small for public ownership. They can flourish, too, in foreign trade and strengthen freedom of communication among nations. The scope of co-operatives will broaden from economic activities to include a larger share in the "opinion industries" and in activities for health, recreation, education and culture in general.

5. Free labor unions that retain their autonomy and are independent both of management and of the state. A combination of union management, industrial management and the state in one bureaucratic centralization of power is the basis of the absolute totalitarian state. Unionism represents the self-organization and self-activity of workers to protect and promote their interests. Workers will remain workers in any new order of the early future, they will continue to need independent unions to protect and promote their interests, especially their interest in freedom: unions that are free to bargain and, if necessary, free to strike. The need to strike will surely diminish. But as a liberal democratic freedom the right to strike is in the same class with the right to change governments in a multi-party state: the right may not be used, if conditions are satisfactory, but the right is there for use if conditions go wrong. Independent unions act as one of the checks-and-balances on managerial and governmental bureaucracy. Unfree "unions" are a major support of serfdom in the totalitarian state. Free unions are a major support of freedom in a liberal economic democracy.

The combined operation of these five elements will liberate society from monopoly capitalist reaction. It will, within the framework of an invigorated political democracy, permit technology and industry to do the job of producing an abundance of goods and services to meet human needs. It will bring economic balance and security, production for consumption and welfare, self-determination and self-government in economic activity.

A liberal economic democracy plans. But there is no magic in planning; totalitarian states plan, too. Absolute bureaucratic planning is unnecessary and undesirable. An immense difference exists, however, between a *total planned* society and a *continuously planning* society, where planning is not absolute but conditional, relative and strategic, where planning proceeds on different levels and includes co-operative give-and-take. That is liberal democratic planning for freedom.

Planning within a liberal economic democracy will work, moreover, because no monopoly capitalist power exists to oppose and frustrate it. Economic institutions will work *with* planning, not against it. Direct government controls and regimentation will diminish as the transformation of monopoly corporations into democratic public enterprise assures economic balance and security, an end of the economic crisis and turmoil produced by the clash of private monopoly interests and the people's needs.

National economic planning will be limited to strategic factors of policy, price and profit, over-all investment, the introduction of large new industries, with supplementary resort to fiscal measures for desirable economic and social objectives. The "free market and competition" becomes truly operative as prices, production and consumption are freed from monopoly controls. The continuously planning policy of liberal economic democracy includes regional and local planning as well as national, with a functional working together of public, co-operative and private enterprise and planning.

Political, Economic and Individual Freedom

Political power is needed to achieve economic reconstruction. But it is imperative to conserve and strengthen the liberal democratic procedures and values, not destroy them. Dictatorship and force destroy freedom as bureaucratic state power and force become ends in themselves in a new tyranny.

A peaceful democratic achievement of political power by a new people's party is necessary. It becomes possible as all useful functional groups unite against monopoly capitalism on a program of liberal economic democracy, which serves *all* useful functional interests. Destruction of political democracy to gain "economic democracy," as communism proposes and practices, ends up as the end of all democracy. Destruction of civil liberties to gain "economic security" ends up as insecurity, for individual security is impossible in an absolute state without civil liberties. Our objectives and practice must be infused with liberal democracy as moral end and social means. Communism is not a "higher form of democracy." It is no democracy at all.

The limited socialization, the economic and organizational pluralism, diversity and autonomy of a liberal economic democracy sets up institutional checks-and-balances on the state.

Within the new institutional relations the state remains a liberal-democratic representative state, limited in power. There is limitation, specification and decentralization of power on successive functional levels to promote the self-activity of institutions and individuals. The citizens of a liberal economic democracy will be in a position, much more than they are now, to speak up and be heard, to criticize, propose and decide, to act without compulsion from the oligarchs of monopoly capitalism or the oligarchs of totalitarian communism. They will be free to use creative intelligence to make man's increasing mastery over nature serve man, *not* monopoly, totalitarianism and destruction. They can use creative intelligence to develop techniques of mediation for rational peaceful solution of conflicts of interests on all levels.

The end of "laissez-faire capitalism" means the end neither of individualism nor of the liberal temper.

I. DOMESTIC POLICY

In a liberal economic democracy there is no necessary conflict between the identity of the individual and social identity. Man will be neither atomistic, in the sense of an unbridled "economic man" whose philosophy is, everyone for himself and devil take the hindmost; nor collective, in the sense of an anonymous "collective man" without an individual moral identity. The goal is free development of the individual as the condition for free development of every other individual's personality, creative activity and happiness.

In a liberal economic and social democracy, with its diversity within unity and its unity with diversity, it is possible for man the thinker and worker to become more liberal, more critical yet more tolerant. There will be wider, more significant co-operative participation of individuals in the economic, political and cultural activities that shape human life and destiny on the individual and the social level. Individual conscience and responsibility will not be swallowed up in the enslaving anonymous "collective responsibility" of an absolute state.

Man will be free to use the experimental scientific approach to serve truly human needs. Free consideration and determination of ends and means will prevail, with results freely checked against premises, interests and values. Liberation of fresh, variable individual qualities should bring an upsurge of initiative, enterprise and invention in all spheres of human activity.

The future is not frozen, it comes alive for free men and women to shape as they will to serve libertarian human values.

II. FOREIGN POLICY

The American people can be certain of one thing: domestic policy and foreign policy are today inseparable.

Only as we have world security against war can we carry on economic reconstruction for welfare and freedom.

Only as we reorganize economic institutions to maintain prosperity and beat down reaction can America mobilize its full strength for the organization of world co-operation, security and peace.

For World Co-operation and Peace

No nation, not even the United States or the Soviet Union, can give its people security against war except through universal world security.

It is imperative to implement the American proposal for an Atomic Development Authority which shall own and operate all uranium mines and uranium plants throughout the world, with power to carry on unrestricted inspection-and-control in every nation to guard against misuse of atomic energy for war; and at the same time to promote the peaceful economic application of atomic energy. The proposal is a tremendous step forward. Its implementation would mark *the abandonment of national sovereignty and the acceptance of world government* in a crucial area of foreign affairs.

But imperative as it is the international control of atomic energy *alone* cannot avert an atomic war *unless it is followed by disarmament and the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy*. For if there *is* a third World War all the warring nations will feverishly begin the manufacture of atomic weapons, and of other new destructive weapons for bacteriological and chemical warfare.

Hence the United Nations should call, at the earliest opportunity, a conference to discuss and prepare world disarmament.

It is necessary that nations renounce war and "the sovereign national right" to make war. The world must outlaw war under a system of international law that stigmatizes war as a punishable crime. We can go in that direction by organizing the world's moral sentiment against war, multiplying the international institutions of economic, political and cultural authority and action, broadening the United Nations' powers.

For the reign of law in international affairs a court of international justice with compulsory jurisdiction is needed, not the optional jurisdiction provided for in the United Nations charter. So far the British Labor government alone among the great powers has accepted the Court's compulsory jurisdiction and has made a categorical pledge to merge its national sovereignty into a world sovereignty to make the United Nations become a world government in the field of international affairs. But the United States Senate, in accepting compulsory jurisdiction, made clear that it depended upon the veto power in an "association of sovereign states" to "protect" the United States from any judgment it considers "inimical to its vital interests."

The United Nations must be made to work as is. But we must move quickly and surely to make the United Nations more effective by expansion of the As-

sembly's powers, including a more decisive voice for small nations, and by abolition of the Great Power veto in the Security Council. The struggle of the small nations to abolish the veto should receive increasing support. The United Nations cannot build a world of peace while the Security Council continues as a combination of lawgiver, judge and policeman, all the more since the veto stops action against any one of the big powers.

Only so can the United Nations succeed. Only so can the world move toward government in international affairs: a *limited* world government but with enough authority in the *limited areas and problems* where world authority and action alone can prevent war. This involves no giving up of national self-determination and independence, of autonomy in the political, economic and cultural spheres which are of exclusively national concern. National sovereignty is not given away, it is *merged* in a world sovereignty, of which *every nation is an integral and articulate part*, to keep the peace and make the world safe for humanity.

Meanwhile the world must multiply the agencies of economic and social cooperation among nations.

There must be abolition of cartel controls, with their economic policy for imperialist profit and power; a release of the flow of international trade; the promotion and equalization of health, educational and labor standards of depressed areas through constructive investment to speed up industrialization and agricultural modernization; the rational distribution of key raw materials according to need; and free disclosure of scientific discoveries and their technical-economic application to agriculture and industry.

It is of special importance to spread use of the newest technical-scientific achievements, among them synthetics, plastics and atomic power. For these can overcome regional deficiencies in natural resources and so make possible greater industrial and agricultural modernization. It is increasingly possible to make anything—materials, machines, power—out of anything everywhere in the world, which can help to develop measurable economic equality among nations as one solid foundation for peace everlasting.

Freedom of access for all nations to the world's markets and resources is indispensable. There can be no special economic privileges, no economic spheres of influence which inevitably tie in with political domination. This does not exclude regional customs unions and regional economic planning if there is no one-sided discrimination against outside nations. Nor does this exclude socialization of industry by one or more nations, for socialization *need not* impair the freedom of nations unless political aggression is intended. In this connection foreign trade among the world's co-operatives is a force for international goodwill and freedom.

As the world's backward nations industrialize they will need agrarian reform, labor unions, co-operatives and democracy for economic and human progress. American labor unions, farm organizations and co-operatives can forward that progress with economic, financial and moral support.

Finally, a free peaceful world calls for an international Bill of Rights, including the guarantee of individual and minority rights, the freedom of information, religion and opinion, the freedom of association, political action and

publication, the freedom of communication among nations. Recognition of these rights must become mandatory, with a world court to enforce them.

Against All Imperialism

There can be no world co-operation for peace without the abandonment of imperialism, whether it is monopoly capitalist imperialism in the form of economic or political colonialism, or communist imperialism in the form of Russian expansionism.

Peace is endangered by the British Tory conception (which, however, the British Labor government rejects in words and deeds) of keeping the Empire intact; by the efforts of French nationalists (including reactionary communists) to recreate the overseas empire; by the Soviet Union's expansion policy of establishing spheres of influence through military force and Quisling puppet governments in Central Eastern Europe, the Arabian regions, and China; by the proposals of some misguided Americans for peacetime conscription and for a vast expansion of naval and air power.

But peace is also endangered by certain American "liberals" and the communists who argue that peace can be preserved by mutual recognition of Russian, American and British "spheres of influence" throughout the world. This is a gross libel on all liberal and radical ideas which, up to the present, always insisted that spheres of influence are an integral part of imperialism and an incitement to war.

There is real danger of reaction and war from a "liberal imperialism" that masquerades in "liberal" and "radical" phraseology.

Spheres of influence bring neither understanding nor peace — they bring suspicion, rivalry, and war. They are a thinly disguised form of colonial and political domination. Spheres of influence involve and stimulate, moreover, the murderous doctrine of racism, and the doctrine is murderous whether it is Nordic, Anglo-American, or Russian Slav.

World co-operation for peace calls for the independence and freedom of all peoples, including colonial peoples.

The United States has kept its word to free the Philippines. The British Labor government is freeing India, the jewel of empire; it is working, sometimes slowly and mistakenly, but working to liberate other colonies that Britain has ruled for generations. The United States, Britain, France and Holland have set up a commission to promote the independence and federation of their Caribbean colonial possessions.

But while capitalist imperialism is being liquidated a new imperialism is being forged by Russian expansionism which, in the name of "security zones," brings insecurity for Russia's neighbors, insecurity for the Russian people, and insecurity for the world.

The world and Russia must co-operate for peace. If the conditions for co-operation did not exist it would be imperative to invent them. But the conditions exist: the universal desire for peace and the danger of universal destruction from an atomic war; the fact that it was not communism in Russia that invited Hitler's attack, any more than the Kaiser attacked Russia because it was Tsarist; the disarmament of Germany. In addition, a peaceful Labor government exists in Britain,

which, of all great powers, is the most vulnerable in the event of atomic war. And there is no danger of the United States making war except in self-defense. No other nation is strong enough to attack the Soviet Union.

Yes, the conditions for co-operation exist. But co-operation is a two-way street. Russia must give up its expansionism. It must give up the idea that only communist governments can be friendly to Russia, and that a liberal democratic socialist government like the British Labor government is the most unfriendly of all. Finally, Russia must give up *any* support of foreign communist parties, which wage unscrupulous demoralizing warfare in liberal democratic unions and upon liberal democratic ideas, and act as Russian "fifth columns" in the Russian occupation zones to set up Quisling governments imposed by Russian force.

An alternative policy is latent in Russia, which can come alive: the policy of concentrating on cultivation of the Russian garden while co-operating with the world through the United Nations. It is part of American policy to co-operate with the world through the United Nations to encourage that alternative Russian policy.

There must be neither spheres of influence in Europe nor American intervention to impose capitalist governments or Russian intervention to impose communist governments. Europe requires freedom to decide its destiny, without inner or outer dictatorship. An all-European Commission, set up by the United Nations, alone can speed recovery from the destruction of war. After disarmament Germany should be allowed economic and political unification but on a federal basis, so that its people may live and develop in freedom. All signs indicate that Europe, if left alone to decide, will move toward a liberal democratic socialism and toward a federal United States of Europe.

The test of *any* nation's foreign policy is: *Will this policy or decision go forward to progressive internationalism or backward to reactionary nationalism?* The answer to Iran's oil is a Regional Oil Authority under the United Nations, with the principle applied to world oil resources and other resources the competition for which may breed war; the answer to the Danube River problem is internationalization with freedom of access and navigation; the answer to Italy's colonies (and other colonies) is freedom or United Nations multiple trusteeships; the answer to the tragedy of Palestine is a Jewish Homeland under the United Nations and within the framework of Arab-Jewish co-operation for mutual welfare; the answer to the problem of Trieste is a truly Free State with full self-government protected by the United Nations, its port serving freely not only Yugoslavia but the whole hinterland on equal terms; the answer to Indonesian turmoil is a free United States of Indonesia, with local autonomy in a federal system to guarantee racial, religious and social freedom.

Hence all nationalistic or imperialistic decisions and actions, whether by our own country or any other country, must be uncompromisingly opposed in favor of a truly international policy. There can be no double standard by which to judge the foreign policy of nations.

The American Task

We must work to have our government keep going a liberal foreign policy, which includes: all efforts to feed the world's hungry people and to support their reconstruction with machines and credits; a tariff policy that releases the flow of trade; investment loans with a small interest rate or no interest at all to encourage world industrialization; progressive co-operative measures to promote economic independence in Latin America, in the Philippines and other parts of Asia (including Japan); an export policy that meshes into the needs of other nations, especially Britain, with no trade wars; the prevention of monopoly cartel action against the world's economic interests.

At the same time the American government must respect and work for the liberal democratic rights of people anywhere in the world, and to insist that other nations respect those rights. The United States can use its tremendous economic, political and moral power for satisfaction of the aspirations for self-government and freedom of the peoples of Europe and the colonial peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia. Our government must back up the liberal, social democratic and labor forces in the occupied areas, and elsewhere, in their struggle against feudal, royalist or totalitarian reaction.

We must, too, support all economic and political measures to make our economic system work for prosperity so that we can fully work for peace. For the totalitarian challenge thrives on economic breakdown and chaos, on bafflement and despair.

So can we work to make this century end up as the century of freedom and peace.

III. TOWARD A PEOPLE'S PARTY

A new people's party will arise if and when the American people want it.

It must not be a party to pay off grudges regardless of basic political needs and timing.

It must not be what communists are working to set up—a "third party" which they can use to bedevil a progressive American policy in foreign affairs.

A new party will arise to meet the American people's urgent economic, social, and world needs. It will arise to call into action again the American people's idealism, which is neither dead nor a spent force but confused, distracted, frustrated, yet alive and ready to infuse social change with moral values.

There is need for unity on political action and policy that represents the interests of all useful functional groups for the release of an economic abundance from which every group will gain.

The dangerous alternative is pressure politics, in which each group carries on its own pressures to achieve its own narrow interests regardless of the interests of every other group. This ends in a cat-and-dog fight for a larger group slice of a shrinking economic pie. The cat-and-dog fight produces chaos, invites a crack-down by government and strengthens reaction.

The new party must be a party of all useful functional groups, from workers and farmers to small businessmen, salaried employees and professional people: on the model of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) of Canada. It cannot be a party of the trade unions alone, for that would split labor off from the rest of the community, thus giving monopoly reaction the numbers with which to fight. It was this split that was the major factor in the coming of fascism in Italy and Germany.

Ours is a two-party country? But so was Britain. So was the United States when the Republican party arose as a third party to become the *first* party. That new party arose out of a deep-going crisis created by the slavery issue. Today a far greater crisis prevails, the first universal crisis since the downfall of feudalism and the rise of capitalism, which offers the opportunity for a new party *providing* its principles and action meet the needs of the crisis.

No third party has won success since the Civil War? That is true. It is also true that no old party has been permanently captured by the progressive forces, from Populism to LaFollette's Progressivism to the New Deal.

An old party may be captured and used for reform. It cannot be captured and used as an instrument for deep-going social changes, for a radical redistribution of economic and political power. Such far-flung objectives can be achieved only by a party new in principles and in organization.

A new people's party will be a party to realize liberal economic democracy as the American Dream in newer and finer fulfillments. For the American liberal tradition never separated economic from political democracy.

The colonists who fled from England (and continental Europe) to the new world came for greater economic freedom as well as for political freedom.

The Revolution of 1776 was directed as much against the colonial aristocracy as against the British Crown, and it was accompanied by breakup of great landed estates in the North to create a class of democratic small farmers.

Jeffersonian democrats looked upon widespread ownership of independent small property as the economic bulwark of liberal democracy. The agrarian and labor democrats of the Jacksonian era emphasized the equalitarian ideas of 1776 in new forms. They wanted to use state power to break monopoly and to secure a more equal distribution of wealth, which they considered as important as the distribution of political power. One union leader of the 1830's argued that unions, by promoting through higher wages a more equal distribution of income and property, "help to preserve *the economic foundations of democracy.*"

Populism in the 1880-90's fought monopoly as antidemocratic and feudal, as a concentration of economic power and of wealth antagonistic to economic freedom and democracy. The left-wing urged nationalization of the trusts to achieve the economic equality imperative for a truly democratic nation.

The New Deal called forth many economic reforms, especially social security, and its architect urged an "economic bill of rights"—the right to a job, adequate food, clothing and recreation, the right of farmers and businessmen to protection from monopoly exactions, the right to a decent home, adequate medical care and protection from unemployment, accidents, sickness and old age, the right to a good education. But the New Deal, whose program was an emergency expression of the social-economic crisis, never proposed measures to implement the rights fully, and it is now history. The American people must go beyond the New Deal to more radical ideas.

A new people's party will carry the struggle and aspirations of the American Dream to new achievements. It will be a party that learns from the people what they desire, their basic wants, yearnings and values. It will be a party of critical inquiry, flexible and experimental, using co-operative intelligence to limit the areas of inevitable conflicts so that the conflicts may be solved by co-operative intelligence to promote peaceful change for human welfare, and so prevent the party from adopting means that become a barrier to what the people want. It will be a grass-roots party, operating from the local community upward, with widespread individual participation.

The new people's party will work with unions and cooperatives, farm and professional organizations. But it will not try to dominate them or to swallow them in a totalitarian, all-inclusive "monolithic unity." The new people's movement must be a free, independent working together in voluntary association for objectives that are clearly understood and freely accepted. Only so can we truly master the crisis of our age to promote human welfare, dignity and freedom.

Men and women of good-will everywhere! You can, if you will, build a new America and a new world of greater economic, political and social democracy.

HAD ENOUGH?

Well, then—get in touch with us and join in our educational activity!

The National Educational Committee for a New Party is *not* a political party. It is organizing primarily to carry on a discussion of the ideas-and-policy for effective political action.

If you've had enough of the Democratic Tweedle-dee and the Republican Tweedledum—

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If you want to work for ideas-and-policy to implement effective political action to bring economic security with freedom and peace everlasting—

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE *for* A NEW PARTY NATIONAL OFFICE

Write to

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IDEAS FOR A NEW PARTY

Provisional Declaration of Principles
National Educational Committee for a New Party

Publication of this Declaration does not necessarily mean endorsement. It is published to start discussion of a timely subject. Letters are invited for "The Reader Writes" department of our magazine.

As we understand it, the National Educational Committee for a New Party is NOT *a party nor does it intend to become a party; it is undertaking to stimulate discussion of* IDEAS *for a new political alignment. Among members of the Committee, which was formed at a national conference in Chicago in the spring of 1946, are people active in the AFL and CIO and in co-operative and farm organizations, and intellectuals and other professional people.*

John Dewey is Honorary Chairman of the Committee. Temporary officers are: A. Philip Randolph, Chairman; Jack McLanahan, Secretary; Pearl Willen, Treasurer; Lewis Corey, Research Director; Mary Martinson, Administrative Secretary.

—THE EDITORS

The American people need a new political alignment and policy to secure satisfaction of their urgent economic, political and social wants, in a world where pressing inescapable problems call for progressive answers.

The Republican and Democratic parties demonstrate an increasing inability to meet these wants. Liberals in the Republican party are frustrated, while the New Deal is a spent force in the Democratic party.

A never-ending danger is present in the bi-partisan Congressional coalition of reactionary Democrats and Republicans. Progressive measures are adopted against the coalition's savage opposition. The coalition prevented adoption of legislation for fully effective reconversion and price control, for measures to encourage full employment and for fair employment practices, for an adequate housing program that is so needed by the American people. It has prevented adoption of anti-discrimination laws while crackpot groups inflame the racial and religious hatreds that can explode in fascism. It has opposed measures of a progressive foreign policy to make the world safe from war.

The American people need a new people's movement with a policy of basic economic reconstruction for economic security, human welfare and freedom. They need principles and a program to meet the challenge of our modern age to build, out of the achievements of science and technology and of American equalitarian traditions, a new world of greater equality, liberty and justice.

The Great Challenge

The achievements of science and technology can make humanity's dream of the good life for all come true. It is no longer necessary that any human beings should be ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, overworked; that there should be unemployment and want in the midst of plenty; that people should live in economic dependence and insecurity, ignorance and ugliness.

Our productive forces have so multiplied, and continue to multiply, that they can gratify *if fully used* all basic material human wants. Machines that

move with scarcely the touch of a human hand are constantly being made more efficient, while new inventions in the fields of electronics, of synthetics and plastics are steadily increasing our capacity to produce an abundance of the good things of life. The productive forces will be able to turn out a still larger flow of goods and services to meet human needs with the coming economic application of atomic energy and photosynthesis, which will unlock for men's use the mysteries of nuclear and solar energy.

With this tremendous and increasing productive capacity we can easily end poverty. We can do more: we can rebuild cities, towns and villages, whole regions, remold the American environment into areas of convenience and beauty in which freer people co-operate for nobler living. Increasing leisure, and the means to enjoy that leisure as one desires, is possible for everyone: a life of independence, moral worth and dignity for all men and women.

Yet still men and women are tormented by unemployment and insecurity, and by the *fear* of unemployment and insecurity. Starvation and misery stalk most of the world's peoples. Americans have jobs, but they ask, "When will the next depression come?" Humanity lives in dread of a more destructive atomic war as apprehension grows that the new effort for world cooperation and peace may fail.

Mankind is caught in a crisis of institutions and ideas because of failure to adjust them to changes wrought by scientific and technical-economic developments. This crisis is the first universal crisis since the breakdown of feudalism and the emergence of capitalism.

Social change speeds up while progressive ideas and action lag. The depression of the 1930's was a collapse of economic institutions that war only temporarily saved. Fascism is a collapse of human, moral values, a monstrous reaction against the ideals and practices of liberal democracy. War ends but the danger of war becomes worse and the crisis of institutions and values remains. It is either-or: Either the achievements of science and technology will be used, through new ideas, new political alignments and new institutions, to build a world of greater security, freedom and peace, or they will be used to destroy man's world.

There is the challenge! We must develop the ideas, the people's movement and the will to meet that challenge now.

I. DOMESTIC POLICY

There must be well-paid interesting work for all who want work and need work. The economic wastes of unemployment are tragic: in the ten years of the depression of the 1930's at least $250,000,000,000 *more* of goods and services could have been produced if the unemployed had been kept at work. Still worse is the human degradation of unemployment, for there is not much independence and dignity for the man or woman who wants and needs work but cannot get it.

1. Prosperity or Depression?

War brought work for all who wanted work. Because of full employment and production for war the American people, in five years' time, nearly doubled the physical output of goods: and this with 12,000,000 workers in the armed forces. Because of full employment and production for war the civilian Americans enjoyed higher material

standards of living than they did in the peace-depression years of the 1930's.

Can only war bring jobs for all? But employment for war, however necessary, is barbarism. We need full employment for *peace!*

Yet never in the past 100 years has American industry been able to provide jobs for all in peacetime, not even during periods of the most flourishing prosperity. And prosperity always crashed into depression with its enormous unemployment. Neither monopoly Big Business nor the New Deal government was able to end the depression of the 1930's. It must be remembered that 10,000,000 people were still unemployed when war came in 1939.

The war proved to the American people that they can solve the problem of production. It proved that we can *now* produce enough to supply every American family, rural and urban, with a minimum yearly income of $3,000 to $4,000 (at 1941 prices) — *providing there is continuing full employment with the full use of productive resources.*

What interferes with realization of the economic plenty that is possible with full use of our resources is the "boom and bust" cycle which is inherent in our economic system. Unless we end that cycle a new depression will again occur in the near future.

But a new depression would unleash dark forces of reaction, intolerance and chaos. It would bring economic disaster not only to us but to other nations as well, and make impossible world co-operation and peace. There must be no depression!

2. Program for Action

Labor, the farmers and small businessmen, salaried employees and professionals, the consumers must press for action to sustain prosperity and prevent depression. As a program, around which to organize for action to achieve the economic and human welfare potential in our great productive resources, we suggest the following basic measures:

1. *Co-operation of union labor, management and the public to insure prosperity*

Co-operation for a high-wage, low-price and low-profit policy is needed to bring and keep prosperity. Only such a policy can achieve the full consumption without which full production and employment are impossible.

Unless there is co-operation for production and abundance among all useful functional groups there will be scarcity, group warfare and breakdown. A new economic policy is needed to promote co-operation for production. We might well experiment with industry councils (including public representatives), bound together in a national economic council (including the farmers) with government participation. Co-operation should move upward on different and successive functional levels.

2. *An increasing share for farmers in prosperity through a progressive farm policy*

Although price stability of farm prices is necessary for the farmers, a progressive farm program must go beyond price policy. Too much reliance on prices makes farmers victims of the "boom and bust" cycle.

The farmers need more co-operative electrification, an extension of farm credits, crop insurance, soil conservation and improvement, and lower prices for agricultural implements and materials. They need a larger share of the

consumer dollar through reductions of processing and distribution costs.

The problem of farm surpluses cannot be solved through exports to foreign markets, for which the American farmer has been waging a losing battle. It can be solved only through a planned program to encourage greater and more varied food consumption, the diversification of agriculture in surplus-crop areas, such as the cotton regions, and increasing use of surpluses for manufacture of synthetics and plastics.

An expanded farm security program must work to transform tenants and sharecroppers into free owners of their own farms or free partners in co-operative farms. In a liberal democracy the prevalent form of farming should be the family-type farm or independent co-operative farms in the field of large-scale agriculture. Free farmers can get the benefits of collective action through the use of co-operatives of all kinds, including the purchase, leasing and marketing of commodities. Legislation is desirable to discourage corporation farming and other forms of absentee landlordism, with a land tax to make unprofitable the speculative ownership of farm lands.

More regional projects of the TVA type are needed to develop backward agricultural regions. A network of small industries, especially under co-operative ownership, should spread throughout the farm regions to absorb surplus agricultural products and surplus agricultural labor. Greater regional economic balance, in the form of decentralization of industry and the industrialization of over-agricultural regions, is imperative to provide the rural population with larger economic and cultural opportunity.

3. *An increasing share for workers in industry's earnings; retention and strengthening of labor's gains*

Higher wages and shorter hours, made possible by constantly increasing productive efficiency, are basic elements of enduring prosperity since they contribute to the greater consumption and leisure which alone can support the greater production of goods and services.

The welfare of all useful groups in the community, not the welfare of labor alone, is promoted by higher wages, for workers spend their money on the community's output of goods and services. Community welfare is recognized directly in the new stage of collective bargaining which ties in higher wages with a low-price and low-profit policy.

Working hours can go down and wages go up, moreover, as increasing industrial efficiency yields a production of constantly more goods and services with constantly smaller amounts of human labor. Hours worked fell from 80-70 hours weekly in 1870 to 40-35 in 1940; they can fall to 30 hours weekly, and fall again, as the new technological revolution works its productive marvels.

Democratic equality calls for abolition of discriminatory wage differentials of all kinds and for industry bargaining and agreements to implement their abolition. It calls for a guarantee of the worker's right to the job and to the income security of full employment.

There must be no legal limitations on the freedom of labor unions to carry on their work. Bargaining can only be collective, the individual worker is helpless against the employer. Labor is not free if limitations are imposed upon its right to organize, to bargain collectively and to strike. If the unions abuse their rights and power the correction must come from the liberal democratic

use of intelligence and mediation, not by crackdowns. Limitation or suppression of labor's rights is likely to prove the beginning of fascism.

Unionism and collective bargaining are the foundation for constitutional democracy in industry. This democracy becomes more meaningful as labor's rights grow to include a voice in industry's councils through progressive union-management co-operation.

Labor's welfare and freedom are indispensable for the community's welfare and freedom. The reverse is also true and important, for labor lives and works in the community. Labor's problems require community understanding and support for their solution. Hence labor unions cannot afford practices that antagonize or injure the progressive community. As the most powerful mass organizations the unions must develop a growing sense of the responsibility of power in relation to union practices and community needs. Union labor is a bulwark against reaction only when it is democratic and thinks and acts beyond pressure-group terms. Otherwise labor invites opposition and disaster that can lead to total suppression by a totalitarian state.

4. *An increasing share in economic welfare for salaried employees and professionals*

The welfare of white collar workers, of technical-managerial employees on intermediate and lower levels, and of professional people is of increasing importance. Their numbers multiply, while the number of industrial wage-workers tends to decrease as the technology of industry becomes more automatic and complex and rising living standards call for more performers of professional services.

These useful functional groups cannot promote their welfare *against* the interests of workers and farmers. Their welfare can be promoted only on condition that the primary incomes of farmers and workers keep on rising through continuing full production, on which, in final analysis, depends the welfare of all people engaged in useful occupations.

White-collar workers need the self-organization and self-activity of unions. The professional organizations should broaden their horizons to include larger social understanding and social action. The scientific, technical-managerial and professional people in the new middle class must decide to use their skills, talents and power to co-operate in economic reconstruction for security, freedom and peace. Or they will be forced to degrade their skills, talents and power to serve tyranny and war.

5. *Encouragement for small independent businessmen who combine ownership with management*

Free enterprise is most active in the field of small business. Yet the statistics of failure among small business concerns are appalling. Monopoly oligarchs cry "save free enterprise" while they carry on practices that destroy the free enterprise of small independent business.

The strangling power of monopoly Big Business must be broken if small businessmen are to live. Taxation can be used to encourage independent business; public research projects should be set up to serve it; government war plants, where they are not converted into public corporations or sold to co-operatives, should be sold on easy terms to small independents.

Cultivation of friendlier, more understanding relations among small busi-

nessmen, labor unions and co-operatives will prove of mutual advantage.

The decline of small business shows it has no prescriptive right to survive. Most of the decline comes from development of large-scale industry. But much of it is a result of monopoly power-domination and the mistakes of small business itself. Small businessmen can survive only as they prove an economic and social justification for survival. They must co-operate to give greater service for economic progress and full employment.

6. *The encouragement and expansion of co-operatives*

Co-operatives function as a democratic way to replace and prevent exploitation and as a means of raising the standards of living of farmers and city consumers.

Co-operatives offer a means for people to solve economic problems on a local level without danger of top-down authoritarianism. Valuable government aid can be given to co-operatives, without danger of government control, by means of taxation and by making capital funds available to co-operatives at low interest rates. Such aid has been extended to private business through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and to certain types of co-operatives through the Bank for Co-operatives and the Rural Electrification Administration. The movement which operates under the misleading term "tax equality" spearheads an attack on non-profit co-operatives.

As a basic economic force for human welfare the co-operatives can become a yardstick of progressive labor relations. They promote friendly relations among nations through co-operative foreign trade which is independent of monopoly cartels.

7. *Use of government war plants to promote prosperity*

The war plants were built by public initiative, public money and public risk. They are not a product of private enterprise. Why then, should they be turned over to the private ownership of monopoly Big Business?

Some of the plants may be operated directly by government as yardsticks to achieve desirable economic objectives. The majority should be converted into public corporations, on the model of TVA but with inclusion of representatives of management, labor and consumers on the directorates. Smaller plants can be sold to independent business or co-operative interests.

Public ownership of the larger war plants, converted to peacetime uses, would realize at least four great benefits: (a) Supply to industry and agriculture a growing amount of cheap materials, including fertilizer for farmers and materials for low-cost housing, thus promoting economic expansion and prosperity. (b) Develop industrial research independent of monopoly profit and power, with the results freely available to American and foreign industry. (c) Strengthen the trends toward production directly for human welfare. (d) Limit the power of American monopoly to carry on aggressive, imperialistic struggles for foreign markets, since most of the war plants' productive capacity is in the basic materials (aluminum, magnesium, synthetic rubber) in which international cartels operate.

8. *A comprehensive program to rehouse the American people*

Americans today need upward of 15,000,000 new homes to live in comfort, decency and health. The building of these homes, together with construc-

tion of needed hospital, recreational facilities and schools, could keep America prosperous for many years to come.

Yet few efforts are being made for a comprehensive housing program. Neither public planning nor private enterprise is doing the job. What is needed is national, regional and local planning which unites the efforts of government on all levels, of architects, builders and manufacturers, of labor unions and co-operatives.

A comprehensive housing program would include adequate federal and state subsidies for substantial low-cost housing, measures to reduce building costs (including land costs) and the use of pre-fabrication in a way to prevent both unemployment among building trades workers and the fostering of new slums. All rural and urban slums must go. The country must be brought to the towns and the towns to the country through planning for decentralization in a more widespread distribution of industry. An equalization and increase of educational, recreational and health facilities is imperative, and the abolition of racial and religious discrimination. The public condemnation power and taxation should be used to get rid of obsolescent dwelling places and areas and to prevent speculative holdings of unused land.

Already there are enough garden cities and towns to show what can be done to build spacious, cheerful homes set in the midst of communities of life-giving, morale-building beauty: a constant joy and inspiration for the men, women and children who live there.

9. *Social security for everyone from the cradle to the grave*

An adequate social security system will ensure everyone, from the cradle to the grave, against the hazards of illness, accidents, unemployment and old age. A majority of the people today are propertyless. But early liberals, among them Thomas Jefferson, argued that ownership of property brought individual security and liberty. Hence social security under democratic control supports human individualism and liberty.

The requirements for adequate social security are these: coverage for all groups of people, including the self-employed; substantial unemployment benefits and old-age and survivors' benefits, with optional retirement at age sixty; a system of medical insurance and hospitalization. In the operation of health insurance there should be freedom of choice for physicians and patients, with encouragement of group and co-operative medicine. Expanded facilities for medical education are needed to eliminate the shortages of doctors and nurses. A widespread program of nutrition and temperance education is imperative to cultivate the most healthful choice of foodstuffs and beverages. Union-industry welfare funds are a desirable grass-roots amplification of social security.

10. *Public planning, spending and taxation to stimulate prosperity*

Planning is necessary on all levels in the complex world of today. Yet planning in its larger aspects is blocked and distorted by monopoly's economic and political power.

We must press *now* for the organization of research and planning councils for the investigation and survey of America's economic needs. Public planning on this level would aim constantly at the problem of the gap between consuming power and production potential. These national councils would provide the areas of information and the mechanisms indispensable to genuine

economic planning, as well as a fund of material demonstrating the conflict between monopoly control and full production.

Because the economic system does not distribute enough consumer purchasing power to allow consumption to keep up with production, we must press for the *emergency* use of government spending on public works to help avert depression and to help bring recovery from depression.

To reduce the unequal distribution of wealth and income, which impairs the ideals and practice of liberal democracy and which is a basic factor in the economic unbalance, over-saving and under-consumption that generate depressions, higher taxes are necessary on the larger incomes and lower taxes on the smaller incomes, with more stringent taxation of speculative and inheritance gains.

11. *Rational conservation and use of natural resources*

Rational conservation and use of natural resources calls for a larger program of flood control, soil conservation, and reforestation. It also requires the rebuilding of regions ruined by quick-and-big-profit exploitation.

Conservation should encourage the most rational use of resources. We can step up research, for example, to find fuel-and-power substitutes for petroleum and coal, and so conserve these resources for their immense variety of exhaustible chemicals.

There is pressing need, moreover, that two principles, until now largely ignored, be built into the national, regional and local program on conservation. The principles may be said to rest, in the words of a TVA representative, "on the fact that men are creatures of the land, and that there is an organic relationship between men and the natural world of soil, plants and other animals. In our scientific and industrial civilization the great majority of the people live as if this were no longer true, and are doing things which are rapidly cutting away the natural foundation from under our civilization."

The first principle is that citizens, especially the landowner, be educated to a responsibility to manage and use the land in the community interest as well as the individual interest. It is fallacious to assume that government must subsidize *all* conservation not immediately profitable for the private landowner. This doctrine will ultimately bankrupt the land and further diminish intelligent understanding of the land and of its potentialities and needs.

The second principle is that the health of the land as a whole, not merely the supply of its constituent "resources," needs conserving. Land, like other things, has the capacity for self-renewal (that is, for permanent productivity) only when its natural parts are present, and functional. It is a dangerous fallacy to assume that we are free to discard or change any part of the land we do not find "useful" to immediate economic gain (such as flood plains, marshes and wild floras and faunas). Unintelligent and violent modification of the natural order has repeatedly disorganized the land's capacity for self-renewal.

Conservation policy does not, as yet, deal with these basic principles of harmony between land-use and land-health. It must do so if we are to achieve a stable and humane land-economy.

12. *More and better education for living and social action*

Our economic support of education is not enough. Throughout the educa-

tional system there is imperative need for higher teachers' salaries and for smaller classes. More use of Federal grants-in-aid (without, however, bureaucratic control) is urgently needed for schools on all levels to realize educational equality for states, for urban and rural communities, and for racial minority groups.

The American people want an educational democracy in a greater economic, political and social democracy. They are moving toward universal higher education through the combination of an increasing economic surplus, rising family incomes and more public support of higher education. The idea that most people, or any large number of them, are "unfit" for higher education is an aristocratic hangover or a support of totalitarian domination by intellectual and bureaucratic "elites."

An increase in the quantity of higher education must be accompanied by changes in quality to strengthen its liberating creative elements. We need a full-orbed unification of the intellectual, vocational and moral aspects of education for living. This must replace the hidden pseudo-vocationalism and empty or up-in-the-air liberalism which now characterizes much of our higher education, whose object seems to be to fit human beings as cogs into a machine. The ancient aristocratic dualism between vocational and liberal-arts training must go. Farmers, workers and clerks, not only "intellectuals," have ability and a right to understand the social relations in which they live, and to develop their individuality fully through education and activity for the appreciation and realization of the beauty of living.

We need education that is a growing activity that carries on beyond the school; that stresses the reacting relation between experience and education; that cuts through dogmas, vested interests and prejudices to the social-human realities and needs of society. We need an education that infuses morality with scientific intelligence and scientific intelligence with morality to prevent the appearance of "educated barbarians" and to combine the rational scientific approach with human moral emphasis on the supreme worth and dignity of the individual.

Art activity and appreciation are an essential part of the beauty of living. They are also essential for the adequate integration of effective ideas, motives, emotional responses and loyalties. They serve as a means for the progressive articulation and expression of basic social and human interests. Hence serious efforts must be made by the new people's movement to foster art on all levels in education and living. It must, in addition, develop theatre, movie, photographic, literary and other art projects to make effective use of economic, social, and psychological materials for creative expression.

13. *The removal of all restrictions on civil and human rights*

Removal of restrictions on civil liberties and human rights is necessary if liberal democracy is to live and grow. Our race relations, especially the treatment of Negroes, are the ugliest aspect of American civilization and subject our country to attacks throughout the world. All political, economic and social discriminations against racial minority groups must go to insure full equality of opportunity in life and work.

Civil liberties require the freest expression of criticism and new ideas. They depend today, in large measure, on freedom of the press and radio. But

chain newspapers and chain broadcasting systems, and joint radio-newspaper ownership, set up monopolistic controls that limit freedom. These controls must be broken through effective enforcement of a policy of regulation for freedom. Increasing independent ownership, including ownership by labor, farmer and co-operative organizations and by educational institutions is needed.

14. *Opposition to militarism as a danger to freedom and human welfare*

Militarism is a menace to liberal democracy and helps to prepare the way for totalitarianism and to support it.

While, until universal disarmament comes, preparations for national defense may be necessary, the imposition of universal peacetime conscription is neither democratic nor is it effective defense in the atomic age. Our country, and the world must, for security, move beyond reliance upon the traditional methods of power politics and militarism, which are suicidal in the world of today.

American democracy owes much to the relative absence of a large military establishment. During the war the military tried to usurp civilian authority and functions. All such usurpation must stop; especially is this urgent in any national commission set up for the development and regulation of atomic energy.

3. Against Monopoly Reaction!

Yet the economic and political forces of reaction are resisting, they will continue to resist, the realization of measures to broaden the life, liberty and happiness of the American people. The driving force of reaction is capitalist monopoly.

Where is Free Enterprise?

Within the competitive capitalism of free enterprise there has grown up a monopoly oligarchy which today rules the economic system. Monopoly Big Business is a system in which a small group of giant corporations—from 4 in manufactures to 45 in transportation —control from one-third to nine-tenths of an industry's output. It is a condition of economic feudalism that mocks free enterprise, economic freedom and welfare.

Consider the postwar behavior of monopoly Big Business: It unloosed a campaign against the high wages with low prices and low profits which are needed for full production. Mergers and combines are being formed on a scale larger than in the 1920's. Monopoly is moving toward renewal of international cartels and imperialism. It drives toward destruction of the surviving elements of free enterprise.

Consider the power of monopoly Big Business: In the prewar years, around 1,500 giant corporations dominated industrial activity taking up to 70 per cent of *all* corporate profits. Monopoly grew stronger during the war, as antitrust prosecutions were dropped and monopoly's "$1-a-year" men moved into the government's agencies for war production. More than two-thirds of the primary war contracts went to 100 corporations and another 100 corporations got most of the balance. In 1944 the 250 largest corporations operated two-thirds of America's manufacturing facilities. Monopoly—a handful of corporations—dominates mining, manufacturing, transportation, public utilities and banking. This concentration of economic power is unified through the interlocking of ownership and directorates, of industry and finance.

Free enterprise? Monopoly capitalism misuses the ideas of free enterprise to cover up its destruction of economic

freedom. For the manifestations of free enterprise are: widespread ownership of small productive property; a large number of small independent producers selling in a free competitive market where prices move freely in response to changes in costs, supply and demand; where no one producer or combination of producers is strong enough to control the market and fix prices or restrict production. But monopoly represents an overwhelming centralization of ownership and control in giant corporations that "regulate" markets, suppress competition, and fix prices. Monopoly pursues the opposite policy of truly free competitive enterprise which makes more money only as it produces and sells more goods and services. Monopoly is strong enough to restrict output and make more money through its policy of low output with high prices and higher profits, which means a *smaller* output of goods and services.

Free enterprise? But free enterprise meant the economic freedom of widespread democratic ownership of the means of livelihood in the form of widespread ownership of small productive property. This economic freedom largely existed in the America of the 1820's, when 80 per cent of the people owned productive property which they worked and from whose working they made a living. ***Today, however, upward of 85 per cent of the American people own no productive property but depend upon a wage-or-salary job for the opportunity to work and live.*** Capitalism "for the many" has become capitalism "for the few."

The earlier democracy of free enterprise is replaced by an economic oligarchy of monopoly domination. Ownership of corporations is concentrated in a small group: 75,000 big stockholders own 50 per cent of all corporate stock, 300,000 stockholders own upward of 80 per cent. This represents a monstrous concentration of parasitic absentee ownership, since the owners own but do not manage while the technical-managerial employees manage but do not own. Effective control is in the hands of an inner oligarchy of perhaps 25,000 key officers, big stockholders, and directors.

The monopoly oligarchs praise free enterprise while they bury it. They say to small stockholders: "What you own we control and do with as we like." They say to labor: "What you work we control and do with as we like." They say to farmers and consumers: "What you depend upon and support with your buying we do with as we like." You can take it or leave it!

Oppression and Economic Crisis

All useful functional groups of the people are oppressed by capitalist monopoly.

Monopoly oppresses workers by its opposition to unionism and high wages. Monopoly oppresses farmers with high prices for supplies the farmers buy and by paying low prices for products the farmers sell. Monopoly oppresses small businessmen with destructive competition and the high prices it charges for the materials small business has to buy, while concentration of profits in giant corporations means smaller or no profits for business independents. Monopoly oppresses functional managers and technicians through restriction of output and a profit-at-any-price policy which frustrates their craftsman urge for greater efficiency and greater production.

Monopoly oppresses the people as a whole by restriction of production, of

consumer purchasing power and of consumption.

Moreover, opportunities for profitable new investment are limited by monopoly, which uses little outside investment capital because it expands primarily by reinvesting part of its profits. Yet the 1,500 dominant monopoly corporations distribute upward of $5,000,000,000 yearly in interest and dividend payments, four-fifths of which go to the small number of big stockholders who save for investment most of their large incomes. These payments are the major source of "over-savings," of the unusable surplus capital which, because it is not invested, upsets the economic system and prevents continuing full production and full employment.

Hence monopoly Big Business is the basic cause of the economic crisis of our age. The crisis manifests itself in the increasing gap between consumption and potential production, and in the depressions and unemployment which create want in the midst of plenty.

The crisis is not one of a "mature economy," as argued by economists who built up a theoretical justification for New Deal spending. In terms of human needs a great economic expansion is necessary, and possible, to supply the American people with more goods and services and more leisure. The economy is mature only in a *relative* sense, on the basis of capitalist *production and investment for constantly higher profits.*

Agreement is general that increasing profitable investment is the basis of capitalist prosperity. The great stimulants of investment have been: (1) Mechanization of old handicraft industries after the industrial revolution. (2) Development of wholly new industries, among them artificial gas, railroads, new materials like aluminum, electric light and power, telephones and telegraph, the automobile, radio; (3) Industrialization of new regions—settlement of America's western wilderness, where millions upon millions of people settled on farms, built cities, plants and railroads, opened up mines; and, in smaller capitalist nations, the imperialist investment of capital in foreign backward regions.

These stimulants called for enormous and constantly larger amounts of new capital. Today, however, it is different. We have a huge industrial plant which renews itself, *and increases its productivity,* through depreciation and obsolescence reserves; no handicraft industries are left to mechanize; new industries develop neither as rapidly nor on so large a scale as in earlier years; and backward nations want no imperialism but economic independence and their own capital for industrialization. Hence the relative decline in opportunities for new capital investment. But new capital for investment piles up through interest and dividend payments on existing investment, especially in the monopoly areas, and the unequal distribution of income: primary causes of "over-saving" and "under-consumption."

This crisis of capitalism is basic. It marks a new economic stage where greater consumption is needed. Government spending to bolster consumer purchasing power is, except for emergency purposes, an escape from the major issue. Greater consumption must come from *within the economy* through permanent measures of economic reconstruction to bring profits down as productivity and production go up. Only as prices and profits go down while wages and the salaries of lower-

salaried employees go up can there be enough purchasing power and consumption to make possible full continuous production. Industry must distribute *more* income for consumption than for investment.

But monopoly Big Business sets a "break-even" point at 25 to 50 per cent of capacity, with high prices, which restricts output, consumption and employment, while profits become fantastic as output moves upward to 100 per cent of capacity.

Regulation and Monopoly Reaction

Monopoly, moreover, is authoritarian in organization and policy. It regiments industry, labor and society. Its reaction against economic freedom merges into reaction against political and intellectual freedom.

All government's anti-trust efforts to break up monopoly have failed: monopoly Big Business has grown stronger. All government's efforts effectively to regulate and control monopoly have failed: monopoly Big Business increasingly exercises an irresponsible oligarchical power that thwarts government and the people. The economics and politics of monopoly drive toward monopoly totalitarian states: as in Germany, where the administrative oligarchs of monopoly corporations merged into fascism.

The failure of government to solve the crisis through the breakup or regulation and control of monopoly Big Business is accompanied by failure of government spending and planning to solve the crisis. Planning and spending by bits-and-pieces cannot overcome the over-saving and accumulating deficiency of consumer purchasing power—the gap between consumption and potential production—brought on by monopoly production and investment for profit. Monopoly ownership and power resist government efforts to plan, to tax for social-economic purposes and to spend. This resistance calls forth more government controls and regimentation. But they do not work. The crisis goes on. It calls forth more government controls and regimentation that do not work.

The result is a monstrous mixture of "capitalism" and "socialism" that is neither free enterprise nor planning, with none of the advantages of either and all of their defects. In a "capitalist mixed economy" there is perpetual economic unbalance and political turmoil that calls forth an endless succession of government controls that do not work, that do not end the crisis.

A succession of bureaucratic controls that do not work, and do not end the crisis, will move toward totalitarian statism. Bafflement and despair bring loss of faith in the liberal democratic way of life, a drift toward acceptance of totalitarian ideas and the danger of a disastrous conflict between totalitarians of the fascist "right" and totalitarians of the communist "left."

Disaster can come from a policy that sums up all economic wisdom and needs in government "planning and spending" while it ignores the reactionary economics and politics of monopoly capitalism. The answer to monopoly reaction is a new economic policy of reconstruction for liberal democracy to reshape particular economic institutions for abundance, freedom and peace.

We must, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, "disbelieve that nothing can ever be devised more perfect than was established by our forefathers" . . . we must "dare to go forward, not backward."

4. For a Liberal Economic Democracy!

The reaction and crisis can be ended only by taking monopoly corporations out of private ownership and transforming them into public enterprises of various kinds to promote production and consumption. Economic freedom can be restored in the monopoly areas only by a new type of free enterprise *—the democratic public ownership and operation that constitute economic freedom in new institutional forms.*

The need for public enterprise in the monopoly areas is imperative, not only because monopoly is the basic cause of the crisis of our age, but because it tramples upon the liberal justification of the "rights of property" and "free enterprise" as agents of economic progress, individual security and liberty.

Property and Free Enterprise as Freedom

Monopoly property is a negation of the "right to property" as understood by earlier liberals, among them Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson. Property, for them, was a means to promote individual liberty, democratic security and human rights. The "right to property" was a right to individual functional ownership whose justification was, *"What I work I own and what I own I work."* Where property is no longer functional, as monopoly absentee ownership is not, and no longer serves liberal democratic ends, it must give way to public or co-operative property to serve freedom.

Free enterprise meant economic freedom against the strangling controls of mercantilism in the absolute monarchical state. Mercantilism subordinated economic activity to serve political ends: state power. The state set up monopoly enterprises and monopoly controls over economic activity: economic and political absolutism supported one another. The philosophers of free enterprise emphasized freedom from the state to promote the *economic* ends of production as property, individual welfare and liberty, operating through free competition in a free market. Hence the liberal limitation of state power.

It meant progress for a time, despite great inequality of economic and political freedom. But out of free enterprise monopoly arose to negate the right to property and to limit or destroy free enterprise as economic freedom. Private monopoly replaced state monopoly and now moves toward the neo-mercantilism of the fascist monopoly state.

The concepts of "property" and "free enterprise" as economic freedom are neither absolute nor unchangeable. It was the *free* in "free private enterprise" that brought economic and political progress. Free private enterprise must remain where *it is* free, where ownership is combined with management. But unfree monopoly enterprise must give way to free public enterprise for security and liberty.

Set-up of Liberal Economic Democracy

The crisis of liberal democracy is a crisis of *particular* economic institutions within it. Economic reconstruction for freedom must retain the basic liberal democratic procedures and values: a limited-power state within which flourish the free multi-party system to secure representative government and the voluntary consent of the government, the freedom of association on all levels, economic, political and cultural, the inalienable civil and human rights of the individual with which

governments cannot tamper. In short, economic reconstruction for freedom must retain *and strengthen* the diversity, pluralism and measurable autonomy of social groups, institutions and individuals which provide the conditions for free choice and action.

Hence the scope and forms of economic reconstruction are of crucial importance. Nationalization of industry in itself is neither enough nor desirable, for evidence is growing that nationalization and totalitarianism can support one another. Replacement of private capitalist monopoly with state monopoly is a revival of absolutism. A liberal economic democracy calls for a *limited* socialization of industry. It rejects the old orthodox Marxist and the communist conceptions of absolute collectivism in the form of total state ownership and operation of all economic enterprise, with its destruction of freedom in a new class-political despotism.

A liberal economic democracy recognizes that there is no automatic or dialectical process which will either avoid or transcend the dangers of bureaucratic statism. But it recognizes that economic, political and cultural diversity and pluralism are the indispensable framework of freedom. It emphasizes the need for the discovery and promotion of types of economic enterprise and of democratic administrative principles and techniques which provide for increasing participation of the citizen in the administrative as well as the legislative activity of economic and political institutions.

A liberal economic democracy is a free society whose economic set-up combines five major elements:

1. *Public enterprise, national, regional and local, in the fields primarily of natural resources, of large-scale industrial enterprises and of the great banks and related financial institutions now in the grasp of monopoly.* Public enterprises will not be centralized in the absolute control of a bureaucratic state. They will operate typically as public corporations, which function far more independently of the state than do departments of government under which the Post Office, for example, is administered. Public corporations are run as economic enterprises, they have operational autonomy and are not under civil service. They are autonomous institutions independent of the state except for over-all policy and planning. The utmost in administrative decentralization prevails for grass-roots control. There is full recognition of unionism and collective bargaining, and the right to strike remains even though the need for strikes may not arise. These public corporations will give adequate representation to all interested functional groups: technical-managerial staffs, the workers, farmers, and consumers. Consumer interests can be further safeguarded by independent Consumer Boards, as is being done in the liberal democratic socialism that the British Labor government is building up. In a liberal economic democracy the consumers will still have freedom of choice in a free market, only their freedom will increase with the increase of consumer purchasing power and of leisure. Profit in public corporations is limited to the needs of replacement and expansion. Their policy is production for human welfare.

2. *Private enterprise in the field of small independent business, where owners are not absentee owners but perform useful managerial functions.* Under a liberal economic democracy

the small businessmen are freed from monopoly exploitation and control. Their independence and prosperity will be promoted by public corporations, which operate in other fields and which, through unrestricted production, lower prices, raise purchasing power and stimulate greater prosperity. Under these conditions small business can live and flourish without the terrible exploitation of workers (and often of owners themselves) which is so often the case under monopoly capitalism. No business, big or small, has the right to exist unless it is beneficial to the people. Small independent business must set its objective as service to the people's economic and democratic needs: the only justification of a "right to property." A liberal economic democracy, moreover, has need and place for a free private enterprise that is truly free, and competitive, to prevent overwhelming concentration of power in a bureaucratic state. Independent enterprise is especially important in the economic activities that support the "opinion industries"—printing, publishing, broadcasting—where freedom of enterprise, individual and co-operative, will promote freedom of criticism and ideas.

3. *Free farmers operating use-owner family-type farms with an admixture of co-operatives.* Free working farmers are sturdily democratic. Collectivism of farms is economically unnecessary and politically undesirable as it means bureaucratic statism. In a liberal economic democracy all farmers will be free individual or co-operative farmers (over 2,000,000, or two out of five, are now tenants or sharecroppers). Landlordism will go, with use-ownership the only title to land. The new technology, which already is beginning to produce agricultural implements that make family-type farms more efficient and feasible, will be consciously slanted in that direction to enlarge the independence and incomes of farmers. Free farm ownership, individual and co-operative, will easily fit into democratic economic planning on all levels.

4. *Co-operatives of all kinds that are independent of the state except for overall planning.* Co-operatives are growing. They will grow still more as, in addition to their economic benefits, it is increasingly recognized that co-operative voluntarism, individual participation and grass-roots self-government are sturdy supports of liberal economic democracy. Co-operative ownership is as much a form of no-profit ownership as public enterprise. Autonomous co-operatives are indispensable to economic reconstruction for security *with* freedom. Co-operatives can flourish especially in the "twilight zone" between big and small enterprises, which may be too big for individual ownership and too small for public ownership. They can flourish, too, in foreign trade and strengthen freedom of communication among nations. The scope of co-operatives will broaden from economic activities to include a larger share in the "opinion industries" and in activities for health, recreation, education and culture in general.

5. *Free labor unions that retain their autonomy and are independent both of management and of the state.* A combination of union management, industrial management and the state in one bureaucratic centralization of power is the basis of the absolute totalitarian state. Unionism represents the self-organization and self-activity of workers to protect and promote their in-

WHY A new party

New Party

NOW IS THE TIME!

The time is past ripe in America for a modern political party organized to meet the challenge of our modern age.

The United States is today faced with problems of the greatest urgency which the Republican and Democratic parties, controlled by vested interests, have shown themselves utterly unable to solve.

WE HAVE THE POTENTIAL

We live in a country equipped with natural resources, machinery and trained labor sufficient, if fully used, to produce the necessities and comforts of life for all. And yet we find millions of our wage earners, farmers and white collar workers living in dire poverty, poorly housed, poorly fed, poorly clothed.

We live in a country where the need for manpower as the means to an abundant life for all is well-nigh infinite. And yet we find our country every few years faced with tragic periods of hard times, and vast armies of the unemployed marching the streets of our cities and villages begging in vain for work.

We live in a country which has long prided itself, and in a large measure justly, on its democracy. And yet we see in this country

industry after industry concentrating in the control of the few and monopolies and semi-monopolies, with their high price, high profits, restrictive production policies, leading the nation into economic confusion and disaster. We witness increased and ominous signs of racial and religious antagonisms and other trends that run directly counter to the principles and practices of democracy.

WORLD COOPERATION

We live in an age and a world which require the strict limitation of the sovereignty of individual nations in world affairs and the substitution of the principles of cooperation for those of exploitation within and without the national economy if we are to avert another war—a war that might mean the destruction of our civilization. The need for such limitation of sovereignty and thorough-going cooperative action on an international scale has been vigorously emphasized in the outstanding reports on atomic energy. And yet, in the present crisis, there has been, in general, a tragic failure of world leadership in the fight for a world organization limiting national sovereignty and adequate to the crucial tasks ahead.

THE TWO OLD PARTIES

The great social evils of our day have existed for years in city, state and nation under the control of the Republican and Democratic parties. These parties have had the power to grapple with these evils and the grave responsibility to do so. They have completely failed, however, to meet the American challenge.

WHY A NEW PARTY

If the fundamental issues of our times are ever to be successfully met; if poverty, unemployment, economic autocracy, racial and religious discrimination and war are to be banished from our midst, all progressive and democratic forces must be mobilized in a powerful political party. This new party alignment must include the progressive forces in all useful groups—labor, farmer, professional, salaried-employee, small business men, and consumer groups and must be democratically controlled from the grass roots. It must be committed to clean, honest and efficient government. It must be dedicated to thorough-going democracy in industry, in government, and in human relations. It must promote human dignity and freedom and be opposed to totalitarianism in every form. It must work toward the development of a world organization of free people.

In the United States the plain people of the country have shown their belief in the proposals for public control of atomic energy. They have increasingly experimented with public ownership and operation of the power industry, notably through such developments as the TVA, and are favorably disposed to the American proposals, in the United Nations Organization, for public ownership and operation of atomic energy on a world scale. The nation's progressives have time and again demanded the public ownership and democratic operation of our public utilities, of our natural resources and of monopolies and other basic industries where such public controls have given promise of improving labor conditions, lowering prices, reducing economic waste and unemployment, and promoting democracy and world peace. The new party must endeavor to strengthen the control of the people over their own destiny in these and other spheres.

THE "NEW DEAL" WAS NOT ENOUGH

Until the great depression of the thirties—the worst in the history of the country—the United States lagged far behind other western democracies in social legislation. Faced with this crisis, Congress began the development of a social insurance program, appropriated billions of dollars for public works, and passed further protective labor legislation. Under the "New Deal" Administration, however, millions of men and women continued to remain idle until the coming of World War II.

The new party that is being increasingly demanded must go beyond the old "New Deal". It must see to it that the citadels of power—the giant monopolies and other key industries—are controlled not by the few for the benefit of absentee owners, but by the many for the benefit of the entire community.

COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY

The basis for this new party is now being laid by progressive groups representative of the interests of the common man in all parts of the country. The National Educational Committee for a New Party was formed in the Spring of 1946 at a meeting in Chicago called by men and women active in such labor, farmer, civic, professional, and educational groups.

The Committee is not a political party, but a body formed with the view of carrying on an educational campaign for a new political alignment and for the advancement of principles upon which such an alignment should be based. We welcome the support of the PAC-CIO, and of political action groups in the AFL and other

trade unions, in farm and civic groups, in helping to build sentiment for the organization of a new party to be launched when the time is ripe.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The next national conference of the NECNP will be held in December, 1946. In the meanwhile the Committee has established headquarters at 112 East 19th Street, Room 1105, New York 3, New York, (1) to act as a clearing house for new party ideas and forces; (2) to establish contacts with unions, farm groups, cooperatives and other progressive groups and individuals; (3) to encourage local and regional conferences; (4) to run a periodical; (5) to issue leaflets, pamphlets and statements on current events; (6) to schedule lectures and radio discussions; (7) to prepare for important conferences and to do all in its power to educate the American people to the need for a new political alignment adequate to the needs of our times.

We urge all interested in the work of this committee to communicate at once with the National Educational Committee for a New Party.

TEMPORARY OFFICERS

JOHN DEWEY
Honorary Chairman

C. J. MCLANAHAN
Temporary Secretary

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Temporary Chairman

PEARL WILLEN
Temporary Treasurer

MARY MARTINSON—*Administrative Secretary*

(The above is a preliminary statement subject to change from time to time as a result of further discussion by old and new members of the National Committee)

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY
112 East 19th St., Room 1105, New York 3, N. Y.

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

☐ Please send me additional information

☐ I hereby pledge $..... monthly

☐ I hereby contribute $.....

N.E.C.N.P.

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY

NEWS LETTER

oeiu-153 Published at 232 East Erie, Chicago 11, Ill.

December 1946 Vol. 1, No.2

NEW PARTY CONFERENCE TO BE HELD APRIL 18-19 IN CHICAGO

NEW PARTY CAN GET ON BALLOT

It's a myth - this story that a new party is futile because of the impossibility of getting on the ballots of the various states.

NECNP's survey of state election laws proves that getting on the ballot is not too hard in 33 states, moderately hard in 12, difficult in 2 and impossible in only one state, Florida

"Not too hard" state laws do not mean automatic placement on the ballot but a moderately strong group, capable of getting only 10% of the votes cast, can get on and stay on these ballots.

A good example of a "not too hard" state is Pennsylvania, a highly industrialized state with 35 electoral votes. Nomination by petition for the general election must have enough signers to equal at least one half of one percent of largest vote for any officer elected in the state in last preceding election. Staying on the ballot in Pennsylvania requires polling of at least 2 percent of entire vote cast in each of at least 10 counties and equal to two percent of the largest entire vote cast for any elected candidate at the preceding election. Parties getting five percent of the largest vote cast for an elected candidate in any county can get on the primary slate in that county. Local candidates can stay on in as many counties as this figure is reached.

(Cont. on page 3)

The first national congress of the National Educational Committee for a New Party will be held in Chicago April 18th and 19th, 1947.

The sessions of the conference will be limited to accredited delegates from local affiliated groups and to individuals invited by the National Committee.

DELEGATES FROM ALL SECTIONS

Representatives will be in attendance from all sections of the country and from all parts of the American community. Farm, labor, white collar, consumer groups, churches, youth - all working for a socially minded and fully democratic new party movement in this nation - will attend and take part in the forging of a program for the years of decision ahead for the United States.

Members of the Chicago Educational Committee for a New Party will serve as hosts for the congress. Delegates from the local chapters now being organized in many parts of the country will meet a wide-cross-section of American new party opinion.

CCF AND OTHERS INVITED

Invitations will be extended to political parties of similar background in other countries. Canada's active Canadian Commonwealth Federation, Great Britain's Labour Party and the other Social Democratic parties of Europe as well as labour parties in Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere will be asked to send fraternal delegates and observers.

Local affiliated bodies of the NECNP and individuals to be invited will receive full information and credential forms by February.

NECNP Newsletter

Published by the National Educational Committee for a New Party

--------Officers--------

Honorary Chairman: John Dewey
Chairman: A. Philip Randolph
Secretary: C. J. McLanahan
Treasurer: Pearl Willen

Exec. Director: Kenneth L. Kramer

Research Director: Lewis Corey
Publications Committee: Daniel Bell
Maynard C. Krueger

National Office: 232 East Erie
Chicago 11, Illinois
Eastern Office: 160 West 44th St.
New York 18, N. Y.

WHAT IS THE NECNP?

The NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

The NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY is not a party, but a Committee to stimulate discussions of ideas for a new political alignment. Among members of the Committee, which was formed at a national conference in Chicago in the spring of 1946, are people active in the AFL and CIO and in cooperative and farm organizations, and intellectuals and other professional people.

The committee was established to act as a clearing house for new party ideas and forces; to establish contacts with unions, farm groups, cooperatives and other progressive groups and individuals; to run a periodical; to issue leaflets, pamphlets and statements on current events; to schedule lectures and radio discussions; to do all in its power to educate the American people to the need for a new political alignment; and to recapture the hopes and aspirations of the American people for a real liberal democracy.

SURVEY SHOWS STRONG NEW PARTY DESIRE

A recent Fortune survey reveals that 23% of CIO members prefer a new party and that 21% of the AFL go along with them.

This adds up to 2,375,000 trade unionists who are looking for something better than the Republican and Democratic parties can offer. This bloc of individuals, not united toward any definite new party as yet, is one good reason for much of the futility shown by labor's attempts at political action in recent years.

Organized labor has officially worked on the old Gompers theory of political action, applicable only when organized labor was a small, closely knit minority of skilled craftsmen. Rewarding of friends and punishing of enemies makes sense only if labor is to consider itself perpetually outside of the main stream of American politics and divorced from other sections of American life who might have similar hopes for a better life.

The statement has often been made that no union can deliver the labor vote and no leader has been able to pledge his followers politically. By and large this is true and the high percentage of union members who want a new party is proof of this political awareness often unsuspected by union leadership. John L. Lewis couldn't deliver the miner's vote for Willkie in 1940, immense apathy marked CIO-PAC's results in the 1946 Congressional campaigns - both proof that organized labor clearly wants something better than a choice between a lesser and a greater evil.

* * * * * * * * *

SUPPORT THE NEW PARTY MOVEMENT NOW

MAIL THAT CONTRIBUTION to:
National Educational
Committee for a New Party (NECNP)
232 East Erie
Chicago 11, Ill.

NEW PARTY ROAD TO BALLOT STATUS NATIONALLY IN SIGHT

(Cont. from Page 1)

In Pennsylvania, then, getting on the ballot by petition means the collection of 10,000 signatures on nominating petitions. This, in a state of almost five million voters, certainly isn't too difficult. Staying on the ballot requires some statewide support equal to two percent of the total cast for any elected candidate distributed over ten counties. This means only 50,000 votes total and any party with any genuine base in the farm and labor groups could readily get this amount of support. In the 1942 Pennsylvania gubernatorial election, for instance, a party called the United Pension picked up 8,000 votes and the Prohibitionists got 17,000. Norman Thomas, at the high tide of Roosevelt in 1936, got 14,375 votes in Pennsylvania and William Lemke, running on the Union Party ticket in that same year, got 67,467 votes in Pennsylvania.

The states rated "not too hard" are similar to Pennsylvania, with the individual variations mainly in time of filing, notarization of petitions and small variations in the percentages required. The 33 states in this group are: Alabama; Arkansas; Colorado; Connecticut; Delaware; Idaho; Indiana; Iowa; Kansas; Kentucky; Louisiana; Maine; Maryland; Michigan; Minnesota; Mississippi; Missouri; Montana; New Jersey; New Mexico; New York; North Carolina; North Dakota; Pennsylvania; Rhode Island; Tennessee; Texas; Utah; Virginia; Washington; West Virginia; Wisconsin, and Wyoming. These states, incidentally, have 324 electoral votes out of the total of 531.

Twelve states are moderately hard. Illinois is one of these and is so rated because any new party must be state-wide in scope. Nomination by petition in this state requires at least 25,000 signatures of qualified voters for each candidate, including signatures of 200 qualified voters for each of at least 50 counties. Illinois has 102 counties. The Prohibition Party and the Socialist Party has been on the Illinois ballot frequently.

Other states rated as moderately hard are: Arizona; Georgia; Massachusetts; Nebraska; Nevada; New Hampshire; Ohio; Oklahoma; Oregon; South Dakota, and Vermont. There are, again, individual variations in the state laws but in spite of the classification of moderately hard for these states numerous third parties have been on the ballots of these states in past elections and are best proof that a new party of any validity can get on the ballots of these states also.

The states of California and South Carolina are rated as difficult with California the more formidable of the two. California new party advocates must present a petition signed by at least 10% of the entire vote cast at the preceding gubernatorial election. An "independent" can file without party label by securing 5 percent of entire vote cast. In this state in recent years the Townsend ticket and the Prohibition Party ran candidates and in 1940, Thomas, running on the Progressive ticket got over 16,000 votes. In South Carolina a strong state-wide political machine is necessary in order to comply with the many technical requirements of the election law.

The best answer to those who believe the myth that no new party can get on the ballot is the simple fact that many minority parties, poorly based and appealing to small groups, <u>are</u> on the ballot in many states. Any new party movement is not doomed to extinction if all states are not covered the first time out as a national movement. Key industrial and farm states, concentrated in regions, are far more important to the growth of a genuine new party than thin coverage of the entire 48 states.

NORTH JERSEY GROUP AFFILIATES

NECNP's new affiliate is the North Jersey Educational Committee for a New Party.

Organized during the past month by a group of trade union and progressive leaders in the Newark-Jersey City area the new affiliate is already at work conducting meetings of an educational nature.

Steps to broaden the present membership into civic groups are also being taken by the active continuations committee. Pierson Ostrow, 225 Meeker Ave., Newark 8, N. J. is acting as secretary for the group.

PAMPHLET OUT SOON

Sometime this month, depending on printing schedules and the ever-short paper supply, the pamphlet, "Ideas for a New Party" will be available.

This 34 page publication, already published in the current edition of Antioch Review, will have a foreword by our honorary chairman, John Dewey and will be signed by a broad cross-section of the people supporting the National Educational Committee for a New Party. The pamphlet was produced under the direction of the Research Council of the NECNP, headed by Lewis Corey.

MONTHLY REVIEW OUT THIS MONTH

The newest publication of the NECNP, Labor in Britain Today, will be available early in December. This also is the work of the Research Council and will bring to the American public a reasoned analysis of the achievements of the British Labour Party, now engaged in highly important progress toward a democratic social order.

* * * * * * *

DECISIONS OF COMMITTEE MEETING

A significant meeting of the National Educational Committee for a New Party was held in Cleveland, Ohio on November 16th. Committee members from all sections attended and worked out important policy decisions for the expansion of the work of the NECNP.

As the number of groups being organized increases recommendations on their affiliation to the National Committee were of first importance. The Cleveland session decided that the basis of affiliation should be determined on 3 criteria; the name of the affiliate should be similar in intent to that of the national committee, viz. Blankville Educational Committee for a New Party, affiliated with the NECNP; the group making up the local affiliate be as broadly representative of existing new party sentiment as possible, and finally, that the individuals making up the new affiliate be broadly in agreement with the stated purpose of the NECNP as expressed in our various statements and publications.

A committee was named to act on requests for affiliations on the advice of the executive director. All affiliation granted or turned down by this committee are subject to review by the full National Committee.

The naming of the time and place for the National Conference and the question of representation and voting procedure for this conference were discussed.

LUNCH SESSION

Our Cleveland hosts brought together a representative group of Clevelanders interested in a new party for lunch. Short talks were given by Ben Davidson, executive secretary of New York's Liberal Party; Lewis Corey, of Antioch College, and head of the NECNP's Research Council, and by Harry Laidler, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy.

KRAMER S COLUMN

Ken Kramer
Executive Director

Election results hit close to estimates made in our last Newsletter. Liberals in the Democratic Party fell hard and left only a corporal's guard in Congress for the next two years.

The liberal Party in New York polled 183,000 votes, a gain of enough votes to make this party an established political organization under the election laws of New York.

Liberal and labor mass votes in most sections simply stayed home and let Republicans win by default. Outside of a state like New York, the choice between the candidates was too narrow and the discouraging record of the 79th Congress was too strong to inspire any large turnout. More than ever was the need of a genuine choice for the voters made clear.

The breadth of support for our program is more than good. People we have talked to are glad to hear that we aren't coming out with a stable of weary Messiahs but with a program as a base. People are a little tired of the Big Personality and the magic names of the past arouse little enthusiasm. The people want to know what we stand for, how we analyze the coming economic situation and what we plan to do about it politically.

CIO CONVENTION

There was plenty of new party talk at the convention of the CIO. None of it on the floor of the convention, in fact there was little discussion there of political action in the old sense of the word. A resolution was adopted carrying on the CIO-PAC program. Sidney Hillman's successor as head of PAC, Jack Kroll, spoke in favor of it and two delegates also spoke in favor of it. It was adopted without much enthusiasm. We are told that there will be heavy cuts in the present PAC staff, a more modest program with concentration in certain areas and a definite clipping of fellow traveler and Communist Party influence in PAC.

Significant absentees from the oratorical lists were Wallace and Pepper. The top leadership of CIO is concentrating

(Cont. from other col.)

on what can be called a trade union job, wages, hours, conditions of work and survival. The trend is away from what many conservative trade unionists term "pie in the sky" matters. Discouraged by the election results and aware that anti-union legislation is strongly favored by the vindictive groups in both the Republican and Democratic parties, leaders such as Murray believe organized labor's best chance for survival is strict attention to the basic business of a trade union. This was the sentiment that ruled the convention floor.

But in the committee meetings and in the caucuses the strength of the progressive unionists who see more in organized labor than junior partnership in industry was proved. From these people and their local leadership will come the support for new party in the future.

MARTINSON RETURNS TO MICHIGAN

Mary Martinson, administrative secretary of the NECNP since May, has returned to Michigan as field representative of the National Committee.

The National Committee at its Cleveland meeting highly commended Miss Martinson for her work in the national office. Her task in Michigan will be to help in the growth of the new party movement in that strategic state.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

CONTRIBUTE TO THE

GROWTH OF THE

NEW PARTY

MOVEMENT

NECNP
232 East Erie
Chicago 11, Ill.

National Educational Committee for a New Party
232 East Erie Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

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Mr. A. Philip Randolph
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New Party

N.E.C.N.P.

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY

NEWS LETTER

Published at 232 East Erie, Chicago 11, Illinois February, 1947 Vol. 2, No. 1

SOCIALIST MERGER SEEN LIKELY IN '47

Unity between the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation, the right wing of the Socialist Party which split off in 1936 and subsequently supported President Roosevelt for three terms, seems quite likely.

Committees from both groups have been meeting regularly in the last month, exploring areas of agreement and disagreement. The most concrete step was the establishment of three sub-committees, composing one Socialist representative and one SDF delegate to draw up a statement of policy on the major areas of foreign and domestic policy.

The committees are headed by top leaders of both groups. Representing the SDF are August Claeesens, Louis Goldberg and Algernon Lee. Speaking for the Socialist Party are Harry Fleischman, William Becker and Irving Barshop.

It is known that several leading trade unionists have addressed letters to both groups urging unity and pointing out that a united Socialist movement would be a powerful force in helping shape a general people's third party.

In an effort to spur unity the Jewish Socialist Verband sponsored a mass meeting in New York the latter part of January. Both Algernon Lee and Norman Thomas spoke, the first time both men have appeared on the same platform in a decade.

G.O.P. CONGRESS OPENS ANTI-LABOR DRIVE

The Republican leadership, now in complete control of Congress, has announced that it will take full responsibility for a labor bill. In other words it will enforce discipline and shape a bill that meets the approval of all Republican leaders. This bill is bound to create some curbs on labor.

Thus on one level the issue is clear. The second question is whether the Truman administration will fall into the Republican line, or seek to hedge by sponsoring anti-labor legislation of its own.

The basic lines of this Congressional anti-labor legislation are clear. It will:

- Suspend the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction bill by giving the government the right to put down strikes in "essential industries" by the right of injunction;
- Eliminate mass picketing
- Amend the Wagner Act to give employers the right to speak against union.
- Make labor subject to penalties for violation of contract
- Forbid political contributions to primary campaigns.

Efforts by Senator Ball and Congressman Case are directed to outlawing the closed shop and industry-wide bargaining. Whether these latter points will be included in the final Republican bill is still a moot point. But it is fairly certain that the final Republican bill will include the points outlined above.

(cont. on p. 2, col. 1)

NECNP Newsletter

Published by National Educational
Committee for a New Party
232 E. Erie - Chicago 11, Ill.

Honorary Chairman: John Dewey
Chairman: A. Philip Randolph
Secretary: D. J. McLanahan
Treasurer: Pearl Willen

Research Director: Lewis Corey

Newsletter Board:
Daniel Bell
R. M. Clurman
Martin Diamond

ANTI-LABOR DRIVE

(cont. from p. 1)

It seems likely that some curbs on labor will be enacted by the present Congress. There is no substantial bloc of labor-minded or labor sympathetic persons in Congress to balk those attempts.

The most important and singularly revealing fact about labor's political weakness is that in those states where labor strength and vote is concentrated most -- in the industrialized states along the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes in which are located the steel, auto and rubber factories--the Congressional representation is even more reactionary than the rest of the country. In fact it is the Senators from these industrialized states who are leading the fight on labor.

Ohio: Taft; Bricker
Michigan: Vandenberg; Ferguson
Illinois: Brooks; Lucas
Indiana: Jenner; Capehart
Pennsylvania: Martin; Meyers
New York: Wagner; Ives
New Jersey: Smith; Hawkes

Of these 14 Senators we find one and a half liberals: Wagner from New York as the one, and Lucas and Ives, a fourth each, making the half. Hawkes, for example, is a past president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

In local areas, as in Chicago, the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhood councils have formed joint legislative committees to combat the tory legislation. As yet most of this action is on a local level.

RECOMMENDED READING - "IDEAS FOR A NEW PARTY"

"Ideas for a New Party" is a stimulating 32-page brochure published by the National Education Committee for A New Party.

This pamphlet, written largely by Lewis Corey of Antioch College, presents a detailed demestic and foreign policy program around which progressives can rally to build a third party.

"Ideas For a New Party" has already aroused excited discussion in liberal circles over the country. The current issue of the Antioch Review contains statements on this program by a group of leading liberals including A. Philip Randolph, Jack Droll, Charles M. Lafollette, Paul Sifton, C. J. McLanahan, Horace S. Fries, Boris Shishkin, Victor G. Reuther, Donald Montgomery, Will Herberg, Edward Friess, Norman Thomas, Granville Hicks, Glenn J. Talbott, Harry W. Laidler, and Pearl L. Willen.

"Ideas for a New Party" can serve as a basis for discussion by small groups interested in the growth of a third party. Copies can be obtained for ten cents each (or $7.50 per hundred) by writing to:

Natl. Educational Committee for a New Party
232 E. Erie - Chicago 11, Ill.

EDUCATION AND DISCUSSION NOTES

The next issue of the NECNP Newsletter will inaugurate two features that will be of interest and use to educational directors or program chairmen of NECNP groups.

One will be an annotated list of recommended readings of articles and books useful for discussion and education.

The second a study guide on selected problems. These study guides can be used as the basis for group-wide discussion. These study guides will utilize government reports or pamphlets that can be obtained quite easily and cheaply.

Next month, the NECNP Newsletter will present a study guide on "Small Business and the Community," a report released by the Senate Small Business Committee. This is a report on two California towns, demonstrating what happens when "factory farms" move in on the small community.

The report is a revealing commentary on American life. Discussion leaders and other interested persons can obtain a copy free by writing Senator James Murray, chairman of the Committee.

ON THE QUESTION OF RED-BAITING -

Every progressive organization is plagued by the issue of red-baiting. Yet red-baiting is successful only because the people don't know who the communists are. If we could identify the communists then any issue could be fought through on its political merits. If the communists stood on their own feet, reactionaries could not smear and harm the broad labor movement for the distinction would be clear. And that is why the Communists themselves so frantically raise the issue of redbaiting. For them it is protective coloration. By camouflaging themselves they are able to work their purposes behind some innocent progressive and confuse any political issue when they are attacked.

The question is often raised: doesn't redbaiting "play into the hands of reactionaries"? It does when the Communists have been able to masquerade as progressives.

The basic evidence shows that Communists are not interested in promoting progressive causes and progressive issues. Over the last twenty-five years literally dozens of progressive organizations have been wrecked when the Communists have failed of control or when their line has changed. Each year a few more individuals learn that lesson anew. In recent months, Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union and for a long time a fellow-traveler, has denounced the Communists in his union and Harry Bridges, for seeking to subordinate workers' interests to the Party line. Morris Muster resigned as President of the Furniture Workers CIO for the same reason.

The national CIO, under Phil Murray, has now forbidden its affiliated state and local CIO bodies from contributing to Communist front organizations.

Yet the question is still raised, if we expose the Communists, won't the reactionaries make use of it. This is a variation of the "amalgam" doctrine: Hearst and McCormick are against the Communists, if you oppose the Communists you help Hearst and McCormick. There are three things wrong with that argument. Political issues are rarely that simple. Reactionaries know the score anyway; silence on the part of liberals only makes reactionary-redbaiting that much more effective. And, three, the fact that reactionaries will utilize the truth and twist it is no reason not to publish it.

During the war every publication by progressive magazines of race riots and lynchings in the south was utilized by Nazi Goebbels in his propaganda to show the hypocritical nature of the plutocratic democracies. Few persons would insist that we hush up those lynchings and riots. Obviously there are not two sides in politics but three.

During the last century, feudal landlords used to denounce capitalism and call for a return to the land by citing the exposes of terrible factory conditions, written by radicals. Did that mean that radicals were to keep quiet regarding those evils?

This amalgam theory falls short on another score. For the Communists change their line so often that in each period they have to scare up a new crop of 'reactionaries.' So when the Communists were ardently pro-war, any criticism of them was tagged as helping the isolationists. Now the Communists are "isolationists" and we find a soft-pedalling of criticism against the midwestern isolationist Senators.

(concluded on Page 8)

A "DEMOCRATIC" DEVIATION?

Americans who have followed the Communist Party's wartime ideological acrobatics will have no trouble understanding this dispatch from the AP:

"Philippine Communists who have made scant progress converting the predominantly Catholic archipelago to Marxism, came out today for capitalism." According to the AP, "the party still toils for socialism in the islands some day, but says that the objective pre-requisites for it do not exist at present."

A Note from the Editors

The NECNP Newsletter does not have any "inside" information on the important political events around the world, nor does it have the space, or is it its function, to print detailed analyses of the significance of these events. There are reliable liberal publications that do one or another of those jobs. These include The Progressive, Antioch Review, The Call, The New Leader, Christian Century and several others.

Yet the NECNP Newsletter can do two modest but important jobs:

First, it can point up those issues of progressive significance which require action or can stimulate thought and discussion;

Second, it can act as a clearing house for news on political activity of progressives in different parts of the country.

For the first task, the NECNP Newsletter has available competent editorial talent, trained in spotlighting and focusing attention on significant problems.

The second job needs your cooperation. If this Newsletter is to serve as a clearing house, this means that those of you in the local wards and districts have to establish contact with us. People in New York want to know about Minnesota; those in Wisconsin want to know about Seattle.

For that purpose we are assembling a regular list of correspondents from all parts of the country. Yet a correspondent in New York City may not know too much about events in Buffalo; or one in Seattle know of events in Spokane, on the other side of the mountain ranges. Therefore, we will need your help to complete the job.

If there is activity going on, we would like to know about it. Send in those news-notes. It is a vital part of the Newsletter's function.

BASIC DATA

GOV'T. AIDS MONOPOLY

A report release by Estes Kefauver, chairman of the House subcommittee on monopoly, states that the Government itself is greatly accelerating and strengthening monopolistic control of the economy by turning over to big business the bulk of the plants built during the war at taxpayers' expense.

Up to June 30, the report estimates that 70.1 per cent of the sales of wartime plants had been made to "giant corporations" and that they also had acquired 72.8 per cent of the leases of such plants.

The report states "and not only had the big surplus plants gone to the giant corporations, but they also had obtained a significant number of the small and medium-sized plants which were apparently well suited to smaller businesses."

BASIC DATA will be a regular feature in each issue of the newsletter.

"Should the 250 largest corporations acquire the Federal facilities on which they generally hold purchase options, their plant and equipment would aggregate nearly $36,500,000,000. Thus they would hold 65 percent of the country's production facilities."

On combatting monopoly the report states "If concentration is to be reduced there must be a concerted effort involving all phases of Government. In some agencies there is not only lack of interest (in enforcing anti-trust laws but there are policies which actually promote concentration. This kind of working at cross purposes not only limits the effectiveness of Government funds - since anti-trust activity must be increased to combat the concentration resulting from other Governmental activity." (emphasis ours. ed.)

PROGRESSIVES UNITE FORM NATIONAL ADA

The newspaper headlines talked of progressive disunity. But observers closer to the scenes knew that with the formation last month of two organizations, the Americans for Democratic Action and the Progressive Citizens of America, the crystallization of progressivism had begun.

The ADA conference brought together the widest assemblage of liberal leaders since the start of the war. Present at its sessions were top-ranking representatives of the AFL and CIO as well as leading New Dealers and liberal spokesman. By adopting a policy that called for the exclusion of Communists, the ADA has cleared the ground for the unity of all democrats on limited political issues.

The Progressive Citizens of America united the remnants of the old Independent Citizens Committee and the National Citizens Political Action Committee. Both organizations had been weakened greatly by the defections of top people. Harold Ickes had resigned as chairman of the Independent Citizens Committee charging that it was subservient on its policy levels to the Communist line, while the CIO at its November convention had differentiated itself clearly from the NCPAC.

Although Phil Murray's name was used in the invitation letter to the PCA conference, it was learned that the use of Murray's name was unauthorized and that Murray has not declared any affiliation with the PCA.

On the other hand, top CIO leaders, including Allen Haywood, CIO's Director of Organization and James Carey, CIO secretary, attended and took full part in the deliberations of the ADA. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt also attended the ADA sessions and told the audience that it was necessary for liberals to act independently of the Communists.

Leon Henderson, former OPA Administrator and Wilson Wyatt, former Mayor of Louisville and ex-Housing Expediter, were elected co-chairmen of the ADA.

On the important issue of a third party, the ADA took no definite stand. Leading members of the National Educational Committee for a New Party, including Chairman A. Philip Randolph, Treasurer Pearl Willen, Louis Fischer and others, took part in the ADA sessions.

The Socialist Party, it was learned, recently passed a resolution permitting its members to affiliate with the ADA.

The ADA will work on specific issues and work for specific candidates, though it has not taken a general step in favor of the Democratic Party.

The PCA which is now headed by Frank Kingdon, and whose spiritualist leader is Henry Wallace, took a stand denouncing American foreign policy and calling for a pro-Russian stand.

The ADA resolution was critical of imperialist elements in American foreign policy but struck out with equal vigor at Russian imperialism and Russian obstructionism.

"COMMON CAUSE" GROUP FORMED AGAINST FASCISM AND COMMUNISM.

A group of liberals and conservatives generally identified with wartime groups such as Freedom House and the Committee to Defend America have formed an organization called "Common Cause" to oppose fascism and communism. The organization will concentrate largely on the foreign policy issues. Chairman of the group is Mrs. Natalie Wales Latham, founder of Bundles for Britain. Among the committee members are Dorothy Thompson, Sumner Welles, Dr. George S. Counts, Russell W. Davenport, George Fielding Eliot.

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WHO'S WHO IN CONGRESS

As in past Congresses, lawyers form a majority of the legislators in both houses, an analysis of the roster reveals.

In the House, lawyers compose 56 percent of the total, twelve percent are Businessmen; journalism contributes six percent and for agriculture, only four percent. Workers -- none.

In the new Senate, 64 of the total of 96

(Continued on p. 6)

HOPE FOR DP's--A TEN YEAR WAIT FOR EMIGRATION

Delays up to ten years are faced by Europeans and Asiatics seeking to enter this country as immigrants, State Department authorities officially declared this month. The delays are due in the main to the falling behind in work of the hopelessly inadequate and overworked American consulate staffs.

The combined annual quota for immigration from all countries is 153,879. But only 40,000 were admitted in the first post-war fiscal year, and only 60,000 are expected in the second twelve months, ending this June 30th.

According to the immigration laws first preference to one-half of any quota goes to husbands and parents of American citizens; second preference goes to alien wives and children of Americans. Consequently thousands of displaced persons face long waits before any chance of emigrating opens up.

Persons living in refugee camps in Europe can only apply as nationals of the country in which they once held citizenship. Because of discriminatory quotas, central and East European states have the lowest quotas, although former nationals of those lands are in the majority in DP camps and in greatest need.

Here is the situation in part:

Austria: quota, 1,413. Two to three year wait for non-preference applicants.

Hungary: quota, 5082. Year or more waiting for those who can get controlled immigration permits. Expect 50,000 or more applicants this year with resultant ten year wait.

Rumania: quota, 377. No visas issued, staffs inadequate.

Spain: quota, 252. Waiting list of preferred applicants, ten years wait for others.

Czecho-slovakia: quota, 2874. Two year wait.

British Isles: quota, 65,721. Currently open.

U.S. SEEKS PACIFIC BASES, REVERSES OWN UN STAND

The House Naval Affairs Committee has sent notice to congress, and the world, that the United States is in the Pacific to stay. The report states that America should take full responsibility for not only the Japanese mandated islands, but the Tyukyus as well. "We wish to affirm that the security of peace in the Pacific demands that we should hold these islands ...which were captured during the war..."

Followers of American policy in the Pacific will not be surprised by this imperialistic pronouncement. As long ago as the spring of 1945, the groundwork was laid by military commanders and hints from high quarters of the government, for a permanent occupation of certain bases in the Pacific.

The House Naval Affairs Committee (now incorporated into a large bloc of committees under the Congressional Reorganization Act) couches its statement of American intentions in the usual protective language. According to the report the occupation is for the good of the islanders and peace in the far east. Ironically, the only apparent justification given for our claim to military bases on the islands, is that we won them "at great cost of blood, lives and money."

The recommendation is an interesting example of double-standard politics. While America is quick to criticize Soviet, British and French imperialism, we can easily discover good reasons to justify our own expansion.

Imperialism by the United States is not much prettier than the Russian, British or French brand. And justification on the grounds of "the white man's burden" is a little outdated.

WHO'S WHO IN CONGRESS (conc. from P. 5)

members are lawyers. Publishing is represented by nine Senators, Agriculture with four, Business with 13. Workers -- none.

The preponderance of lawyers in Congress is a significant clue to the nature of conservative legislation. Most lawyers, especially those who are elected to Congress, find their clients largely in the business world. As counsellors they are called on to advise businessmen in relation to labor and government. Congressmen are allowed to carry on private business while serving in the legislature.

More important, when a lawyer leaves Congress and goes home to Pocatello he finds that his livelihood depends upon the work given him by the local bank, insurance company and businesses. In the particular case of Congressman X--an actual case--the active anti-monopoly stand taken by this courageous Congressman caused the decline of his law business. When he declined to run for Congress he found that there was not enough law work for him in his own small town area and so he had to take a government job. Thus a liberal leader was lost to local politics.

WHERE YOUR MONEY GOES

Out of a total of $37½ billion presented as the national budget this year, more than half will go for war expenditures or war-incurred debts.

In this second peacetime year, 11.3 billions will be spent for the Army and Navy, another 7.3 billions will be spent for veteran affairs, a total of 18.6 billions.

For social welfare purposes in all agencies a slight 1.7 billion has been earmarked. The rest of the budget calls for 5 billions as interest on the national debt; 3.5 billions for international affairs and 8.7 billions for all other administrative and public works costs.

These figures represent a total submitted to Congress by President Truman. The Republican Congress has already given notice that the budget will be slashed.

It is doubtful that any of the money pigeonholed for defense or veterans will be slashed. Social Welfare expenditures already are at rockbottom. The 3.5 billions scheduled for international affairs includes all loans and relief. The cut in the 8.7 billions administrative items would deprive the government of essential services.

Yet the GOP is determined to slash the budget. What do you think is going to go?

HAD CONGRESSMEN ONLY KNOWN - OPA VOTE MIGHT HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT

The Congressional Record, which one Senator recently called "the funniest daily publication printed in this country," may soon be defunct as the backbone of American humor.

The government is running out of paper! With the death of the OPA and the executive channeling and directing authority that went with it, the federal printing office no longer has top priority on hard-to-get newsprint stocks. Monopolistically organized paper manufacturers have contracted with private concerns for their total production, at higher prices than the government is willing to pay.

Disappointed congressmen will have to rely on summaries of their colleagues' antics in the daily newspapers, and hints on how to vote on major issues in the comic strips, for which paper is abundantly available.

AND YOU CAN'T BEAT THE HOURS!

King Ibn Saud of Arabia has an hourly income of about $1700 from royalties on American industrial installations alone. The King, who is not bothered by income taxes in a country where he makes his own laws, thus nets a daily $40,000 -- or close to $146,000,000 a year.

Saud is bitterly opposed to Jewish immigration into Palestine and told his American guests at a lavish banquet in Dhahran, Arabia, that President Truman is a fine man, but poorly advised on the Jewish question. He was also pleased at the cordial reception given his eldest son, now touring America on an invitation from Truman.

During the four hours he spent entertaining his guests, King Saud's royalties brought him enough to buy 160 modern carbines - which he undoubtedly will.

HELP FOR ANTI-FASCISTS

This winter, tens of thousands of persons are dying in Europe for lack of food. Among them are many of the valiant fighters against oppression. You can help by sending food packages directly, or by sending a package through CARE, 50 Broad St., NYC.

Names of anti-fascist fighters in various countries can be obtained from the International Solidarity Committee, Phil Heller director, 303 Fourth Ave., New York City; the International Rescue and Relief Committee, Sheba Strunsky, director, 103 Park Ave., New York City; Politics magazine, Dwight Macdonald, 45 Astor Place, New York City.

Contributions addressed to the NECNP Newsletter will be turned over to the designated fund of the three above.

"On the Question of Red-Baiting" (continued from P. 3)

During the war the Communists soft-pedalled their attacks on British rule in India and denounced anyone who would raise the issue. (In fact, Communists got a foothold in the Indian trade unions because Congress leaders were in jail for opposing the British.) Today all their fury is centered on the British. One might reverse the "amalgam" and call attention to the bedfellows the Communists find themselves with now. For the most vociferous attackers of the British are Messers Hearst and McCormick, both of whom support an extreme Zionist, anti-British position.

The Communist logic is built on the simple proposition that anybody against them is a reactionary, and that when they shift the reactionaries shift likewise. The trouble is that political issues are fairly complicated so that it is easy to pin reactionary labels when you need them. During the war, many of the blackest southern reactionaries were ardently pro-Allied while liberal midwesterners were isolationists.

The basic fact that liberals and progressives must recognize is that they have to take their stand on the basis of their own positive convictions and not as shuttlecocks shifting in negative response to others. Too often the liberals have found themselves holding strange and contradictory positions because they reacted in negative fashion to acts of others. But because the Communists are for a particular position is no *a priori* reason for being against it; nor because Taft is for a particular bill there is no similar logic in being against it.

Political effectiveness derives from a positive conviction and the creation of a goal towards which one works. Redbaiting -- in the sense of the identification of Communists and the unmasking of Communist political purposes -- is necessary for the effectiveness of a genuine progressive organization. It is also a way to rob the reactionary of his red herring issues. It clears the ground and makes for debate on the merits of the political issues themselves.

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Farewell to Futility

by Ben Dor, LPA

The business cycle, we've begun talking about. We even have a law that says that the government shall try to do something about it. But the political cycle we say almost nothing about. We just let it go on and on.

That, of course, is a bad mistake. Unless we do something about the political cycle, we might just as well stop bothering about the business cycle and a lot of the other things that worry us. Because we just aren't going to be able to do anything about them, anyway.

The Cycle Begins

We're starting off now on a new phase of the political cycle. The Republicans have taken over Congress, and have gone to work on the government agencies. Pretty soon the agencies that haven't been taken over will have been paralyzed. The agency heads that haven't been fired will have been scared to death, or their appropriations will have been nicked in just the right places.

This part of the game may look to you like "economy," but it won't save you much money, because the civilian agencies spend so little, anyway. But the cuts will be big enough and smart enough to hamstring every project that the Republicans don't like.

Of course, the whole thing will have to be done carefully so as not to frighten you, the voter. The papers will help by printing a lot of "revelations" about the terrible things the Democrats did. They'll tell you how the Republicans are saving you from the scheming bureaucrats. They'll describe over and over again how you're being saved from terrible dangers that you didn't even know existed.

By the time they've gotten through saving you, you'll be ready to elect more Republican congressmen and probably a Republican president, too. That's the way the cycle goes.

I don't know how long the honeymoon will last. But purchasing power will be running out, as the President said in his economic report to Congress. A depression is on the way unless the Republicans will do a lot of things that so far they've said they're not going to do. Maybe the sun will shine long enough for two or even three terms for Republican presidents. Then the economic cycle will go into the next phase. Unemployment. Evictions. Foreclosure. Relief lines. Cities going bankrupt. Remember?

We'll Get Tired

The political cycle will also go into its next phase. The Republicans will begin to look bad again. We'll get tired of do-nothing government. We'll demand action.

We'll remember that Truman had a program. We'll forget how weak it was, and remember only that the Republicans wouldn't do even the little bit he asked them to. We'll get tired of seeing liberals dragged up before congressional committees and forget that the Democrats treated Bowles and other liberal government heads exactly the same way.

We'll get tired of Republican reactionism, and reach out for what will again look like Democratic liberalism. Just as last November we got tired of Democratic fumbling and reached out for what looked like Republican progressivism.

The political cycle will chase off on another phase.

But there are two maybe's in the picture. Maybe, by that time, the confusions and trouble will have given the American fascists their chance. Even now, they are trying to turn loose the forces of hate and climb to power over broken bodies of your brother Americans. If you think that they can't win, remember the story of what happened in Europe, and take another look at what the American professional haters are doing today.

Maybe the clouds of a new war will be darkening the air, and every step we take will be just that much harder to see because of the darkness.

But there is also a more cheerful maybe in the picture, too. Maybe, by this time, the people will have learned from their bitter experiences in the past. Maybe this time some of the stories about a people's political party will have come true.

In a lot of different parts of the country, groups of people are getting together to study and plan for a political party of their own. The groups are small, but, maybe, before the crash, these groups can grow. Maybe they can get together on a national program of action by the people. Maybe we can have a party in this country that really understands what both democracy and prosperity mean, and has worked out a program to get them for us.

Maybe . . . if enough of us try hard enough.

TO: A Philip Randolph, Chairman
National Educational Committee
For A New Party
232 E Erie Chicago, Illinois

I want to help. Send me the following material:

_____ copies "Ideas For A New Party" 10¢; 12 for $1

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_____ copies of this article 125 for $1

I enclose payment.

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Survive and Stay Free in The Atomic Age

READ

"Ideas For A New Party"

A provisional declaration of principles, prepared under the direction of LEWIS COREY, Research Director for the NECNP. With a foreword by JOHN DEWEY, Honorary Chairman of the NECNP. The declaration of principles was signed by the following people as members of the National Committee of the NECNP. (Titles are for identification only.)

Daniel Bell, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago; *Lewis Corey*, Professor of Political Economy, Antioch College; *George S. Counts*, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; *Ben Davidson*, Executive Director, Liberal Party of New York State; *Arthur Elder*, Vice President, American Federation of Teachers, AFL; *Israel Feinberg*, General Manager, Cloak, Suit and Reefer Makers Union, ILGWU-AFL; *Edward Fiess*, Instructor, Department of English, Oberlin College; *Louis Fischer*, author and lecturer; *Horace Fries*, Professor of Philosophy, University of Wisconsin; *Martin Gerber*, Regional Director, United Automobile Workers, CIO; *Harold Gibbons*, Regional Director, United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes of America, CIO; *Louis P. Goldberg*, Councilman, New York City; *Patrick E. Gorman*, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL; *Matthew B. Hammond*, State Chairman, Michigan Commonwealth Federation; *Granville Hicks*, novelist and critic; *Brigadier-General Herbert C. Holdridge* (retired); *Maynard Kreuger*, member, National Committee, Socialist Party; *Harry W. Laider*, Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy; *Sol Levitas*, Executive Editor, "New Leader"; *Simeon Martin*, President, Michigan Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America; *Emil Mazey*, Regional Director, United Automobile Workers, CIO; *C. J. McLanahan*, Educational Director, Cooperative League of the U. S. A.; *H. L. Mitchell*, President, National Farm Labor Union, AFL; *Donald Montgomery*, Consumer Counsel, United Automobile Workers, CIO; *A. Philip Randolph*, International President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL; *Vinal Tibbetts*, American Education Fellowship; *Samuel S. White*, Kansas City Joint Board, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL; and *Pearl L. Willen*, Director Women's Division, Liberal Party of New York

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ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE National Educational Committee For a New Party STATEMENTS

UNDATED

GREETINGS TO THE MICHIGAN COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION

America needs a new political party of the common people. Recent events make this fact more convincing than ever.

The Republican Party remains more firmly than ever in the hands of the reactionaries for whom Robert Alonso Taft is the eager spokesman.

The Democratic Party cannot be the Party of hope or progress, so long as the Southern Bourbons--now filibustering against the FEPC, as they previously filibustered against ending the infamous poll tax--share control with often corrupt big city machines of the North.

The ends of World War II finds humanity in fear and expectation of World War III. Despite the urgent menace of the atomic bomb, the old international game of imperialist grab continues.

A war has been fought against the totalitarian idea, but totalitarianism is more widespread than before. A war has been won against the proponents of false and vicious racial ideas, but freedom is still denied to the dominated peoples of color.

Our country conquered unemployment for the purpose of waging war. It must conquer it in time of peace. Unless we do achieve full employment, we must again return to periodic depressions, explosive racial frictions, and probably a war which will destroy a large part of humanity.

The success of the Labor Party in Britain, the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, the Socialists of Belgium, the Social Democrats in other countries of Europe are evidences that plain people everywhere have the same fears and hopes as ourselves. It is time for a new political party in America, one that will truly speak for the workers, farmers, small business man and professional; a party that will be a force in building a world without war and hate and exploitation.

The Michigan Commonwealth Federation is logically one of the foundation stones of such a movement. It has persisted against powerful opposition from many quarters. It is proof that Americans will rally to the banner of high principle and idealism.

I offer sincere greetings and wishes for a successful future to the Michigan Commonwealth Federation.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION HELD AT HOTEL NEW YORKER, DECEMBER 1st, 1945, ON PROSPECTS FOR NEW LABOR-LIBERAL POLITICAL ACTION.

Invitations to the discussion meeting were sent by A. Philip Randolph, International President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Due to illness, Mr. Randolph was himself unable to attend, and Louis Fischer presided at his request.

Most of the participants were present as individuals, not delegated by organizations. Organizational reference below is to identify sphere of activity. Those attending were:

Louis Fischer; Member of Executive Comm., Liberal Party; UDA
Israel Feinberg; Mgr. Cloakmakers Joint Board, ILGWU
Mrs. Pearl Willen; Liberal Party
Dr. J. Henry Carpenter; Brooklyn Federation of Churches; Cooperative movement
William Becker; Labor Secretary, Socialist Party
Harry Fleischmann; National Secretary, Socialist Party
Frank McCallister; Workers Defense League, Southern representative.
Morris Milgram; Director, Workers Defense League
Lewis Corey; Ohio Commonwealth Federation
Mary Martinson; Executive Secretary, Michigan Commonwealth Fed.
Frederick Shulman; Social Democratic Federation
Theodore Shapiro; Social Democratic Federation
James Lipsig; Textile Workers Union of America, CIO., and Veterans League of America
David Schick; Upholsterers International Union, AFL
Aldrich Turner; March on Washington Movement
Murray Gross; ILGWU
Varian Fry; Editor, Common Sense
Benjamin McLaurin; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
E. Schwartzman; Local 338, URWDSEA, CIO
John R. Childs; Chairman, Liberal Party, American Federation of Teachers
Mrs. Margaret De Silver
Samuel Colton; former Executive Secretary, America Labor League of New Jersey
Silvia Fox Colton; formerely with the American Labor League of New Jersey
Martin Gerber; Director, District 9 UAWA, CIO
Gabe De Angelis; UAWA, CIO

Samuel Colton was asked to keep a record of the discussion.

In opening the discussion, Mr. Fischer outlined some of the factors indicating need and opportunity for a progressive Third party:

The atomic bomb, with its grave threat to all humanity and the resulting sense of urgency;
The effects of the Bristish Labor victory and the progress of the CCF in Canada;
The disunity within the major parties;
The inability of progressive legislators to win thru Congress such essentials as a full employment program, the FEPC Bill etc;
The passing of FDR and resultant weakening of loyalties;
Dissatisfaction with Truman's labor policies.

Reports were given on experiences and outlook in various regions. The Michigan Commonwealth Federation received much attention, as indicative of the problems to be met, particularly since there had been some success despite official opposition by the PAC. The rising Negro vote in the Southern cities; the role of the PAC and the Communists; the influence of the British and Canadian developments on the thinking of co-operative leaders; the residue of sentiment for political independence in the Dakotas, Washington and Oregon; persistent local or state Labor Party sentiment; were among some of the favorable elements offered.

Some problems commented upon included:

"Liberal" Republicans led by Stassen can be expected to make strong appeals to both isolationist and imperialist sentiment;

A belief that a Labor or other Third party to originate with PAC would be harmful to the movement; that it may be expected of the

Third Party

"WAKE UP, AMERICA!"

Does America Need a Third Party?

Moderated by
FRED G. CLARK
Chairman American
Economic Foundation

As debated by

Ben Davidson
Executive Director, Liberal Party of New York State

J. Kenneth Bradley
Republican National Committeeman from Connecticut

MR. DAVIDSON OPENS: America needs a third party. Both the Democratic and Republican parties have repeatedly demonstrated their incapacity to solve the major problems of American life. Both have held political power; yet, under both, large sections of our population have lacked the food, clothing, housing, medical care, and economic security people need and this country can provide. The fundamental cleavages within the two old major parties prevent their effectuating positive programs for achieving full employment, high production levels, and improved living standards. In the Democratic Party, Senators Wagner and Bilbo are diametrically opposed in outlook and action, and similarly with Morse and Bricker in the Republican Party. The spread of totalitarianism, the danger of a third and atomic world war, the virus of religion and racial bigotry and persecution require a political instrument that will enable the people to meet these challenges. The Republican Party, controlled by reactionary Big Business elements and isolationists, and the Democratic Party, dominated by Southern Tories, racists, and Big City machines, cannot serve as this progressive instrument. These times demand that liberals in all walks of life unite in a new, nation-wide third party that will challenge the unholy alliance of Reactionary Republicans and Southern Tory Democrats now dominating Congress. What the present Congress has done on price control, F.E.P.C., Wyatt's housing program, the minimum wage bill, and the Case Bill is living proof a new party is needed.

MR. BRADLEY CHALLENGES: I challenge Mr. Davidson: (1) To demonstrate that any country has made as much progress on the road to complete individual liberty and economic security as has been made in the United States under the two-party system; (2) to demonstrate that the successful formation and maintenance of a third party would result in greater individual liberty and economic security for all of the people; (3) to explain the obvious inconsistency in his position in saying that each of the two major parties now has in its ranks Senators "diametrically opposed in outlook and action" and, at the same time, claiming that the Republican Party is "controlled by reactionary elements" and the Democratic Party dominated by "Southern Tories".

MR. DAVIDSON REPLIES: American progress is due to many factors—not the two-party system. Mr. Bradley's Republican Party was itself a third party—against the Whigs and Democrats. As such it helped preserve the Union and abolish slavery. Even Roosevelt could not reform his party. The last Democratic Congress elected with him has demonstrated its reactionary character. Talmadges, Mays, Hauges continue as Democratic chieftains. The Republican Party didn't invite Willkie, 1940 candidate, to its 1944 convention. Big Business, isolationists thought him too progressive. The two parties represent reaction and privilege. America needs a new party—with a positive liberal program—for freedom with security —for all.

MR. BRADLEY OPENS: Our two-party system fixes responsibility and gives the people the fullest voice in the management of their affairs. To avoid tyranny and dictatorship and to protect individual freedom, we have established a government of laws, not men, a government of checks and balances. The two-party system is essential to the operation of this type of government. The party in power must either voluntarily assume or be compelled to take full responsibility for the policies it initiates and for the acts of its individual officeholders. The successful establishment of a third party would result in the control often resting with a minority and party responsibility would thus be divided and impaired. The successful establishment of a third party would bring down on our heads the curse of the bloc system as it has flourished in the European parliaments. Party responsibility would be destroyed. Pressure groups would be built up as political parties. Log-rolling and unconscionable political trading would occur in the minority party. Politicians and parties would hide behind the claim that it was the fault of some minorities that brought about the adoption of bad legislation. The American system of government and our liberties would soon be lost. The American form of government has succeeded better than any other in preserving individual freedom and protecting minority rights. The two-party system is a basic and essential part of this form of government. It must be preserved.

MR. DAVIDSON CHALLENGES: Real political responsibility is impossible because the major party platforms are meaningless. Is it Willkie Republicanism or Taft Republicanism the citizen is voting for? A Roosevelt Democratic Party or a Rankin Party? The reactionary wings of both major parties work together. Tweedledum and Tweedledee afford no opportunity for positive choice. This defeats the democratic process. Why not work toward a realignment of political forces that will bring clarity, honesty and genuine responsibility? Why not a third party of all liberals? This will force the ultra-conservatives of both major parties to coalesce. The picture will be clear —voting will then be meaningful.

MR. BRADLEY REPLIES: My opponent errs in condemning the system because he does not like the way it works. Limiting ourselves to our present major political parties fixes the responsibility with certainty. The confusion of which Mr. Davidson speaks arises, insofar as it exists at all, from the fact that the P.A.C. and its allies have captured the Democratic high command without subjugating the rank and file of the membership. No third party is needed to clear up this situation. The two-party system definitely fixes responsibility; but a party in power, divided as the Democratic Party is, finds it impossible to accept such responsibility. The difficulty is not with the system but with the party.

No. 329

Release Week of August 5

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CALL FOR THIRD PARTY

Open Forum

The time has come for the organization of an aggressive and universal third party. The two-party system propaganda is just a plain hoax, and I am convinced the American people are subject to change provided it is for the better.

When one votes for either of the two major parties he seems to be voting for the lesser of two evils, because both major parties have allowed themselves to become so saturated with ruts that whoever is in power our economy is stalemated.

The present executive at the White House, although a straight thinker, is much too weak to cope with the situation. However, if the other party was in we would probably be confronted with indifference and a host of other ailments.

Yes, we need a new third party with an American outlook, a party that is universal in scope, a party that ignores factions and seeks to serve all the people, a party up-to-date enough to face this new age squarely and with an open mind, a party that will promise and get more efficiency in government, a party that will realign more to the needs of our time, a party that will offer a constructive program and will not stoop to plain mudslinging. Yes, we need a People's party.

R. Sheets

Des Moines Register
May 12th, 1946

The following excerpts are proposed as a policy for the Third or People's Party.. They are proposed not only in themselves but as a guide-post in formulating other policies of the party.

STRIKES

What started out to be a justified procedure to insure better working conditions has grown to such proportions that the workingman himself as well as his immediate business connections are strangling themselves in their own lair. These strikes and similar financial upheavals should be taken to the courts and they should be decided upon by regular court procedure. Economic judges, specialists in this sphere, should be appointed to hear these cases.

A strike isn't a strike against the immediate employer alone. It is a strike against the community. A striker's pay suddenly taken out of circulation reflects not only on himself but his grocer, baker, barber, doctor, landlord, etc. Even though the wage earner wins a pay boost he is immediately confronted with a corresponding and most times overshadowing rise in prices of what he buys that his efforts have proved nil.

Another point that should be considered here is that wages should be standardized and set throughout the country. There is no particular reason why one skilled workman should receive more pay than another workman of equal skill just because he lives and works in another part of the land. Equal quantities of equal quality of goods and services should receive the same price and wage. A bushel of wheat is worth exactly the same as another bushel of wheat of the same quality regardless of its location and irregardless of supply and demand. To more or less standardize and set wages is to propel a corresponding standardization and setting of prices. This wage question and price question must be settled once and for all. This constant bickering for upward trend of wages and prices is a never-ending merry-go-

round. It is senseless and foolhardy.

A unified program of standardization is simple to direct, easier to plan, more democratic, more business-like, a potential pre-requisite for a stepped up economy. An automobile engine with one large piston and three or four of various sizes is absurd. While a motor of equal size pistons properly counterbalanced produces a smooth and precise cycle. The complexity of our economic system must be balanced and counterbalanced if we are ever to realize the God-Given potentialities of our country. The Federal Reserve should of course remain the focusing point but we must depend less and less on this agency. A moderate rate of turnover in a precise cycle is a pace that kills and insures a definite rate of progress.

ACCURATE APPROACH TO CRIME

It is being said with repeated frequency in the press and propaganda agencies that what we need today to combat crime is to hire more law enforcement men and women, more sharp-shooters, more use of strong arm methods and scientific detection, stouter invulnerable jails, veritable fortress-like prisons, etc., but this judgment is a profound error. Crime must be approached from a more realistic angle. It is not enough to solve a problem with just an open mind too. The stature and causes must be completely digested. Policemen, though perfectly conscientious, by the nature of their position simply are not ministers. And ministers, welfare workers etc. are not policemen. Judges are not social reformers. Each in his sphere of influence is doing his job. What we need is a unified program. First for the law to take its course in detection and for the courts to establish guilt. Second, a unified program such as a citizen's welfare committee in each community to get at the very roots of these crimes. In other words, why was the Crime committed? It is a safe wager that most of them can be directly attributed to causes outside of the defendant's influence. If society is to blame then society must correct itself. To punish all crimes on the calendar by incarceration and fines borders on illiteracy. Our kindergarten, medieval, dark-age philosophy of combating crime from the point of the act rather than from the cause has resulted in wholesale repetitions and aggravated rather than temper the criminal tendencies of our citizenry.

Note: Judge William R. McKay, Presiding Judge, Criminal Division Los Angeles Superior Court, Los Angeles, California, should have charge of this work.

EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

The entourage of the Mayflower were bent upon one thing to escape the tyranny of the lands from whence they came. Here was a new life where they could be free to live as they chose. But alas in years to come these colonizers found that the very things from which they had fled had also followed them here. Taxation without representation, despotism, etc. became so unbearable that the war for independence was fought culminating in Yorktown and Independence Hall. The immortal document the Constitution of the United States has grown to become the guiding light of people in many lands and has won the respect of people everywhere. Its theme and thesis is:

1. Separate and independent government.
2. Complete representation.
   (a) Universal suffrage.
3. Freedom of Speech.
4. Freedom of Religion.
5. Equality and justice for all.

6. Balance of power.

The Constitution of the United States does not need changing but it does need a modern interpretation in the light of our present mode of living. It was all right in those early days for free and unbridled speech to reign in the halls of Congress when life flowed everywhere at such a slow pace. But today, however, when life moves at the speed of a rocket the Congress has become a real and perennial bottleneck. Freedom of Speech should, of course, remain but it should have direction. Congress should be streamlined. Repetitions, filibustering and wavering from the subject under discussion should be completely outlawed. The work of any committee should be open for investigation by the rest of the congress. The Cabinet needs an overhauling and there has been enough written to guide us on this subject. Like the Federal Government likewise the several states. Standardization of laws, streamlining of legislatures is the order of the day. By complete representation today we mean representation of all the people not distinct factions. By Freedom of Religion we do not mean complete abandonment of Religion in our public school system. Time off can be arranged for students to go to their separate churches for religious instruction (preferably 3 hours a week) and proper credit given to these students in the regular curriculum -- provided the same discipline and work is on the same plane as in the regular school room. By equality and justice for all we mean to get at the very roots of the cause of crime through committees of cross sections of the populace. The Balance of Power we choose to retain except that streamlining be incorporated. The Government of the United States though most always right is one of the slowest governments on earth. By efficiency in government we mean that as an economic unit in our system it should be economically sound.

CHARACTERISTICS OF "THIRD OR PEOPLE'S PARTY"

1. It will be duly incorporated as a Party.

2. It will be known as the "Third or People's Party".
(The "Third" places us into immediate prominence, and the "People's" defines it.)

3. Invitation is extended to any citizen of the United States to become a member of the "Third or People's Party"provided:

   a - he or she is literate
   b - he or she is not in the pay or influence of a foreign power.

4. Promises to factions any and all is prohibited and the interest of all concerned in any endeavor of the party shall remain supreme.

5. Membership shall be of individuals

   (1) For the 1st 500,000
   $5.00 admission fee and 1st year - $3.00 per year thereafter

   (2) For the 2nd 500,000
   $4.00 admission fee and 1st year - $3.00 " " "

   (3) For all over 1,000,000
   $3.00 admission fee and 1st year - $3.00 " " "

(4) 75% of this amount in any of the above categories will be charged when Husband and Wife join together.
This is democratic and final as far as contributions expected.

(5) Trusteeship of all moneys shall be in the hands of the organization of the party and all money spent shall have its prior approval.

(6) A Bi-ennial report on progress of the party and money spent will be sent to each member of the party.

(7) A questionaire will be sent to all members of the party on emergency and controversial issues as often as it is necessary.

(8) The party will not support for election any candidate of another party.

It is repeated. We in America do need this party. It is founded in good faith and in the best interest of your country and mine. The time is of the greatest essence. It must be organized and promulgated now. The opportunity of accomplishing it is much more than most of us realize. As a winner like Knute Rockne would have said, "Drive - Drive! - Drive!!" And the time to drive is now!

Russell E. Sheetz
Rural Route #4
Davenport, Iowa
2-0888

Russell E. Sheetz

Ken
Com Fed

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY
606 Hofmann Building
Detroit, Michigan

May 28, 1946

For immediate release

RANDOLPH CALLS TRUMAN STRIKE-BREAKER - URGES NEW PARTY

"President Truman's vindictive strike-breaking actions in the railroad crisis may yet do some good." declared A. Philip Randolph, president of the A.F. of L's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and chairman of the recently formed National Educational Committee for a New Party, located at 606 Hofmann Building, Detroit, Mich. "It may open the eyes of labor, farm and cooperative leaders to the impossibility of continuing the wornout tradition of a two-party system in which neither party serves the interests of the people. But that is the only good thing that can be said for it."

"Truman's demand that Congress allow him to draft workers to labor against their will is nothing but a cowardly attempt to evade the Constitution's prohibition of involuntary servitude. It strikes at the fundamental American concept of the rights of man."

"His bill would completely destroy the process of collective bargaining. By waiting long enough and sabotaging negotiations with labor, arrogant and insincere management could bring about a phony seizure of the industry by the government and, at the point of a gun, force their employees to work. The Truman method would completely destroy unions."

"When Truman presented his strike-breaking legislation to Congress, reactionary Republicans cheered as loudly for the President as did the reactionary Democrats. Well may the reactionary Republicans cheer. Truman dealt the Democratic Party a blow that has alienated the support of labor's rank and file."

"Unfortunately for millions of workers, there will be little choice in November when two brands of reactionary Congressional nominees are presented to them. Democratic Party politicians have traded on the blindness of union leaders who failed to see the need for building a party which would represent the interests of the common people. It is their belief that labor will have no other choice but to support them in 1948 that allows them to commit irresponsible and criminal acts like those they have indulged in during the last few days."

"It is up to us to confound the old party politicians. The call of A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, for the defeat of President Truman, will be echoed by all progressives. But it will only have real meaning if it becomes a clarion call for the mobilization of labor, farm and cooperative forces throughout America for the founding of a new victorious political party of the common people, based on a democratic planned economy. The time for action is now."

-end-

Statement of the National Educational Committee
for a New Party on the ADA

May 24, 1947

The National Educational Committee for a New Party extends its greetings to the newly organized Americans for Democratic Action, headed by Wilson W. Wyatt and Leon Henderson.

The death of the New Deal and the defeat of so many progressives in the 1946 Congressional elections have, among other things, given the reactionary forces in America an opening for which they had long been waiting. Today, the American people, and particularly those in the labor movement, are confronted with a wave of reactionary legislation designed to deprive them of certain fundamental rights and to destroy much of the hard-won labor and social legislation which has been placed on the statute books during the last 15 years.

American democracy must rise to the defense of labor's rights. It must wage a ceaseless struggle against high prices which are forcing down living standards and creating unprecedented profits for the corporations of America; these high prices are driving us toward another economic crash.

American democracy must combat vigorously all tendencies toward American imperialism.

These are the profound convictions of the National Educational Committee for a New Party. They are also the convictions of the Americans for Democratic Action. In the fight against these threats to democratic living, the NECNP and the ADA see eye to eye.

If our nation is to provide leadership for peace, prosperity, and democracy, we in the NECNP believe that our people must seek an immediate realignment of political forces. Experience has shown that liberals can expect no solutions of the pressing problems of our day from the Republican Party; they can expect very little indeed from the Democratic Party, especially in view of the strangle-hold that the Southern wing has upon the Party at the present time.

Nor can we expect effective help in the solution of these problems from those who collaborate with the Communists and their fellow-travellers. Those who apologize for totalitarian dictatorship and aggression and who continually change their policies to suit the foreign office of the Soviet Union, cannot form any legitimate part of any movement committed to liberalism and the democratic way of life. For this reason, we heartily congratulate the ADA upon its forthright declaration dissassociating itself from the Communists.

We are not unmindful of the fact that, while the ADA is an independent organization of liberals, it nevertheless has strong ties with the Democratic party which many of its members hope to reform along New Deal lines. Those who follow the line of immediate expediency may regard this as good politics. In our judgment, however, this is no sound approach to the solution of a fundamental problem. Unless independence of political thinking is matched by independence in political action, the principle of independence is compromised. At this crucial moment in our history, American liberalism cannot afford the luxury of compromise on this principle.

Now more than ever before, this country needs a liberal and progressive independent political party depending for its support upon organized labor, farmers and all progressive non-totalitarian groups and individuals. We are therefore calling upon all men and women working in industry, commerce and agriculture, and in the professions, to join with us in our efforts to educate the American public in behalf of independent political action, with the view of launching, at the appropriate moment, a political party similar in many respects to the British Labor party and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada.

We urge the ADA to give serious consideration to the need of such a new political alignment. We urge it, likewise, after basic analysis of the problems, in consultation with labor and progressive forces, to formulate programs of action on housing, full employment, the democratic control of industry, etc., adequate to the needs of our times. In this task, the ADA may be assured of the wholehearted cooperation of the National Educational Committee for a New Party.

REPORT OF ACTIVITIES TO DATE

May 15, 1947

A. The Proposed Plan of Operation

The proposed plan of operation was drafted in consultation with a number of members of the National Committee. It was mailed to all members of the Committee on April 10, 1947. There have been very few replies received from the members. However, those members who did reply, in general approved of the plan. There was some feeling that the proposal was a little more ambitious than the NECNP would be able to carry out, but even the member who made that comment noted that the plan could be put into effect gradually.

B. Advertising

Each member of the National Committee was sent two suggested ads. One of these advertises the pamphlet, "Ideas for a New Party"; the other one plugs both the pamphlet and membership in the NECNP. The members were urged to help get the smaller one into their local labor and similar papers, and to send for printed copies of the larger ad for distribution in meetings of different kinds.

To date, one response has been received, from Fiess at Oberlin. He is working to get the small ad used locally. There may be other efforts being made that we have had no report about.

C. The "Ben Dor" reprint.

The Committee approved reproducing a column by Ben Dor that had appeared in a number of labor papers. 10,000 copies were reproduced. Each member of the National Committee has received some sample copies and a letter asking for help in getting them distributed in and by organizations.

In addition, the reprint will be used in a mailing that is being made to all of the people om the NECNP mailing list. This mailing is planned for next week.

D. The Advertising Handbill

This is an 8½ x 11 handbill, copy for which has just been turned in to the printer. It, too, is intended for distribution in meetings of all types, and for inclosure in the general mailing referred to above.

The same copy will appear in the "Progressive" and will be offered to the New Leader and perhaps one or two other liberal papers as well.

E. "Primer on Cartels"

The manuscript for this 24 page pamphlet is ready to be sent to the printer. It consists of an article by Justin V. Purcell that appeared in the "Progressive", reprint permission for which has been given by Morris Rubin. It includes a series of definitions of terms used, and discussion questions that were prepared for us by Dan Bell of Chicago. It also contains a foreword by A. Philip Randolph.

The manuscript will be sent to the printer in the next few days and production and promotion will be begun.

F. ARTICLE for the Workmen's Circle Call

On invitation from Mr. Lopatin, editor of the "Call", we are preparing a 1300 word article on the NECNP, to appear in the July issue of the paper. The article will be signed by A. Philip Randolph as Chairman of the NECNP. We hope to get reprints made of the article for national distribution.

G. DIGEST of the Pamphlet on "IDEAS"

A short statement of the ideas in the pamphlet, about 1500 words long, is being prepared. This is primarily for distribution to newspaper editors and columnists, radio commentators, and similar people.

H. There are some other educational materials in prospect, both for general use, and for distribution to special groups.

I. General Mailing

NECNP has a mailing list of approximately 1200 names of people who have shown interest in New Party Organization in one way or another. As indicated above, a mailing to all of these people is in preparation. It will consist of the handbill referred to above, the Ben Dor article, and a covering letter that asks for contributions and support.

It is planned that this mailing shall be followed by one on a state-by-state basis. This mailing shall contain a letter signed by local people, asking for the membership fee, and for such additional support as the local people decide is feasible. Additional promotional material, to be chosen later, will also be included.

from Com Ed

Suggested Statement for Use by National Educational Committee For a New Party

The time is past ripe in America for a modern political party organized to meet the challenge of our modern age.

The United States is today faced with problems of the greatest urgency which the Republican and Democratic parties have shown themselves utterly unable to solve.

We live in a country equipped with natural resources, machinery and trained labor sufficient, if fully used, to produce the necessities and comforts of life for all. And Yet we find millions of our workers living in dire poverty, poorly housed, poorly fe, poorly clothed.

We live in a country where the need for manpower as the means to an abundant life for all is well-night infinite. And yet we find our country every few years faced with tragic periods of hard times, and vast armies of the unemployed marching the streets of our cities and villages begging in vain for work.

We live in a country which has long prided itself on its democracy. And yet we see in this country indistry after industry concentrating in the control of the few and monopolies and semi-monopolies, with their high price, high profits, restrictive production policies, leading the nation into economic confusion and disaster. We witness increased and ominous signs of racial and religious antagonisms and other trends that run directly counter to the principles and practices of democracy.

We live in an age and a world which requires the strict limitation of the sovereignty of individual nations and the substitution of the principles of cooperation for those of exploitation within and without the national economy if we are to avert another war - a war that would mean the destruction of our civilization. And yet, in this situation we find a tragic failur of world leadership in the fight for a world organization limitin national sovereignty and adequate to the crucial tasks ahead.

The great social evils of our day have existed for years in city, state and nation under the control of the Republican and Democratic parties. These parties have had the power to grapple with these evils and the grave responsibility to do so. They have completely failed, however, to meet the American challenge.

If the fundamental issues of our times are ever to be successfully met; if poverty, unemployment, economic autocracy, racial and religious discrimination and war, are to be banished from our midst, all progressive and democratic forces must be mobilized in a powerful political party. This new party alignment must be democratically controlled from the grass roots. It must be opposed to totalitarianism in every form. It must work toward the development of a world organization of free people.

In the United States the plain people of the country have shown their profound belief in the public control of atomic energy. They have increasingly experimented with public ownership and operation of the power industry notably through such developments as the T. V. A. The nation's progressives have time and again demanded the public ownership and operation of our public utilities, of our natural resources and of monopolies and other basic industries where such public controls gave promise of improving labor conditions, lowering prices, reducing economic waste and unemployment and promoting democracy and world peace. The new party must endeavor to strengthen the control of the people over their own destiny in these and other spheres.

The basis for this new party is now being laid. The National Educational Committee For A New Party was formed in the

Spring of 1946 at a meeting in Chicago called by men and women active in labor, farmer, civic and professional groups.

The Conference is not a political party, but a body formed with the view of carrying on an educational campaign for a new political alignment and for the principles upon which such an alignment should be based.

The next national conference of the NECNP will be held in December, 1946. In the meanwhile the Committee has established headquarters at _____. (1) to meet as a clearing house for new party ideas and forces; (2) to establish contacts with unions, farm groups, cooperatives and individuals; (3) to encourage local and regional conferences; (4) to run a periodical; (5) to issue leaflets, pamphlets and statements on current events; (6) to schedule lecturers and radio discussions; (7) td prepare for important conferences and do all in its power to educate the American people to the need for a new party or alignment adequate to the needs of our times.

We urge all interested in the work of this conference for a New Party to communicate at once with the National Educational Committee For A New Party.

********** *****

TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

The above statement was agreed upon by Messers, Allen, Davidson, Levitas and Laidler of the Editorial Committee. Mr. Laidler states that there are a number of editorial changes to be made. Mr. Elfenbein will submit a minority report and Lewis Corey was not able to attend the meeting where this was dicussed.

Will you please read the statement carefully and send in your suggestions immediately to Mr. Harry Laidler, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, NY.

Fraternally yours,

Mary Martinson
Administrative Secretary

National Educational Committee for a New Party

Office of the Chairman
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

For release PM Saturday, May 24, 1947

The need for political alignment, independent of either the Democratic or the Republican parties, was today urged upon the Americans for Democratic Action by the National Educational Committee for a New Party in a statement sent to the ADA by A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the NECNP.

The statement stressed the agreement of the NECNP with the ADA in its fight against reactionary forces at home, imperialism abroad, and "totalitarian dictatorship and agression." The Committee however noted that the ADA "has strong ties with the Democratic Party, which many of its members hope to reform along New Deal lines."

"More than ever before, this country needs a liberal progressive political party depending for its support upon organized labor, farmers, and all progressive, non-totalitarian groups and individuals", the statement issued by the NECNP declared. "We are therefore calling upon all men and women working in industry, commerce, agriculture, and in the professions to join with us in our efforts to educate the public in behalf of independent political action with a view to launching at the appropriate time, a political party similar in many respects to the British Labor Party and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada."

The NECNP pledged its wholehearted cooperation to the ADA in working out programs of action on housing, full employment, and the democratic control of industry "after a basic analysis of the problem, and in consultation with labor and other progressive forces."

A. Philip Randolph, Chairman of the NECNP, is also President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters-AFL. The Committee membership consists of other labor union leaders, from both CIO and AFL unions, as well as leaders of farm cooperative, and other organizations in a number of different states. Its program calls for the formation of a new political party which depends on progressive individuals and organizations for support, and for the development of legislation which will assure the American people economic security and full economic and political democracy.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS - CHECK LIST

June 10, 1947

New Party

The success of the NECNP, particularly at this time, depends on you. Ideas for program, suggestions for organization, and help in carrying the work right to the grass roots -- at this time, the members of the National Committee are the key people in these operations.

For this reason, I am sending you this check list of the things that you can now do to help build the program of the NECNP. I hope that you will check to see which of these things you have done, and then do the others immediately.

Space has been provided so that you can send in any comment that you want to make on these activities, or anything else concerning NECNP that you want to talk about.

1. ------ THE PROPOSED PLAN OF OPERATION

This was mailed to Committee members early in April. Copies are still available.

Your comments and suggestions for improving the plan are very important. If you haven't sent in your comments, won't you please do so at your earliest convenience?

2. ------ Advertisement for the pamphlet, "Ideas for a New Party".

This was sent to you on April 20 (three copies on a mimeographed sheet). Some of you used the sheet as an order form, to order more copies of the pamphlet to distribute yourselves, which helped, too. Some have already gotten the ad into local and organizational papers, which is splendid. Please write and tell me what you have been able to do.

Are there any other papers that you can contact? If you need another set of copies of the ad, we will be glad to send one to you. Every ad placed will mean more people talking about a new party.

3. ------ The handbill, "Farewell to Futility"

This was sent to you on May 12. It is our newest piece for mass distribution.

Some copies have been distributed. We hear of some that have been posted on bulletin boards. But we would like to see many more thousands being passed around all over the country.

Please contact the organizations with which you work, and any others that you can reach. Try to get some person in each one to pass out a handfull of copies at the next meeting. If the handbill can be paid for locally, so much the better. But let's get it moving.

If there are two or more members of the National Committee in your area, why don't you get together soon and divide up the work of reaching the organizations? If you don't know the other NECNP people around you, let me know so that I can send you a list.

4. ----- Your membership fee

The membership fee in NECNP has been set at $6; $5 for the national organization, and $1 to be set aside for organizing a local group. Most of you have paid in at least that much money; some of you have not.

As step number one, won't you please send us enough to pay your membership fee for this year? That certainly ought to be rock bottom for a member of the National Committee. Then as soon as you can, won't you boost your contribution to $10, $25, or $50.

When that has been done, we'll be ready for the $15,000 question. But more about that later.

(For any comment that you may wish to make on the NECNP program)

****

TO: A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
National Educational Committee for a New Party
431 Brandywine Street SE Washington 20, D. C.

To help you check on your records: So far I have contributed $---------- to the NECNP.

Signed_____

Address_____

P. S. - Attached is our new handbill. Won't you help, now, by arranging to distribute these in your area. They will be sent to you, free, as soon as your request is received?

Survive and Stay Free in The Atomic Age

READ

"Ideas For A New Party"

A provisional declaration of principles, prepared under the direction of LEWIS COREY, Research Director for the NECNP. With a foreword by JOHN DEWEY, Honorary Chairman of the NECNP. The declaration of principles was signed by the following people as members of the National Committee of the NECNP. (Titles are for identification only.)

Daniel Bell, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago; *Lewis Corey*, Professor of Political Economy, Antioch College; *George S. Counts*, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; *Ben Davidson*, Executive Director, Liberal Party of New York State; *Arthur Elder*, Vice President, American Federation of Teachers, AFL; *Israel Feinberg*, General Manager, Cloak, Suit and Reefer Makers Union, ILGWU-AFL; *Edward Fiess*, Instructor, Department of English, Oberlin College; *Louis Fischer*, author and lecturer; *Horace Fries*, Professor of Philosophy, University of Wisconsin; *Martin Gerber*, Regional Director, United Automobile Workers, CIO; *Harold Gibbons*, Regional Director, United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes of America, CIO; *Louis P. Goldberg*, Councilman, New York City; *Patrick E. Gorman*, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL; *Matthew B. Hammond*, State Chairman, Michigan Commonwealth Federation; *Granville Hicks*, novelist and critic; *Brigadier-General Herbert C. Holdridge* (retired); *Maynard Krueger*, member, National Committee, Socialist Party; *Harry W. Laider*, Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy; *Sol Levitas*, Executive Editor, "New Leader"; *Simeon Martin*, President, Michigan Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America; *Emil Mazey*, Regional Director, United Automobile Workers, CIO; *C. J. McLanahan*, Educational Director, Cooperative League of the U. S. A.; *H. L. Mitchell*, President, National Farm Labor Union, AFL; *Donald Montgomery*, Consumer Counsel, United Automobile Workers, CIO; *A. Philip Randolph*, International President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL; *Vinal Tibbetts*, American Education Fellowship; *Samuel S. White*, Kansas City Joint Board, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL; and *Pearl L. Willen*, Director Women's Division, Liberal Party of New York

JOIN

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY

JOHN DEWEY, HONORARY CHAIRMAN
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, CHAIRMAN
PEARL WILLEN, TREASURER
C. J. McLANAHAN, SECRETARY

431 BRANDYWINE ST., S. E., WASHINGTON 20, D. C.

(Clip and mail this coupon)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, CHAIRMAN,
NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL
COMMITTEE FOR A NEW PARTY
431 Brandywine St., S. E., Washington 20, D. C.

I enclose $..... for which send me.....
copies of the pamphlet "Ideas for a New Party."
(Single copies, 10c; 12 copies for a dollar.)

☐ I enclose $6 for membership in the NECNP. One dollar of this sum will be set aside to help organize a Committee in my area as soon as feasible. Of course, you will send me "Ideas for a New Party" at once, and each of your new publications as it appears.

My name is .....

My address is.....

.....

.....

Send for copies of the ad to distribute in your organization.

(For Release, April 19, 1947) New Party

The launching of a new political party which asserts that the free enterprise system is no longer able to meet the needs of mankind, leads inevitably to war and unemployment and must be replaced by an economic system based on cooperation, and geared, not to private profit, but to public welfare, was announced yesterday by Brigadier-General Herbert C.Holdridge, U.S.A. retired, temporary chairman of The People's Party of the United States of America, in a press conference at the headquarters of that organization, 726-11th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

"Scientific invention and technological progress," the General explained, "have developed mass production to a point where it has undermined the foundation of the capitalist system by making the maintenance of profit impossible except by open or camouflaged government subsidies or through wholesale destruction by means of war. When the supply of goods exceeds the demand, the market becomes glutted and the goods cannot be sold at a profit any more than sand at the seashore.

"At the same time, mechanical inventions, chemical processes, speed-up and labor-saving shop methods, the development of electric power and now the discovery of atomic energy mean enormously increased production, while at the same time they drastically reduce the number of consumers by throwing millions of workers out of employment. The result is recurrent periods of economic depression, more and more frequent, widespread and prolonged.

"On the other hand, the mounting profits of the owners of industry, piling up ~~xxxx~~ and seeking opportunities for investment - in order to pile up still more surplus profits - result in increased competition for material resources and markets, especially in the less developed regions, and lead to more and more frequent and destructive wars."

The new party, the General said, advocates that the people of the United States, instead of allowing the disintegration of their economic life to proceed to the point of chaos and violent revolution, employ rational, legal and peaceful means to head off the threatened catastrophe.

"There is enough natural wealth and native intelligence and energy in this country," the General declared, "to provide everybody with an abundance of food, clothing, shelter, cultural enjoyment and leisure if we will resolutely subordinate selfish interest to the general welfare. Furthermore, the change-over to an economic system suited to modern conditions can be accomplished within the framework of the laws and Constitution of the United States and without injury or injustice to anyone.

"The task is primarily a psychological one. We need merely to recognize that the change is both possible and necessary and make up our minds to put it through. When we have reached that point, the problem becomes merely one of social and industrial engineering and bookkeeping."

The plan proposed by the new party provides for the addition, by constitutional amendment and orderly legislation, of a fourth branch of the government, the economic, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ coordinate with the present legislative, executive and judicial branches and charged with the responsibility of organizing and directing the machinery of production and distribution in such a manner as to provide everyone who does his share of work with a maximum of goods and services and leisure to enjoy them.

The People's Party stresses with particular emphasis that its plan must not be imposed and managed from the top down, as in totalitarian states, but adopted by the will of the people as a whole and at all times under their control through an integrated network of guilds covering the various industries and professions.

Promotion of workers to better jobs would come through election from registers open to all who, by examinations and practical tests, showed themselves qualified for greater responsibility — all persons so elected, from foreman to general manager and the overall directors of the national economy, to be required to stand for reelection every year or two.

"This would keep them on their toes," General Holdridge commented, "and do away with the present curse of nepotism and favoritism. If we havn't confidence enough in democracy to apply it to the most important part of our national life, the economic, we should quit hypocritically mouthing the word. Under present conditions, we have an economic oligarchy within the paper shell of a political democracy."

According to the People's Party plan, a process of national planning and accounting would determine annually, for each line of goods or services, the maximum output desired and the total of materials and manpower required. Quotas would then be assigned to the various units of the available productive plant. Similarly, by a nationwide system of bookkeeping, the total product would be apportioned among the various geographical divisions of the country in accord with their respective needs.

"In place of the present disorderly scramble of greed, grab and graft," the General pointed out, "we would have a decent and orderly national life, in which the old, the sick and the young would not be trampled under foot, but everyone would receive his fair share of the common wealth. We would then be in a way to become a nation of truly civilized men and women."

As to the method of taking over the machinery of production and distribution, the new party argues that it would be cheaper to buy out the present owners and let them live out their lives in leisure, rather than to plunge the country into turmoil and civil war. Instead of "liquidating" them in a revolutionary upheaval, the nation would liquidate their holdings at a fair price and let them go fishing —or, if they so desired, file for election to managerial positions in competition with other candidates.

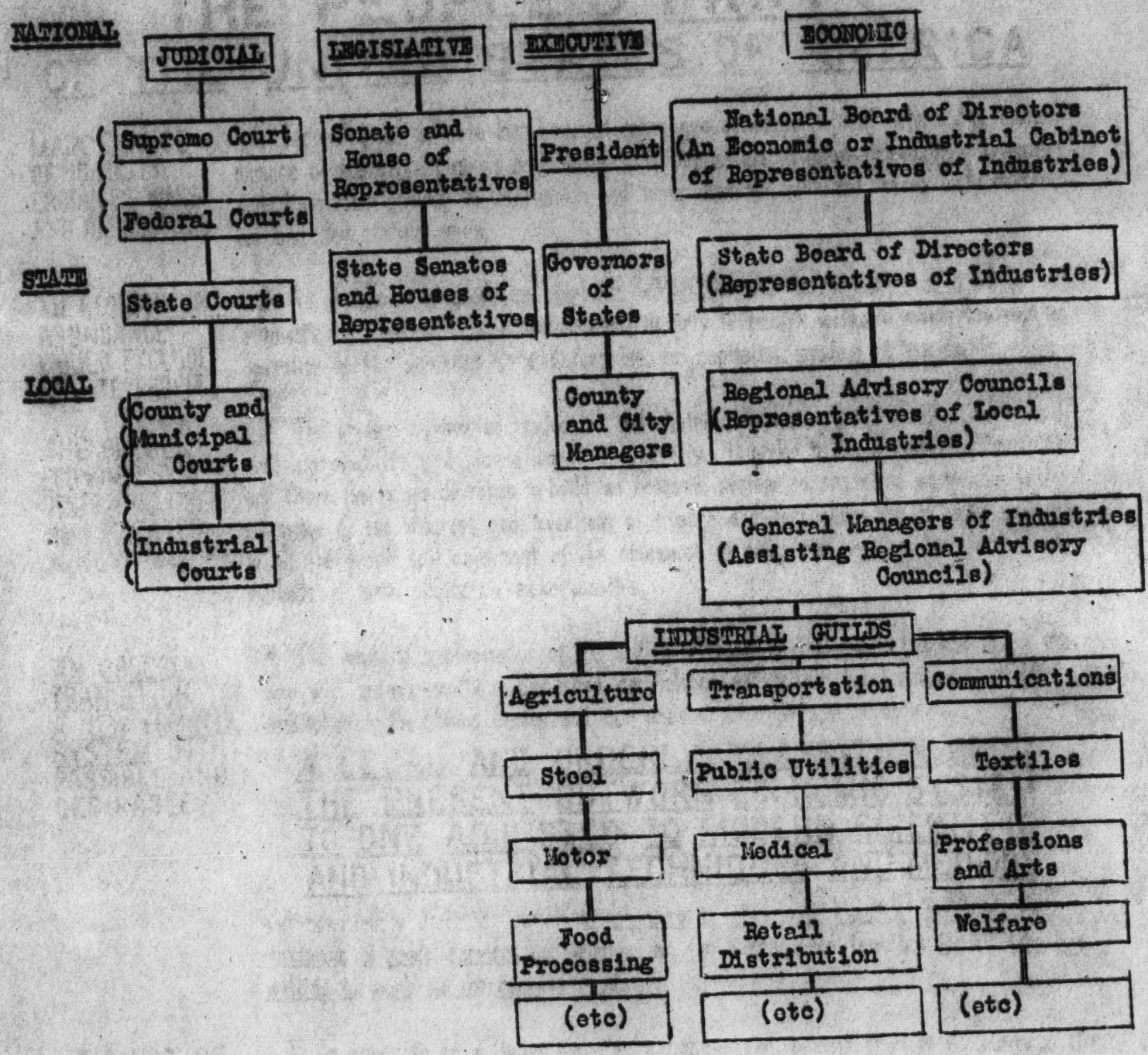
General Holdridge, temporary chairman of the new organization, is a graduate of West Point, with thirty years' active service in the U.S.army, including both world wars. He declares that he has no personal ambition for any political office but desires only to do what he can to help bring the country through the approaching economic and political crisis with a minimum of disorder and suffering.

The other temporary officers of the party are Mrs. Minnie Frost Rands, 1430 Floral St., N.W., secretary, and Henry J.Sutton, 125 Fifth St., N.E., treasurer. The incorporators of the organization include the following, in addition to the three officers: Eleanor O.Curtiss, E.Stephen Gratton, Bessie H.Michelsen, Robert A. Young and Bessie M.Sheldon.

The People's Party intends to spread its organization as rapidly as possible into all the states and territories of the union. Membership is open to all citizens of the United States 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, color, creed, national origin or previous political affiliation, but persons who do not subscribe without reservation to the basic principles of the party's program will be automatically barred from membership. The party refuses to indulge in "red-baiting", but maintains that this latter provision will exclude or expel Communists from its ranks.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

PROPOSAL FOR A FOUR-BRANCH GOVERNMENT



Extra copies obtainable at
Party National Headquarters
726 11th Street, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

(Preliminary draft of proposed)

ARTICLES OF FAITH

INTRODUCTORY TO THE BY-LAWS

OF

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

MAINTENANCE OF SCARCITY PRODUCES WARS AND DEPRESSIONS

1. Technological advance has brought mass production to a point where the maintenance of scarcity of goods and services is impossible without increasingly frequent and disastrous periods of depression and mass unemployment and increasingly destructive and devastating wars.

AN ECONOMY OF ABUNDANCE WOULD EXCLUDE PRIVATE PROFIT

2. An abundance of goods and services, while beneficial to the people as a whole, automatically destroys the economic basis of private profit, without which the further operation of the so-called free enterprise, or capitalist, system is impossible.

THE PRESENT ECONOMIC SYSTEM, DESTROYING ITSELF, NECESSITATES A NEW ONE

3. The present system of production and distribution having automatically undermined and destroyed its own foundation, it is imperative, in order to avoid universal hardship and chaos, that steps be taken to build an economic system so organized as to take full advantage of the progress and inventions of science and technology and to make available to all the people full enjoyment of the abundance of goods and services which the new methods of mass production make possible.

AN ORDERLY TRANSITION TO A NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM BOTH POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE

4. The resolute subordination of the selfish interests of the few to the welfare of the many will permit--without bloodshed or violence and within the framework of the Constitution of the United States and our present form of government--

A LEGAL AND ORDERLY TRANSITION FROM THE PRESENT OUTWORN ECONOMIC SYSTEM TO ONE ADJUSTED TO MODERN SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL TECHNIQUES AND METHODS

and consciously directed toward an economy of abundance aimed at providing the maximum of goods, services and leisure, not for a privileged few, but for all who are willing to work for the common good.

IT MUST BE THOROUGHLY DEMOCRATIC

5. In order to be a living, growing organism and remain true to its purpose, the new economic system must be thoroughly democratic; not imposed from above, but built up by, and completely under control of, the voting working population.

The People's Party invites to its ranks all 18 years of age and over--who subscribe to the philosophy and purpose set forth herein, regardless of sex, race, color, creed or previous condition of party affiliation.

Membership dues are voluntary as to amount. As far as possible it is aimed, by dues and literature sales, to make the party self-sustaining. But to get the organization under way, and as quickly as possible, donations are now requested. All money dollar received today can be at once put to work and thus made worth 5 to the cause twice as much as later.

The reader is also asked to send in for some blank application cards, for use in soliciting prospective members.

PEOPLE'S PARTY NATIONAL HDQRS., 726 11th STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON

COPY

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

"Of the People, For the people, By the people"

No More Depressions! No More Wars!

We, the undersigned, freeborn citizens of the United States, meeting together this Thirtieth day of March, 1947, organize ourselves as
The People's Party
of
The United States of America
on the following basic principles:

Allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, to the Bill of Rights thereof, and to Democracy as written in the hearts of the American people.

Reaffirmation of the spiritual values of the lives of all human beings as expressed in all great religions and founded on the dignity of the individual and on the brotherhood of man. Materialism to be the means to the end, and not the end in itself.

Realization of the fact that the United States has a responsibility to assume leadership toward a prosperous, democratic and peaceful world, but that this can be accomplished only as we first set our own house in order.

Recognition of the historic fact that private capitalism has failed to advance either the spiritual or material values for masses of our citizens, as written in its record of greed, insecurity, human misery, bankruptcy and war.

Reconstruction of our economic order as an economic democracy by extending the principles of democracy from the political to the economic field from which it is now excluded, through the establishment of a fourth coordinate branch of democratic government - the Economic - to supplement the present Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches. Control to rest in the hands of the people and not in oligarchies or bureaucracies, to be directed toward human welfare and not for private profit, and to be founded on a spirit of cooperation and not on selfish competition.

All objectives to be accomplished constitutionally and in an orderly manner.

Membership to be open to any American citizen, 18 years of age or over, irrespective of race, color or creed.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

Approving of the principles stated above I hereby apply for membership in the People's Party of the United States, and agree to abide by the By-laws of the Party, especially that section providing that my membership therein shall end if and when I should cease to act in accordance with such principles and By-laws.

(Signature).....

(Address) .....

Annual dues (optional as to amount) $..... Amount herewith $.....

COPY

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(Signature).....

(Address) .....

Annual dues (optional as to amount) $..... Amount herewith $.....

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE National Negro Congress

1936-51

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WHAT YOU CAN DO TO AID THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS:

1. Send in your contribution to its work.
2. Distribute this pamphlet. (Eight cents a copy in quantities of 50 or more.)
3. Secure the affiliation of organizations to which you belong to the Congress.
4. Form a local council of organizations affiliated to the National Negro Congress.

Act at Once! Write for information to the national office of the National Negro Congress, 717 Florida Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH, president

February
14, 15, 16, 1936
Chicago

BAY COUNCIL
L NEGRO CONGRESS
Peralta Street
California

The

Official Proceedings

of the

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

PRICE 10 CENTS

A

PUBLICATION

of the

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

717 FLORIDA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

INTRODUCTION

The National Negro Congress convened in the city of Chicago, February 14, 15, and 16, 1936. It was attended by 817 delegates from 585 organizations, spread geographically over 28 states and the District of Columbia. In addition several hundred visitors and official observers from organizations were present. The three general sessions of the Congress held at night were attended by from five to eight thousand persons at each session.

In order to secure the most democratic kind of control of the government of the affairs of the Congress, the National Sponsoring Committee of the Congress provided for election by caucuses of state delegations (one member for every five if more than 500 miles from Chicago and one for every ten if less than 500 miles from Chicago) of state representatives on the Presiding Committee, which had complete control of debate and management of the Congress, and, on the Resolutions Committee, which deliberated on resolutions submitted to the Congress.

For the purpose of allowing for the maximum interchange of opinion between delegates, sub-sessions of the Congress were held, dividing delegates in the morning into sections on the basis of the organization each represented and in the afternoon on the basis of the particular phase of the Negro problem in which each was interested. In addition the youth sub-sessions was further divided into smaller discussion groups. In this way easily one half of the delegates were able to give voice to their opinions, to make suggestions and to actively influence the proceedings. At general sessions, held in the evening, invited speakers and leading delegates were heard upon important topics; and the legislative measures of the Congress were adopted.

THE UNDERLYING AIM OF THE CONGRESS

The National Negro Congress was called to meet the increasingly difficult economic and social problems which face the Negro people in America. The need for the establishment through united action of a strong movement against the social and economic repressions being experienced by the Negro made such a Congress imperative.

While major stress at the Congress was laid upon joint action by Negroes themselves, there remained every clearly in the minds of the delegates the need for cooperation with friendly organizations of members of other races to solve the common economic problems facing all. Likewise it was realized that the Negro Congress must exist as a federation of organizations for the purpose of pooling the strength of constituent groups in the attack upon the evils retarding the securing by the Negro of his manhood rights. The Congress was not formed and does not exist to duplicate the work of any existing organization. Rather it exists to add strength and to give support to every progressive and meaningful program in aid of the Negro people in their just demand for equal opportunity and complete social and economic rights.

The Congress had no desire to exclude any group that sincerely worked for the expressed aims of the Congress, and any group that so worked could not be charged with unduly influencing or dominating its activity. And of the constituent groups participating it can be accurately stated that none attempted such domination.

THE WORK OF THE CONGRESS IN THE FUTURE

In easily one hundred key communities embracing a large part of the Negro population in America delegates have gone back from the Congress to begin to put into effect the substance of the resolutions passed at the Congress. Already local councils have begun to function, drawing to them numbers of organizations not represented at the Congress who have since indicated a desire to participate. Already locally, regionally and nationally the Congress, as a federation of forward-thinking organizations in America, has begun to play a decisive role in coordinating the struggle for justice for the Negro. As more and more groups come to understand the vital need of joint action and the tremendous value of working together, as they come through such united action to a clearer and more friendly understanding of each other, we may expect to see the National Negro Congress become increasingly useful in the struggles of the Negro people in America.

It is with the same determination that brought more than one thousand people hundreds of miles in the most bitter cold to attend the Congress in Chicago, that actuated those who worked for the Congress in hundreds of communities to carry on against doubts, criticism and seemingly impossible odds,—it is with this determination that the Congress moves on. The first steps in as short a time as possible. It is hoped that this publication will of the Negro people. The publication of this delegate's copy of the proceedings is a partial beginning in this direction, to be followed by other similar steps in a short a time as possible. It is hoped that this publication will serve to answer all basic questions for the delegates and for those with whom they are working to improve conditions of the Negro.

John P. Davis,
National Secretary.

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THE KEYNOTE ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

(In the absence of Mr. Randolph, confined to his home because of illness, his address was read by Dr. Charles Wesley Burton, regional vice-president of the National Negro Congress).

Mr. Chairman, Officers of the National Sponsoring Committee of the National Negro Congress, Fellow Delegates, Fellow Workers and Friends:

Greetings and felicitations upon this great Congress. Though absent in the flesh, I am with you in the spirit,, in the spirit of the deathless courage of the 18th and 19th century black rebels and martyrs for human justice, in the spirit of Frederick Douglass and Nat Turner, of Gabriela and Denmark Vesey, of Harriet Tuban and Sojourner Truth—those noble rebels who struck out in the dark days of slavery that Negro men and women might be free.

We have met in times of world wide storm and stress, of social confusion, economic chaos, political disorder and intellectual uncertainty. Social institutions, from the church to the family, evince change and instability.

Unemployment falls like a deadening pall upon every great power and machine nations. Democracies and dictatorships vie for supremacy. Witness the march of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany along their imperialistic paths of manifest destiny.

Note their utter and flagrant abolition of democratic institutions, claiming that democracy is not only futile, buf a menace to progress. Observe, too, tendencies toward Fascist growth and development in existing countries with democratic governments, such as America, France and England. These are signs of grave and sinister portent to the world of workers, lovers of liberty and minority groups.

Of threatening and disturbing significance, another world war looms upon the horizon. Many danger spots of conflict between great world powers stand out. Japan is restive in the face of the constant growth and power of Soviet Russia and is steadily resorting to provocative acts of war. Hitler seeks to serve as a spearhead of modern monopoly capitalism against the workers' republic.

ITALY VS ETHIOPIA

Already Fascist Italy is on the march to subjugate the Ancient kingdom of Ethiopia; while France and Germany are in a state of truce, still at bay, awaiting the hour to strike for another conflict. England and Italy are in competition for place and prestige in the Mediterranean and darkest Africa, while Japan threatens to close the open door to American investment and advance her claim to the adoption of a Monroe Doctrine over the Pacific which may bring "Uncle Sam" and Nippon to grips. Meanwhile, Tokio proceeds on its long conquering trek of China.

With the collapse of the naval conference, a frenzied armament race swings into a high pace and a war of world currencies, credits and trade is renewed. Thus the world is pregnant with the seeds of war, another war, a war in the air, on and under the water, with poison gas and high explosives, which may put an end to civilization as we know it.

"THE AMERICAN SCENE"

Now what of the American scene. It is no less forbidding and full of contradictions, unsettlement and cross currents in our social, economic and political life.

Of the outstanding problems, that confront us following the collapse of capitalist prosperity and seeming stabilization of 1929, unemployment, trenching hard upon 15 millions, is one of the most perplexing. It has been attacked by the New Deal with its myriad legions of alphabets, but to little avail.

Nor is there any solution offered either by the "rugged individualists" despite their cry for the restoration of the grand era of Coolidge and Hoover, with a mythical "chicken in every pot" and a "fliver for every family."

With the economic affliction of nation-wide joblessness stand the liquidation of the farmers, the small shop owners, the middle class, the poor sharecropper and tenant farmers and farm laborers, the foreclosure of hundreds of thousands of mortgages upon the homes of the workers and the lower strata of the middle class, with no prospects of permanent rehabilitation by the hectic, sketchy, patchy, and makeshift capitalist program.

POLITICAL AND CIVIL INSECURITY GROWING

But economic insecurity, though baffling is not the only challenge to the American workers, black and white and the middle classes. There is also political and civil insecurity. Even the most credulous can sense an existing grave danger to democratic institutions and constitutional liberties.

This danger is fascism—fascism which seeks the complete abrogation of all civil and political liberties in the manner and method of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. It is a menace to America. It is a world menace, it is a menace to black workers. It is a menace to religious tolerance and to the freedom and security of all minority groups.

And war is the twin evil sister of Fascism. Its coming is not now improbable. It is a danger, an immediate danger, a danger to the American workers, black and white, who fight and pay for all wars in blood and taxes, while the bankers and munition makers, such as the Morgans and Duponts, reap huge and fabulous profits.

"THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS" MUST FACE THESE PROBLEMS

This congress is called to attempt to meet the problems of black America, the submerged tenth of the population. While this is true, it is also true that the problems of the Negro peoples are the problems of the workers, for practically 99 per cent of the Negro peoples win their bread by selling their labor power in the labor market from day to day. They cannot escape the dangers and penalties of the depression, war or Fascism.

However, our contemporary history is a witness to the stark fact that black America is a victim of both class and race prejudice and oppression. Because Negroes are black they are hated maligned and spat upon; lynched, mobbed, and murdered. Because Negroes are workers, they are browbeaten, bullied, intimidated, robbed, exploited, jailed and shot down. Because they are black they are caught between the nether millstones of discrimination when seeking a job or seeking to join a union.

UNDERLYING CAUSES

Thus, voteless in 13 states; politically disregarded and discounted in the others; victims of the lynch terror in Dixie, with a Scottsboro frame-up of notorious memory; faced with the label of the white man's job and the white man's union; unequal before the law; jim-crowed in schools and colleges throughout the nation; segregated in the slums and ghettos of the urban centers; landless peons of a merciless white landlordism; hunted down, harassed and hounded as vagrants in the southern cities, the Negro people

face a hard, deceptive and brutal capitalist order, despite its preachments of Christian love and brotherhood.

What has brought us to this is the insistent question? The answer in brief lies in the World War, the sharpening and deepening of capitalist exploitation of the workers of hand and brain, the acceleration of a technological revolution creating a standing army of unemployed, the ripening and maturing of monopoly capitalism thru trustification, rationalization and the rapid march of financial imperialism, and the intensification of racial and religious hatreds, together with increasingly blatant and provocative nationalism.

But the war itself was the effect of a deeper cause and that cause was the profit system which provides and permits the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many, allowing two per cent of the people to own ninety per cent of the wealth of the United States, a condition not much different in other capitalist countries, and also makes for the robbery and oppression of the darker and weaker colonial peoples of the world.

FALSE REMEDIES

But the diagnosis of the causes of social problems such as wars, economic depressions and Fascism is only designed to enable the victims to seek the remedies. However, let me speak briefly of what are not remedies:

First, the "New Deal" is no remedy. It does not seek to change the profit system. It does not place human rights above property rights, but gives the business interests the support of the state. It is no insurance against the coming of Fascim or the prevention of war or a recurrent depression, though it be more liberal than the Republican Tories.

Second, the restoration of Republican rule is no solution. It was during the rule of the "Grand Old Party" under which the depression came. Negroes have watched themselves disfranchised and lynched under both regimes, Republican and Democratic.

Third, the Townsend Plan is no panacea. While an adequate old age pension should be fought for, a pension far greater than that offered by the New Deal "Security" legislation, the Townsend Plan is well nigh impossible of execution, and if executed would not achieve its aim.

Moreover, its aim is not designed to modify the structure of organized profit-making private property, and any old age pension law will be so manipulated as to nullify its meritorious features so long as the workers have no effective voice in the councils of government.

HUEY LONG MOVEMENT FANTASTIC

Fourth, the "Share the Wealth" plan of the Huey Long movement is fantastic and superficial, since it pretends to seek to share wealth while also seeking to maintain inviolate the profit system of exploitation.

Fifth, the currency cant of the Radio Priest Coughlin is a glittering mirage and not a remedy, for it would merely effect inflation, thereby creating more money which has no magic power to reapportion or reallocate goods or wealth among the people.

Money is merely the measure of value and has no casual power of effecting the distribution of values. This can only be done by the organized might of the workers. Practically every government of the world has at one time or another tried the experiment of inflation, only to its sorrow and the sharper victimization of the workers.

Nor is deflation or reflation of any basic value. The mere existence of varying amounts of money does not affect the empty pockets of unemployed workers.

BACK TO REMEDIES

But back to remedies. At the top of the list of remedies I wish to suggest the struggle of the workers against exploitation of the employers. Next, the struggle of the workers against Fascism and for the prevention of democratic institutions, the arena in which alone their economic power may be built.

Third, the struggle to build powerful Negro civil rights organizations. Fourth, the struggle against war which wrecks the organizations of the workers, and stifles and suppresses freedom of speech, the press and assembly. Fifth, the struggle to strengthen the forces of the exploited sharecropper and tenant farmers. Sixth, the struggle to build mass consumers' movements to protect housewives against price manipulation.

INSTRUMENTALITIES FOR ACTION

But the struggle to apply the aforementioned remedies can only be achieved through definite social, economic and political instrumentalities. Thus the fight against the economic exploitation of the workers can only be effectively carried on through industrial and craft unions, with the emphasis on the former.

The industrial union is important in this stage of economic development because modern business has changed in structure and assumed the form of giant trust and holding companies, with which the craft union can no longer effectively grapple.

Moreover, the craft union invariably has a color bar against the Negro worker, but the industrial union in structure renders race discrimination less possible, since it embraces all the workers included in the industry, regardless of race, creed, color or craft, skilled or unskilled.

Thus, this congress should seek to broaden and intensify the movement to draw Negro workers into labor organizations and break down the color bar in the trade unions that now have it.

The next instrumentality which the workers must build and employ for their protection against economic exploitation, war and fascism, is an independent working class political party. It should take the form of a farmer? labor political organizations. This is indispensable in view of the bankruptcy in principles, courage and vision of the old line parties, Republican and Democratic.

They are the political committees of Wall Street and are constructed to serve the profit making agencies and therefore can no more protect or advance the interests of the workers than can a sewing machine grind corn. It is poor working class wisdom to fight big business for economic justice on the industrial field and vote for it on the political.

With these two major instrumentalities, there should be build up great consumers' cooperatives which, while less fundamental, they none the less provide the basis for mass, collective action on the part of the workers and lower middle classes.

They have stood the workers in good stead wherever they have been constructed, providing they are shaped and directed by working class and not bourgeois interests.

The fight for civil and political rights of the Negro peoples can effectively be carried on only if those organizations that are pushing the struggles are broadened and built with a wider mass base. Those organizations that are serving on the civil rights front effectively for the Negro are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the International Labor Defense.

It needs to be definitely understood, however, that the fight in the courts for civil and political rights cannot be effective except when backed by a broad, nation-wide, if not international mass protest through demonstrations in the form of parades, mass meetings and publicity.

TACTICS AND STRATEGY: THE UNITED FRONT

But the fight for civil and political liberties for the Negro peoples, while it has been brilliantly waged by the N.A.A.C.P. and I.L.D., the gravity and complexity of the problems of civil and political liberties, accentuated and widened by the evil of fascist trends in America, demands that new tactics and strategy be employed to meet the situation.

The maneuvering and disposing of the forces of Negro peoples and their sympathetic allies against their enemies can only be effectively worked out through the tactics and strategy of the united front. The task of overcoming the enemies of democratic institutions and constitutional liberties is oo big for any single organizaion. It requires the united and formal integrating and coordinating of the various Negro organizations, church, fraternal, civil, trade union, farmer, professional, college and what not, into the framework of a united front, together with the white groups of workers, lovers of liberty and those whose liberties are similarly menaced for a common attack upon the forces of reaction, backed by the embattled masses of black and white workers.

THE UNITED FRONT IN ACTION

The united front strategy and tactics should be executed through methods of mass demonstration, such as parades, picketing, boycotting, mass protest, the mass distribution of propaganda literature, as well as legal action.

The united front does not provide an excuse for weakness or timidity, or reliance by any one organization upon the others who comprise it, but, on the contrary, it affords an opportunity for the contribution of strength by each organization to the common pool of organizational power for a common defense against the enemy. Thus the Negro peoples should not place their problems for solution down at the feet of their white sympathetic allies which has been and is the common fashion of the old school Negro leadership, for, in the final analysis, the salavation of the Negro, like the workers, must come from within.

The power and effectiveness of the united front will be developed by waging the struggles around definite, vital and immediate issues of life and living.

The issues should be obvious, clear and simple, such as prevention of stoppage of relief, cuts in relief allotments, lay-offs of relief workers, of workers in any industry, discrimination in the giving of relief, exorbitant brutality, denial of free assembly, freedom of the press, freedom of speech to unpopular groups, denial of civil rights to Negroes such as the right to be served in hotels and restaurants, to have access to public utilities and forms of transportation, such as the Pullman car.

Wage struggles around war upon Ethiopia by the fascist dictator Mussolini, strikes and lock-outs of black and white workers, the amendment to the federal Constiution, of the adoption of social legislation such the Retirement Pension Act for railroad workers, fight for the freedom of Angelo Herndon, the Scottsboro boys, the Wagner-Costigan anti-lynching bill, the violations of the Wagner Labor Disputes bill, the forcing of teachers to take a loyalty oath, the goose-stepping of students in the school system through the R.O.T.C., the abolition of the color bar in trade unions, the murder of Shoemaker in Tampa, Fla., exposing the menace of the American Liberty League, William Randolph Hearst and the Ku Klux Klan, and supporting the movement of John L. Lewis for industrial unionism.

Such is the task of Negro peoples. This task comes as a sharp and decisive challenge at a time when new atrocities and nameless terrorism are directed against black America and when the workers, black and white, are being goaded by oppression and intimidation, to resort to general strikes such as took place in San Francisco and in Pekin, Ill., as well as national strikes such as the textile workers, the miners, and the workers' revolts in Minnesota and Toledo.

To meet this task, the Negro peoples, pressed with their backs against the wall, must face the future with heads erect, hearts undaunted and undismayed, ready and willing and determined to pay the price in struggle sacrifices and suffering that freedom, justice and peace shall share and enjoy a more abundant life.

Forward to complete economic, political and social equality for Negro peoples. Forward to the abolition of this sinister system of jim-crowism in these United States! The united front points the way. More power to the National Negro Congress! The future belongs to the people!

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF MAX YERGAN, CAPETOWN, SOUTH AFRICA, SECRETARY SOUTH AFRICAN WORK OF INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION. Saturday, February 15, 1936, at National Negro Congress

I have spent the past 15 years in Africa, traveling and working in all parts of the continent. However, I will speak today mainly of Ethiopia. Through the attack on this small country we are becoming aware of the aggressive nature of Fascism, and of the necessity for an intelligent, organized resistance. This thing called Fascism is the outgrowth of a larger force —imperialism. Imperialism has reached such a point that it controls much of finance capitalism. The capitalist trusts divide up the spoils and partition the territories of the world among themselves. This phase of imperialism has manfested itself in every part of the African continent, Britain, France and other European countries have taken much of the land; the French colonies alone having a population of 50 million. In the taking of land a labor market is set up. Various new forms of labor are forced on the people, and labor is drained out of the country.

Imperialism, then, means annexation of land and confiscation of labor. In the third place, it destroys the culture—the basic social fabric of the people's life. In South Africa, through the color laws, Africans are kept out of many phases of skilled labor and on the lowest level, industrially. Laws limiting freedom of assembly make it difficult for them to organize to defend themselves. Other legislation prevents their moving about freely.

What is to be done? I for one would say that government must initiate policies conceived in freedom and responsibility. Government never has done this. The lesson of history is that those who hold power and prerogatives never yield them voluntarily. The only alternative is organization. The greatest need of the masses of Africa today is organization along industrial lines. Profits have increased 100 per cent in the past few years since 1932 and dividends over 70 per cent. But in the past 30 years there has not been a single increase in the wages paid to over 200,000 Africans working in the gold mines around Johannesburg and in the Transvaal. It is necessary for the Africans to organize and to educate—to give each child and adult a firm, deeply-rooted conception of the good life—for his and for his community.

This Congress has an opportunity and responsibilty to make it possible for all organizations here represented to subscribe to a minimum program—to fight for those things on which the organizations are in agreement.

EXCERPTS FROM THE SPEECH OF LIJ TASFAYE ZAPHIRO, SPECIAL ENVOY OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE OF ETHIOPIA

Since Italy attacked Ethiopia a great deal has been written about the country. Much of it false. The American public has become so interested that I take this opportunity of clarifying the situation.

First, as to the propaganda that is spread that Ethiopians are not Negroes. What man could be born and bread in Africa and not be colored?

Ethiopia contains 365,000 square miles—one-eighth the size of the United States, with 15,000,000 people of several tribes—all represented in the Government of Addis Ababa under Emperor Haile Selassie. The Emperor is one of the greatest living humanitarians today, and has done more toward modernizing Ethiopia since he has been in power than all his predecessors. He has substituted organization for tradition ,along many lines..

The economic situation in Ethiopia has greatly improved. Roads have been built. There have also been improvements in irrigation and the development of natural resources. We are bringing about a new form of education. Children in the schools who show promise are sent abroad to complete their education—not along academic lines, but as engineers, doctors, etc., to help in the development of their country. Yet, in spite of these achievemens, we have been called barbarians, not able to govern our own land. But Ethiopia is not the only country today in which barbarism exists. (Applause).

This war is not unlike the American war of independence. Ethiopia is fighting for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in her own land.. We are fighting to preserve our independence and integrity. Ethiopia's defeat may mean the downfall of the collective security system and perhaps the end of the League of Nations. If Ethiopia wins, as she will if she is supported, it will strengthen the League of Nations and show that world sentiment must be respected. It may be that we are entering a new era of peace, friendship and goodwill among all peoples.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY DELEGATE EDWARD E. STRONG: "NEGRO YOUTH DEMANDS A HEARING"

From the very beginning of this country, the young men and women of the Negro race have been in the forefront of building the nation. In every single walk of life, in every single field of activity we have played our part. We have tilled the soil, and picked cotton, plowed corn and cut down trees, built houses and dug coal, made shoes and worked in factories. If the South today can be looked upon as having any civilization at all, the basis of it was laid with the brawn and muscle of the American Negro. It was our labor and courage that made possible an American revolution. It was our labor that made possible American opposition to British mercantilism in the War of 1812. And it seems to me that despite all of the contributions that the Negro has made to American civilization—whether in the fields of Art and Literature, whether in Science or in Education, whether in Religion or in Social Service,—that the greatest single contribution has been made as laborers and as workers. Negro youth may well be proud of what it has done in this respect.

In return for our labor, in return for the perspiration that has dropped from our brows, in return for the persistent and yet somewhat inexplainable faith that our youth have maintained in the institutions in this country—what have we received? The answer is clear. Until the Civil War, our compensation, was in the form of chattel slavery. Yes, a physical bondage with everything that human servitude implies, no opportunities in life, no hope in a future, no assurance of what a tomorrow would bring. But despite all of the handicaps and difficulties that grew out of slavery we never lost hope. There was indomitable, militant spirit that permeated the very existence of the younger generation of Negro youth. Educational institutions in the south were constructed and built. Young Negroes studied in some of the leading institutions of the country—at Harvard, Chicago, Oberlin.

At last slavery had been abolished, freedom had come. Four million slaves—free. Out of the south came the Tuskegee idea under the leadership of the Virginia born slave, Booker T. Washington. He brought the philosophy of work, he brought the gospel of hard labor. He educated the gospel of patience and waiting. Booker T. Washington told the young men and women of his race to learn to do things with the hands so that each youth may find his place in the industrial and economic life of the nation. And to Tuskegee Institute thousands of young Negroes went. They accepted unhesitatingly and without question, the principles instilled within them by the educator, Booker T. Washington.

Simultaneously with the rise of Booker T. Washington came the voice of DuBois, telling race youth to equip themselves intellectually, so that they could compete on the same level with the best of American scholars—"that the Negro race, as any other race, would be saved by its few and exceptional men."

Reconstruction had hardly begun when it became clear that the future of the American Negro and of youth in particular, was not to secure as it has originally appeared. A few years after the Civil War the Ku Klux Klan rode again. The voice and vicious propaganda of "racial superiority" increased rather than diminished. Rapid means of transportation were established across the country under the control and domination of the rising industrialist of the North. The same men took control of the natural resources of the nation and exploited them to their own advantage. They established huge trusts so that they could move effectively, control and dominate the market and thus make easier their pursuit for profits. Machinery rapidly replaced man power. The second industrial revolution in America was in full swing, the northern capitalists had gained control and the plutocrats of the southern plantattion days submerged. So when unemployment began to spread in America, and when a long depression came in 1873, and another in 1891, only the philosophy of Horace Greeley was the answer given to many young people asking for a chance in life, "Go West, Young Man, Go West."

In the light of the tremendous technological changes that took place on the American scene immediately after the civil war, it seems clear that Tuskegee Institute was hardly built before the principle of individual craftsmenship had outworn its usefullness.

It was also evident to the Nation's youth that the philosophy of the intelligentia was no answer for the problem. Despite the rapidity with which these panaceas became antiquated, a large percentage of Negro leadership continued to follow these illusions. As Negroes followed economic panacas so did other sections of the American population.

The Nation's youth was to start at the bottom of the ladder, work real hard, remain industrious ,and some day perhaps it would reach the top. Had not Rockefeller done it? Had it not been done by the Astors? So this was

taught in the schools, in the homes, in the church, and in industry. So the great illusion continued, and then came '29. Something happened then. But they told us that it would not last long and that we should continue the philosophy of "hard study, patient work and some day we would reach the top." For a year or two after the beginning of the great depression, youth continued in this wake, and as hundreds of thousands of them graduated from colleges and high schools, and as hundreds of thousands of us looked for jobs we were told that there were none to be had, and as hundreds of thousands of us looked for a place to play and found none, the attitude of Negro youth of America at large began to change. They began to ask questions. They wanted to know why starvation should exist in the land of plenty. Why a few should be able to go to Harvard and Yale, while others could not attend schools at all. Why a few could use the beaches of Atlantic City, when most of us did not even have a decent pond in which to swim. So Negro youth, as did others, from the Settlement Houses, Schools, Churches, Educational Institutions, Farms, and on the job, began to ask questions, but the crisis continued. No money for relief, only fifty million dollars for the National Youth Administrations, but several billion dollars for war preparations.

Out of this crisis a new generation of youth was transformed, instead of a young people living on illusions, we have today a group that looks reality clearly in the face. An ever increasing number of young Negroes understand our basic problems to be economic. We have an ever increasing number of young Negroes that understand that these basic economic problems cannot be solved by the Negro alone, but through the cooperative efforts of all people, searching for industrial freedom. We have an ever increasing number of young Negroes that understand the needs for unification in our efforts to produce a concrete program through which economic slavery, political disfranchisement, and social inequalities may be eradicated.

The young Negro today is convinced that we must organize, and organize quickly, if the Negro people are not going back into economic slavery.

The NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS, in particular the part the youth has played in the making of the congress, has placed the question very clearly, after intelligent discussion, THEN what? How can we unify our efforts? It can be done through building an all inclusive youth movement that will put a stick of dynamite under the industrial barons that rule this country. Such a movement ought to come and must come out of this Congress. Before we leave here we ought to consider and consider very carefully the organizing of a National Federation of Negro youth to come under the general supervision of any permanent agency that will be set up. Such a Congress must include every sector of Negro youth. It must include both organized and unorganized. Youth from the church and the school, from the farm and the factory, from the settlement house and from every type of fraternal and social and political youth group. It must include all of those forces of youth white or black, that stand ready to unite with us in making impossible another Scottsboro. Such a federation would be a tremendous aid in making sure the freedom of Angelo Herndon.

So Negro youth today demands to be heard. It insists that no longer will we accept a hell hole of slavery. We insist that our is the right to have jobs at decent wages, to have adequate educational facilities, to have proper and wholesome recreational opportunities, and a voice in the government of our country. For these things we propose to fight and in doing so we labor under no illusions as to the opposition to be met. But it is my conviction that through unity we can build a Hornet's nest under the plutocratic barons that today control and determine the destiny of the great masses of American youth. This Congress must be the medium through which Negro youth will unite with all forces for peace, freedom and progress.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY DELEGATE JAMES W. FORD: "THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND A FARMER LABOR PARTY"

This great National Negro Congress is convened on the anniversary of a great American, a great Negro American—Frederick Douglass. Douglass was a man of action. He was for unity of action of his people, and all their friends against the evil of slavery which was an abomination to his people, and a drawback to the forward development of the whole country during his day.

Douglass understood perhaps better than Abraham Lincoln the social and economic evils that were holding back the country. He travelled north, east, and west to stir the people to action. He took the issues across the broad Atlantic, into Europe and there met American enemies. He exposed them, defeated them on the platform and won great support for the cause of the Abolitionists. Douglass carried the fight against slavery to the American masses.

Then, as now, the nation was facing a conflict, with entrenched privilege and political reaction. History marks the beginning of the crisis of the period of Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln with the Supreme Court's decision on the Dred Scott Case.

Without a doubt, future historians will date the present period of political crisis in the nation and among the Negro people from the Scottsboro Case, the Georgia Insurrection Slave Laws to imprison Angelo Herndon and the Supreme Court's invalidation of the triple "A" otherwise nullifying the Constitution of the United States.

Today, as in 1860, the parties and individuals of reaction find their chief rallying center in the Supreme Court. They combine all forces of reaction into one united front of political reaction. Thus we find William Randolph Hearst and his friends calling themselves Liberty Leaguers, combining reactionry forces in all parties, to attack life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

How well can we see the program of Hearst and his friends visualized in the program of their friend Hitler, who says the following about our people:

"Each Negro, even of the kindest disposition, is the latent brute and the primitive man who can't be tamed either by centuries of slavery, nor by an external varnish of civilization. All assimilation, all education, is bound to fail on account of the inborn racial features of the blood. One can therefore understand why in the southern states sheer necessity compels the white race to act in an abhorrent, and perhaps even cruel, manner against Negroes. And of course, most of the Negroes that are lynched do not merit regret."

There you have it, the program of reaction of the Liberty Leaguers.

Contrast this with the attitude of Lincoln and Douglass who cried out and acted against reaction and for liberty; or with the cowardly equivocation of some present-day pigmies who praise the name of Douglass or espouse the traditions of Lincoln.

We, true defenders of the rights and liberties of the people, hold dear to our hearts the best traditions of 1776 and 1861—"life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and the enforcement of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments of the Constitution.

Our president, A. Phillip Randolph, in his great speech read to us last night, set the tone and keynote of this Congress—unity of action in every field of endeavor. How inconsistent it would be for us not to heed his advice in any one of the many separate fields that face us.

Let no one in this Congress prevent unity of action of our people on the vital issues that face us.

The question proposed for my discussion on this program is that of unity of action in the political field. Unity of action in the political field

means, to bring our combined forces together with millions of people who have common problems, issues and enemies.

We, Democrats, Republicans, Communists, Socialists, etc., have to consider and weigh this question in the light of the advice of our president, A. Phillip Randolph.

The country as a whole is in a crisis and depression ,not only the Negro people are affected but the whole toiling people, workers, farmers, middle classes, intellectuals, white and black. Our common ills throw us into a common lot.

The one form of political unity which I see best suited to the toiling people to offset the conditions of reaction, hunger, unemployment, war discrimination, and the autocratic power of the Supreme Court is a Farmer Labor Party.

How does a Farmer Labor Partv propose to bring a million-fold alliance of people with common interests? What is the program of the Farmer Labor Party?

The program of a farmer labor party has at least nine fundamental and basic points. They are as follows:

1. A party that puts in the heart of its program the struggle for full civil rights for Negroes, especially in the South; against discrimination in every form; support to an anti-lynching bill, and death penalty to lynchers.
2. A party that fights for higher wages and shorter hours of work without reducing weekly earnings.
3. A party that fights for the right of organization and collective bargaining through trade unions chosen by workers, and the outlawing of company unions.
4. A party that meets the question of unemployment by organizing a universal fight for adequate relief and genuine unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the government and the very rich, and by the opening up of closed factories by the Government to give employment to labor at union wages.
5. For unrestricted civil and workers' rights.
6. A party that fights against sales tax, against high utility rates, against high prices; for taxation of the rich, lightening the burden of taxes upon the workers, farmers, middle classes, and professionals.
7. Relief to the starving and impoverished farmers, against evictions and foreclosures; governmental loans without interest to the needly farmers, land to the sharecroppers and tenant farmers—debt—free land—which will yield an average monthly income of a specified minimum.
8. Full support for the program of demands of the American Youth Congress.
9. Fight for peace, against world war, against armaments and militarism; against fascist provocations everywhere; for defense of Ethiopia and the defeat of Italian fascism; alliance with all forces fighting for peace.

THAT IS THE PROGRAM. A party with such a program is the kind of party we demand. A fight around such issues will bring million together to place the governing of the country in the hands of the toiling people, which is embodied in the words of Lincoln: "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

My friends, we see that the very core of this program is the specific issues of the Negro people. These vital points affect the lives and destinies of millions of people in this country today, and millions are thinking about these issues in terms of united action.

How consistent is this program of united political action with the full, brimming program of A. Phillip Randolph, read yesterday. For us there are some people who argue the "lesser evil" theory, that is, swinging from one of the old parties to the other. I don't believe this is correct and I don't

believe that the great Douglass would give any such advice were he alive, for the problems of today.

I would like to give my attention to the practical side of this question. Suppose we consider so-called Negro communities, like the South Side of Chicago, or Harlem in New York City. How could the people in such communities lift themselves out of the mire of discrimination and jim-crowism through combined independent political action?

And here I would like to call your attention to Harlem in New York City. It happens that I know very much about Harlem, having been active there for a long time. But I only want to use the situation there as an example. Each community will have to be governed by its own conditions.

The outbreak in Harlem on March 19, 1935, disclosed to the public gaze a situation that had been affecting the lives of the people of this community for a good many years. But never had it been brought forth so glaringly. What are some of the issues that came to the front in Harlem? Unemployment to the tune of over 65% of the population, discrimination in relief; police terror (here I want to say that March 19 taught the police of Harlem a lesson. They are more polite to the people there now); then inadequate recreational facilities for Negro children; discrimination against Negroes in hospitals, both as to patients, and doctors and nurses employed there; and terrible fire traps, etc.

Or if we take the field of politics, in both the old parties today in Harlem there is a bitter struggle going on for Negro leadership against the fight of a few white bosses to keep Negroes out of key and leading is the problem of the Labor Party as a nation-wide or city-wide question.

Or if we take the Ethiopian question which was related here last night by Mr. Zaphiro which aroused a community-wide solidarity—.

My point is that all of these issues are the common property of every person in Harlem, and I am sure there are similar issues here and in other communities that throw us into one common front.

Suppose we could establish political unity of action around these issues in Harlem? And it is highly possible that we will. Suppose that all of us, Democrats, Republicans, Communists, Socialists could come together on these issues in a peoples' party, a Farmer Labor Party. Such a ticket would bring untold advantages to the people of that community.

Suppose I as a Communist were in such a united program. We Communists would do everything in our power, together with other political workers, to bring about the success of this ticket, to bring about a united front.

That is one side of the Farmer Labor Party question. The other side is the problem of the labor party as a nation-wide or city-wide question.

The full program of the Farmer Labor Party has been given in the nine-point program which affects the million-fold masses of toiling people. All these people are desirous of gaining victory for their program by bringing the greatest number of people with similar or kindred interests into it. The demand of Negroes are therefore vital to this nine-point program, and the most progressive forces will fight for including it and to realize success for the whole ticket.

The trade unions of the working people must be the ground base for a Farmer Labor party. This Congress is working towards building trade unions among Negro workers and developing a campaign around the A. Phillip Randolph Resolution to "...End Discrimination in the American Federation of Labor in troduced at the 54th Convention of the A. F. of L. and for the building of labor committees in Negro communities to help carry on this fight.

I want now to give my few concluding words to the South. We need not now describe the situation there. It has been ably done by our southern

delegates. The Farmer Labor Party there must be based upon the following points: The right to vote, against poll and other taxes that limit voting, against discrimination ,against lynching, for equal wages for equal work. Already there are indications that white toilers in the South see that their needs and problems are wrapped up with that of the Negro and are favoring a Farmer Labor Party. Moreover "Right to Vote" clubs are being organized in Louisiana and other southern states.

The "Right to Vote" clubs have as their main objective the abolition of the poll tax, the breaking down of discrimination against Negroes voting in the South, election of Negroes to local offices, the right to sit on juries.

The Sharecroppers Union which has a splendid history and the Southern Tenant Farmers' union are today beginning to combine into one united organization fighting for both Negro and white sharecroppers in the deep South.

My friends, I hope I have not over-simplified the question, but I believe that herein lies a real basis for unity of action for the Negro people in the political field. The times call again for new Lincolns and Douglasses, for a new party, for a new program for the masses of the people of this country.

Such a party and such a program is what we visualize in the Farmer Labor Party, and what we have in mind when we call for an all-inclusive party composed organizations of the Negro people, of trade unions, unemployed organizations, farmers' organizations, Townsend clubs, Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, and Communists, etc.

Such a party and program does not take away the possibilities of a unified leadership by drawing from other organizations, parties, and clubs, etc. The central question is unity of action for the greatest benefit to the greatest number of people. Such a Farmer Labor Party will guarantee Democracy in America, and by building such a party we will, in the words of Lincoln, be working towards building "... government of the people, by the people, for the people that will not perish from the earth."

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

The following resolutions, drafted by appropriate sub-committees duly elected by sub-sections of the Congress, and approved by the General Resolutions Committee were unanimously adopted by the delegates to the Congress at the final legislative sessions of the Congress, Sunday, February 16, 1936. The resolutions as presented here have been rearranged in terms of subject matter.

A. GENERAL RESOLUTIONS

Resolution on the Non-Partisan Nature of the National Negro Congress

Resolved, that in the words of our national secretary, John P. Davis, "The National Negro Congress goes on record that it is not and will never be dominated by any political faction or political party."

Resolution of Thanks

We, your committee on Courtesy, submit the following observations and suggestions:

A colossal piece of work has been wrought by the Sponsoring Committees in the organization of the National Negro Congress. Out of appreciation for this magnificent achievement we wish to recommend to this Congress that a vote of confidence and gratitude be extended to all workers and to national and local sponsoring committees and that we pledge to them our unanimous support in bringing into realization the seven outstanding points for which this Congress was convened.

Especially are we grateful to President A. Phillip Randolph, to Secretary John P. Davis and to the Chicago local sponsoring committees for their unstinted work in the organization of the Congress.

We deeply appreciate the hospitality shown to the delegates of this convention assembled by the officials and citizens.

We heartily approve the assurance given us by John P. Davis, national secretary, that this Congress never will be dominated by any political party.

B. TRADE UNIONS AND INDUSTRIAL LABOR

For support of the Randolph Resolutions and the Formation of Negro Labor Councils to Aid Organization of Negro Labor

WHEREAS: The employers have made every effort, and to a great extent have succeeded in weakening the ranks of labor in the division among color and racial lines, and

WHEREAS: In these United States this is expressed by the wanton discrimination, segregation, brutal lynching and persecution of Negro workers, who are systematically excluded from many occupation and are compelled to work for lower wages, longer hours and under worse conditions, and

WHEREAS: In order for labor to maintain its rights and living conditions it is necessary for all workers regardless of race, color or creed or nationality to unite in a solid front against the employers, and

WHEREAS: Discrimination is practiced against Negro workers in the trade unions by segregation of Negro members, or denying membership to Negro workers, thus compelling these workers to remain unorganized and work for lower standards, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That this Congress go on record endorsing the Resolution "To End Discrimination in the A. F. of L.", introduced by A. Phillip Randolph of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at the 54th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further,

RESOLVED: That definite steps be taken to establish in every industrial center, Conferences of Labor Unions be called for the purpose of establishing Negro Labor Committees for the special purpose of organizing the unorganized Negro workers, and the organizing of extensive and intensive education to end the discrimination in any form within the A. F. of L.

Against Company Unions and Against Holding of the 1936 Convention of the A. F. of L. in Tampa, Florida

WHEREAS: Thousands of Negro worker are joining and have already joined the unions of the A. F. of L., WHEREAS: Adequate representation has not in every case existed,

THEREFORE: Be it resolved that the National Negro Congress go on record for a vigorous campaign to get Negro representation in all executive bodies of local unions ,of the central trades labor bodies, federation of labor, executive bodies of the international unions and the general executive council of the A. F. of L.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress go on record instructing the incoming executive committee to establish a trade union committee to carry out the decision pertaining to the organization of the Negro labor into the unions of the A. F. of L.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress go on record as opposed to company unions in any form.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress go on record requesting of the Executive Officials of the American Federation of Labor to change the location of the 1936 Convention of the American

Federation of Labor from Florida and all other states that tolerate terror and discriminate against Negro labor.

For a Nation-wide Drive to Organize Negro Workers

WHEREAS: Millions of Negro workers in the United States are unorganized largely because of negligence on the part of responsible labor leaders to make concerted effort to organize them into unions of the American Federation of Labor and,

WHEREAS: There is a great desire among Negro workers for organization as a means of uniting with white labor to improve the economic status of both, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress go on record for the launching of a nation wide drive to cooperate in any way with the American Federation of Labor in organizing the Negro workers into the trade unions.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress select the laundry, domestic workers and tobacco industries upon which to concentrate and dramatize the whole campaign for organization of Negro workers.

Industrial Unionism

WHEREAS: The evolution of American industry has brought about a definite change in structure, making it national in scope, cutting across craft lines, especially in mass production industries such as steel, rubber, automobiles, rubber automobiles, etc., and,

WHEREAS: The industrial union offers a more effective solution of the problems of race discrimination in the labor movement since such unions include all of the workers in a given industry, skilled and unskilled, and,

WHEREAS: There has been formed within the American Federation of Labor by eight responsible international unions a Committee on Industrial Organization,

BE IT RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress endorses in principle the movement in aid of industrial unionism and seeks to secure definite cooperation of the Committee on Industrial Organization in the organization of Negro workers in mass production into industrial unions.

For Full Endorsement of the Fight of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping car Porters

WHEREAS: The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has won recognition from the Pullman Company after a militant struggle of ten years and is now in the process of negotiating a contract concerning the rates of pay and rules of governing working conditions through the mediation of the National Mediation Board with the Pullman Company.

WHEREAS: The Brotherhood also won an international charter from the American Federation of Labor which makes it the first international union organized and controlled by Negroes in the labor movement.

WHEREAS: The fight of the Brotherhood for more wages, shorter and better working conditions for the Pullman porters may be carried to a Board of Arbitration and finally to an Emergency Board as a result of a strike, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress goes on record endorsing and supporting the brilliant fight of the Pullman Porters and herewith calls upon the workers of America and the liberal forces to back the fight of the Brotherhood for economic justice for the porters against the Pullman Company, which as amassed hundreds of millions of dollars out of

the labor of Negro porters and has given them in return only low wages, long hours and unspeakably poor working conditions.

Commendation of the Action of Local Number 370 of the Dining Car Employees Union of the American Federation of Labor

WHEREAS: The workers of Local 370, Dining Car Employees Union, New York, employed on the Pennsylvania Railroad recently voted for a genuine union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, thereby expressing a genuine and honest decision to have an economic instrument of their own choosing instead of company unions dominated by the employers who harassed this local union, which worked hard in order to educate its membership so that they may be always ready to support all matters pertaining to the interests and welfare of working people, and which union, though newly organized, has taken initiative and sent delegates to the National Negro Congress, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress congratulate members of Local 370 Dining Car Employees Union, and commend their action, and that greetings from this Congress with the assurance of full support be tendered Local 370 through its delegates, President George E. Brown and Vice-President T. A. Jackson, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the action of the members of Local 370 Dining Car Employees Union, A. F. of L., shall be a shining example to all workers throughout the land to abolish company unions, so that we can have collective bargaining through representatives of our own choosing.

Endorsement of Workers Councils of the National Urban League

RESOLVED: That the Congress go on record as heartily endorsing the program of workers' education and mass action for Negro workers sponsored by the National Urban League and carried out in the program of the Negro Workers Councils, as a means of acquainting Negro workers with the economic nature of their problems, with the essential unity of white and Negro workers' interests, and with the history, technique and necessity of collective workers action, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the Congress give all possible support to the Negro Workers' Councils in their campaign for membership and in their attempts to establish understanding and intelligent cooperation among workers of both races, within and without the ranks of organized labor.

C. NEGRO WOMEN

WHEREAS: The National Negro Congress assembled in Chicago has given thorough consideration to the problems, conditions and circumstances of the Negro Women of the United States of America; and

WHEREAS: The Negro Women of America are subjected to three-fold exploitation as women, as workers and as Negroes and are forced through discrimination into the most menial labor under the worst conditions without organizational protection, and

WHEREAS: The Negro mother, who must bear the greatest brunt of economic crisis, having to maintain the family on the lowest income and relief provisions, is without organization which will enable her to combat higher prices and inadequate housing, health, recreational and educational facilities for the family; and

WHEREAS: Although the newspapers are full of talk about returning prosperity, housewives ,Negro and white, see very little of it, for wages are stationary or on the decrease, but prices of food continue to creep

upward; and relief is being cut and countless familes are living on starvation diet, or dangerously close to it; and

WHEREAS: It has been found that there are many unfair, unjust, deplorable and illegal conditions extant which vitally affect the welfare of our women; and

WHEREAS: We deem it necessary to remedy, correct and improve such conditions;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That a national movement be instituted under the direction of the National Negro Congress to organize the Domestic Workers, who include 85% of all Negro women workers, as a unit to sponsor and promote laws, regulations ,and requirements for the accomplishment of the following:

1. To demand and secure complete equality for Negro women with all other women workers, as to:
   a. Low wages
   b. Long, irregular hours
   c. Poor, unsanitary and non-moral living quarters and condition
   d. General attitude which involves the lack of respect for employees by employer and public
   e. Exploitation in all respects by employer of Negro, foreign and inexperienced female workers.
2. Drafting uniform bills to be enacted into law by the federal government and the legislatures of the several states for the protection of the domestic workers.
   Regulating voluntary agreements between employer and employee.
   Education of employer, employees and public in mutual work relationships, including training schools for employees.
   Uniform laws creating standards for employment agencies.
3. Recommendation of Methods of action through:
   a. Household sectional groups or unions
   b. Hotel maids and other women workers
   c. Private female clubs
   d. Committees organized for this purpose
   e. Industrial committee of State Federations of women
   f. Urgency of inclusion of Negro domestic workers by American Federation of Labor.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That such national movement encourage:

a. The organization of Negro housewives into housewives leagues to combat higher prices, segregated and inadequate housing, health, recreational and educational facilities
b. The organization of Negro professional women to fight the discrimination which they also face
c. The linking of the special problems of these groups with their general problems as women and as Negroes, supporting the fight against war and fascim, for adequate social legislation and the life, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we especially call upon the women present at the National Negro Congress, gathered here from many different states of the Union, to pledge themselves to unite all Negro and white housewives in their home cities or towns—to bring together clubs, church groups, women's auxiliaries, and all possible organizations, in united groups of women with one aim in mind, THE FORMATION OF WOMEN'S LEAGUES AGAINST THE HIGH COST OF LIVING, to fight for a reducation in the prices of food, rent, gas, electricity, and all necessities of life—and thus to improve the conditions of all working class families, both Negro and white.

D. THE FARM POPULATION

WHEREAS: The Negro people were carried to American shores from Africa, against their will and forced to work as slaves on the tobacco and cotton plantations of the south, and

WHEREAS: The degrading and brutal slavery of the Negro people was ended by the Civil War, and

WHEREAS: The Northern capitalists won the support of the Negro by his freedom, later guaranteed by the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and offering him a measure of economic security with promises of "40 acres and a mule," and

WHEREAS: During the period of Reconstruction the Negroes and poor whites forced the State Militias in the South to keep the plantation owners in suppression, and when, in 1877, the plantation owners and Northern capitalists reached a mutual agreement, the Negroes and poor whites were immediately disfranchised, disarmed and degraded by the restoration of the political rule of the plantation owners, reenforced by the most vicious terror by the Ku Klux Klan, and

WHEREAS: The sharecropping system developed as a means of keeping the Negroes and poor whites in servitude, forcing them into a position of entire economic dependence on the plantation owners, landless, propertyless and poverty-striken, denied the right to handle their own crops, the right to vote and hold office; and forced to submit to the semi-slave and unbriddled and ruthless lynch rule by the plantation owners which has been condoned the Northern capitalists and the Federal Government, and

WHEREAS: Today there remain 8 million Negro people in this old plantation area, known as the Black Belt, where they form a majority of the population, still suffering the brutal exploitation of the plantation owners, along with a million white sharecroppers and tenants and their families in other parts of the South; and

WHEREAS: The landlords themselves, by continuation of the one-crop system and by the domination of prices by trustified industry, have become land poor, and in order to continue their profits have forced the sharecropper and tenants to live on a lower economic standards, perpetuating poverty, denial of constitutional rights and illiteracy, and

WHEREAS: The Negro and white farm workers, sharecroppers and tenants have, by their labor produced the wealth of the south and still produce most of the wealth, and form a large potential market for commodities necessary for life once they are given the means with which to buy these products, and

WHEREAS: The Federal Government has not bettered these conditions in any of its farm legislations; under the AAA, croppers and tenants were denied benefit and rental payments and part of the acreage reduction program was carried out by evicting approximately 300,000 sharecroppers and tenants from the land; under the Rehabilitation Corporation and Resettlement Administration, farmers have been denied their civil and constitutional rights by landlord-controlled local administrators and forced to live on a lower standards than the sharecropper (officially admitted by R. L. Green in report on Alabama for 1934); the proposed Soil Conservation program does not mention the cropper and tenant, and leaves the bonus to be paid to the landlords, leaves all the work of Soil Conservation to the landless cropper and tenant who will receive no compensation, and gives the Secretary of Agriculture a complete dictatorship over the program; the Bankhead Farm Tenancy Bill proposing to make independent farmers of the croppers and tenants, does not provide enough funds to set up the

300,000 evicted croppers and tenants on farms and has as its main aim the restriction of cash crops and the beginning of a new lower class of farmer, the susistence farmer; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress adopt the following program in the interest of the 8 million Negro people and the poor white croppers and tenants of the South, and work for its enactment into law by the Federal Government:

1. A grant to make loans to ALL SHARECROPPERS SHARE TENANTS, WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, CREED, LITERACY OR OTHER TRADITIONAL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION; such loans to be for seed, fertilizer and food and cloth, so that they may immediately become cash renters on the plantations.
2. The sale of land, on easy payments with special provisions against eviction, to all sharecropper and tenants that apply, the minimum acreage of a farm to be 40 acres coupled with loans as specified above, with special provisions for re-building the marginal and sub-marginal land by allotments for fertilizer and labor for Soil Conservation.
3. The financial obligations for this program shall be raised by:
   a. Diversion to farm relief large portions of the immense war appropriations.
   b. Diversion of funds going to the federal bureaucrary.
   c. Increased taxation of wealth and income of the great financial and industrial interests of the country with special emphasis on giant companies handling agricultural products.
4. Administration of this program by trained social workers, and not by local Landlord-controlled Agricultural Extension Service, such workers to be subject to immediate dismissal for any discrimination against any sharecropper or tenant Negro or white.
5. A minimum wage law guaranteeing farm wage workers at least 25c an hour, and a law prohibiting labor for children under the age of 14 years to give them the opportunity for schooling and recreation.
6. A congressional resolution guaranteeing protection to Negro and white workers, croppers, tenants and small owners who assert themselves and their rights under this program. A congressional resolution guaranteeing the farm workers, sharecroppers, tenants and small owners the right to organize, meet and strike, and Federal action against those who attempt to abridge these rights.

E. LYNCHING AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

WHEREAS: The National Negro Congress has seriously considered the vital problems of Civil Liberties, including lynching, Jim-Crowism, residential segregation, disfranchisement, gag-laws destructive of freedom of speech, press and assembly, and the increasing fascist threats to the rights of the Negro and other minority groups, and

WHEREAS: Since the Civil War over 5,000 lynchings have taken place in the United States and in the past few years a veritable wave of lynchings and terror have swept over the country, it being clear that lynching and vigilante terror are a fascist menace to the black and white toilers of the United States, and its causes are deep in the social and economic structure of the nation, which are designed to keep the Negroes and other oppressed groups in a state of peonage and subjugation, and

WHEREAS: Such events as the recent lynching in Tampa, Fla., of Joseph Shoemaker, a white worker and share-cropper, demonstrate that lynchings are directed not only against Negroes, but also against white workers and

sharecroppers who also struggle for the improvement of their conditions, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress endorses and supports the Costigan-Wagner Federal Anti-Lynch Bill and recommends that safe guards be incorporated to prevent the use of this measure against those whom it is intended to protect, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress calls upon the Congress of the United States to adopt a resolution introduced into the Senate by Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana, for an open, thorough, and impartial investigation of all lynchings since May 1935, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we condemn all existing and proposed gag-laws, such as the "Tydings-McCormack Act" the "Kramer Sedition Bill," the "Washington, D. C. Anti-Communist Rider," the "Criminal Syndicalism" and the "Teachers' Oath Laws," that we will vigoriously support every fight against all such repressive and fascist legislation, and be it

FURTHER RESOLVED: That we condemn all legislation and practices designed to exclude Negroes from the Constitutional exercise of the franchise, and that we exert mass pressure for the exclusion of all Congressmen who are elected from the states which restrict Negroes from the free and untrammeled use of the ballot, that we bitterly condemn the decision of the United States Supreme Court in Grover vs. Townsend, the Texas Primary case, whereby Negroes may be legally excluded from membership in political parties and the effective use of the ballot in those localities, that we support furthr action designed to achieve full participation of the Negro in all functions of political parties, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress demands and will fight for the enforcement of all the Constitutional Amendments guaranteeing Civil Liberties, especially the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, and call for adoption by the Congress of the United States, for their enforcement, including the enactment of uniform laws affecting the election of all Federal officers, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress call for the abolition of the torturing of prisoners through police brutality, for the abolition of the barbarous chain-gang system, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress will take immediate steps to prosecute the lynchers of Norris Dendy, and to popularize the facts and issues of this case, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we endorse the United Front Defense of the nine innocent Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon, Tom Mooney, and

BE IT FURTHRE RESOLVED: That we call upon the permanent committee of the National Negro Congress to devise methods to coordinate the energies of all existing organizations to give effect to these resolution.

F. RESOLUTIONS IN AID OF ETHIOPIA

Condemnation of the Invasion of Ethiopia by Fascist Italy

WHEREAS: Fascist Italy is making war upon Ancient Kingdom of Abyssinia with a view to its exploitation and subjugation for the benefit of Italian imperialists, be it therefore

RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress goes on record as condemning this piece of international brigandage as a threat to world peace and an unjustified invasion upon the land of a peace loving people, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the copies of this Resolution be brought to the attention

of the President of the United States and the Chairman of the Committee n Foreign Relations of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and to the trade and industrial unions, farmer organizations, unemployed workers' movements and the liberal and professional groups of the Country.

United States Neutrality Act WHEREAS: The Neutrality act of the United States has operated to aid Italy as against Ethiopia by permitting the shipment of vital war supplies to Italy against the expressed wish of the Department of State, and

WHEREAS: The Neutrality act of the United States does not specifically provide against the shipment of such vital war supplies as oil, metal, cotton, etc., to the nations at war, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress goes on record as advocating and urging the Congress of the United States to extend the provisions of the Neutrality Act to include a ban on oil, metals, and cotton to nations at war, and be it further

RESOLVED: That this Congress call on all workers, particularly those in the transportation industry, to refuse to handle shipments of supplies to Italy and to support fully any groups of workers engaged from time to time in such refusals.

Hostile Press WHEREAS: There is a section of the American press distinctly hostile to the interests of Ethiopia, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That this Congress urge all Negroes and other Americans opposed to War and Fascism, to refuse to purchase papers and publications of the Hearst and other sections of the hostile Press, and be it further

RESOLVED: That a list of business firms advertising in the Hearst and other sections of the hostile press be made available and that Negroes and other opponents of War and Fascism be urged not to buy from such firms, and that they be urged to make known their reasons to such firms for not purchasing such goods.

On Personal Aid to Ethiopia WHEREAS: There is a desire on the part of many American Negroes to offer their services to Ethiopia in her present struggle, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the Congress shall through an appropriate committee, make known this desire to the Ethiopian Government and ascertain that government's policy with regard to accepting services, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the Congress through its appropriate committee, shall make known to the American Negro the results of its approach to the Ethiopian Government.

WHEREAS: The suffering of Ethiopia is sufficiently great to warrant support of all civilized nation and peoples of the world against the atrocities being committed upon Her by the invading armies of Mussolini and his Fascist party, and

WHEREAS: There are many organizations in the United States of America which are raising funds to help Ethiopia in her struggle to maintain her independence, and

WHEREAS: The costs of maintaining such organizations are too exhorbitant; and

WHEREAS: There is need for coordinating the many organizations and their plans of operations, be it

RESOLVED: That the various organizations represented at the National Negro Congress in Chicago agree to the following principles of organ-

izational procedure in the United States as a basis for operation and centralized control for helping to supply Ethiopia with medical aid, etc.

1. That a national organization be established
2. That the purpose of said national organization shall be to coordinate the activities of the various organizations interested in aiding Ethiopia; to secure direct contact with the proper Ethiopian office to which funds and supplies should be sent; and to devise ways and means of facilitating and enhacing the collection of funds and supplies and the promotion of the welfare of Ethiopia.
3. That the name shall be The United American Association for Aid to Ethiopia.
4. That there be a Board of Directors; that the Board of Directors be composed of the representatives elected by the constituent societies. (2 representatives from each).
5. That the officers—President, Vice-President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer, be elected by the constituent societies from the members of the Boards of Directors.
6. That the principal committees be Executive, Finance, Publicity, and Membership.
   (a) That the Executive Committee shall consist of the officers plus members who shall be elected from the board of directors.
7. That the duties of these committees be as follows: That the Executive Committee transact all business between meetings of the Board of Directors; that the Finance committee outline the budget and pass on all bills; that the Membership Committee develop new organizations and recommend approval of existing ones, using information obtained from local accrediting bodies or organizations; that the Publicity Committee supply the various Societies with periodic Bulletins and news articles and secure bulk printing when feasible;
8. That funds and supplies be distributed through the Ethiopian Consulate office, the Minister of France in Ethiopia, or the Red Cross, depending on the method finally determined by the Board of Directors.
9. That Societies may send their funds directly to the agency provided notation of the fact is made to the National body.
10. That the expense of the National body should be met by the Constituent bodies on a pro rata basis.
11. That the agreement adopted here should be submitted to other bon fide organizations in the field for the purpose of drawing them in.
12. That in all campaign conducted by member organizations for aid to Ethiopia, the parent body should be notified.
13. The Chairman of all Committees shall be members of board of directors.
14. The chief office of the organization shall be in New York City.

G. RESOLUTIONS AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

The Significance of Fascism to Negroes WHEREAS: The present onslaught of Fascist Italy on Ethiopia reveals the nature of Fascism in that it suppresses all individual and democratic freedom, and ruthlessly violates the rights of other peoples and nations, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That this Congress goes on record as favoring a campaign by the Negro press and ministry and by other means to make American Negroes aware of the menace of Fascism in their midst, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the Congress shall, through an appropriate c undertake to inform American Negroes of the disastrous menace o political combinations, such as the American Liberty League, etc., are taking place in America today.

WHEREAS: Fascism in its developing forms, fans the glams of race ha increasing the misely and oppression of the minority groups, and

WHEREAS: There exist today forces in America (such as Hearst, the American Liberty Leaguers, Brisbane, etc.) who are allying themselves with the fascists in Germany and Italy and are responsible largely for the deplorable plight of the Negroes, and

WHEREAS: These same forces seek to restrict the democratic rights of free speech and assembly, thus further restricting the civil liberties of the American Negro, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress goes on record as vehemently opposed to the aims of the Hearst and American Liberty League groups, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress exercise every effort to maintain and preserve the hard won access to freedom of speech, press, the right to free assembly and all other civil liberties of the Negro people and the population at large, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress shall establish a permanent commission which shall regularly conduct an investigation of every manifestation of fascism developing against the Negro people and the population at large, issue regular educational material against this and for the establishment of better race relations.

WHEREAS: The threat of fascism is real and immediate, involving attacks against all organizations of the population (trade unions, civic organizations, churches, political parties, etc.) and in view of the splendid message sent to this Congress by our President Brother Randolph, be it

RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress shall exert every effort in bringing about the closest cooperation of all organizations and groups opposed to war and fascism, and be it further

RESOLVED: That in its turn the National Negro Congress itself will participate with all organizations in a common, united, cooperative effort against the menace of war and fascism.

WHEREAS: The Mexican people are about to come together in a national people's Congress against war, be it

RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress send an official greeting and pledge of cooperation to this Congress.

WHEREAS: The women and children are made a special butt by fascism (witness Germany and Italy), militarism among the youth, place the women in kitchen, etc.) be it therefore,

RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress refers back to all represented organizations urging that each organization adopt special meaures to bringing women folk, youth and children into the main stream of the common struggle against fascism.

H. RESOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR NEGROES

WHEREAS: The exploitation and subjugation of the Negro masses is general, and world-wide in scope, and

WHEREAS: Negro toilers in one nation are not free so long as their brother toilers elsewhere are subjected to the degrading horror of exploitation, and

WHEREAS: A deeper sympathy and class-consciousness of all Negro workers through-out the world, can best be developed by an International Congerss of Negroes, be it

RESOLVED: That immediately upon the establishment of this Congress, upon a permanent basis, it work for the fulfillment of such an International Congress of Negroes.

I. INTER-RACIAL CONTACTS RESOLUTIONS

RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress serve as a medium for the development of Inter-racial groups whose function will be an intensive program of education of the basic factors involved in race relations.

2. That a definite effort be made in each local community, city and county to co-ordinate the efforts of all Inter-racial groups, to deal especially with the problems of that community.
6. That emphasis be made of the importance of the teaching of Negro and collectively, availing themselves of the opportunities for Inter-racial contacts which already exist.
4. That both Negroes and whites be encouraged to use every means of bringing about natural contact between members of both groups.
5. That Inter-racial groups concentrate upon the education of children so that a proper concept of race relations may be gained at an early age.
6. That emphasis be made of the importance of the teaching of Negro History in the courses of study in all schools.
7. That each organization represented in the Congress be encouraged to send a report of their activities to the Inter-racial Commission of the National Negro Congress for compilation and determination of future activities.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE NEGRO CHURCH

WHEREAS: Under Divine Leadership and through the various activities of the Church, the Negro has received great inspiration and assistance in his marvelous progress and advancements, and

WHEREAS: We still feel that the Negro church is a potent agency to be used in the further progress and advancement of our people.

WE THEREFORE recommend that the Negro shall continue to hold faith and confidence in God and the Church, as set forth in the life example and teachings of Jesus.

WE FURTHER RECOMMEND that the Christian families of the country shall give more attention to the home training of the youth, with special emphasis upon their social, moral and spiritual obligations to the community and to the world.

WE FURTHER RECOMMEND that our Ministry, with renewed courage and uncompromising conviction shall preach an economic and social gospel as well as a spiritual gospel, for the salvation of the whole man and that the Church shall engage themselves to hold week-day schools and institutes to instruct Church members, to develop a consciousness of conditions and the best means of meeting them for genera lwelfare. The churches are further asked to work out an adequate technique comprehnding social and conomic problems affecting our group and working with non-Christian groups whose economic and social ideas are of value to the solution of our economic and social problems, without comprising the fundamental principles of the Christian Church.

We sense a new imperative facing the Church for greater consideration

and challenging incentives for saving the youth for the Church. The Church must rearrange her program and machinery to be more youth-centered in her operations. Negro Christians throughout the world urged to cease striving to widen the denomnational breaches to the hindrance of the building of racia lbrotherhood and cooperative action.

WE FURTHER RECOMMEND that the church be called upon in every community to build and carry forward the work of the National Negro Congress;

WE FURTHRER RECOMMEND that every fifth Sunday shall be set aside in every church in support of the work and program of the National Negro Congress.

K. RESOLUTIONS ON DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

WHEREAS: No organization of any race has been constructed which did not have declarations of principles as a code of social action, and the Negro people of America ,even this Congress, have no such instrument for inter-group cooperation, unified thinking and inter-racial understandg, be it

THEREFORE RESOLVED: That a commission be appointed to draft a declaration of Principles for the Negro people in this country, as an expression of their ideals, purposes and aspirations that shall be for the uniting of the divided Negro groups in America what the Declaration of Independence was for the uniting of the thirteen original colonies in the federation United States of America and that the commission appointed shall make its report for adoption in the 1927 sessions of the Congress.

L. RESOLUTION OF COMMITTEE FOR NEGRO BUSINESS SECTION

WHEREAS: The delegates to the National Negro Congress in convention assemble realized the present deplorable and impoverished economic condition of the twelve million Negro citizens of America, and

WHEREAS: The development of sound and thriving Negro business can be a factor in the general elevation of the Negro's social and economic security, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED: That all Negroes consider it their duty to support Negro business by their patronage, and

BE IT FURTHRE RESOLVED: That the business and civic leaders of all Negro Communities inaugurate a systematic program of education among the Negro population to the necessity of supporting Negro business enterprises, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the Negroes' patronage of any business be conditional upon the attitude and policy of that particular business in regards to giving equitable employment to Negroes, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the owners and operators of Negro businesses recognize the value and necessity of adopting modern business methods and procedure, such as (a) the proper keeping of books and periodical audits, (b) proper financial planning placed upon the budget system, and bonding of all fiduciary officers, (c) clean and attractive display of goods or services offered and (d) the consistent, efficient, and courteous attention to patrons or customers, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we recommend that the Negroes everywhere give thoughtful and studious consideration to the organization and development of Consumers and Producers Cooperative organizations, because of the great benefits to be derived therefrom and

BE IT FURTHRE RESOLVED: That this great Congress urge upon Negro business and all Negro employers that they employ only union labor.

M. RESOLUTION ON IMPROVING STATUS OF FOREIGN BORN NEGROES

RESOLVED

1. That the Congress go on record as condemning any form of discrimination practiced against foreign-born Negroes in the United States.
2. That the Congress goes on record as opposing any attempt at deporting foreign-born Negroes or dropping them from relief or employment.
3. That the Congress goes on record favoring the bringing about a better relationship between the foreign-born and the native born Negroes.
4. That the Congress goes on record as supporting all people of African descent in their struggle for economic and political freedom in their respective home.
5. That the Congress try to bring about an International Negro Congress in order to establish a closer unity among Negroes throughout the world.

N. RESOLUTION ON NEGRO WORKERS IN FEDERAL, STATE AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYMENT

I. Recommendation as to Federal Civil Service:

1. That identification of personnel by photograph which serves to discriminate Negroes be discontinued.
2. That promotions to be put on a strict seniority basis.
3. That it shall be criminal for a Civil Service Secretary to falsify or withhold information concerning a pending Civil Service Examination.
4. That the quota basis as to Negroes in Civil Service jobs be made to apply only as to the ratio of all existing government jobs.
5. That Negro nurses be assigned indiscriminately to all Federal hospitals.
6. That manial jobs, in any given classification, be rotated.
7. That the bill which makes a six, rather than a five day week, out of the 40-hour Postal Law, be defeated.

II. That all State and City employment, as well as Federal, be put on a Civil Service basis.

1. That Civil Service Courts of Appeals be established.
2. That State and County nursing be put on a Civil Service basis, with an 8-hour day.

III. That the American Federation of Labor be prevailed upon:

1. To merge all Negro and white locals.
2. To have striken the word "Caucasion" from all charters, Constitutions and by-laws.

IV. Adopt a Program for the purpose of educating Negroes as to desirability and availability of Civil Service Position.

O. RESOLUTION ON NEGRO CULTURE AND CULTURAL WORKERS

WHEREAS: The Negro Cultural past and Negro cultural workers have generally been neglected and suppressed, and

WHEREAS: In the past Negro institutions have exploited Negro artists and writers on the basis of race, loyalty, and

WHEREAS: Negro cultural workers are finding it increasingly impossible to cope with their financial difficulties, and

WHEREAS: There is at present no consistent national organization for art exhibition, and

WHEREAS: Negro artists and writers have no consistent outlet for their art production, and

WHEREAS: It is impossible to further the interest of Negro culture with such a lack of outlet, and

WHEREAS: Due to economic conditions beyond the control of Negro writers the income of this group have declined to almost starvation levels, and

WHEREAS: Unemployed Negro writers are utterly unable to obtain employment in private industry, and

WHEREAS: The Writers' Union has to a great extent solved the unemployment problems of its membership by forcing the creation of Federal Writers' Projects which gave employment without discrimination to most of its qualified Negro and white unemployed members, and

WHEREAS: The Writers Union through its assistant executive secretary has invited us to participate in the National convention of the Writers' Union in New York, March 6 and 7 and to both join existing locals and locals in the process of formation, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the writers present at, as represented by the delegates at this sub-session of the National Negro Congress do hereby put themselves on record as moving to join the Writers' Union, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the writers present will participate as members in the first national convention of the Writers' Union, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress goes on record as supporting a national Negro cultural magazine, and the calling of a national Negro cultural conference, and be it further

RESOLVED: That a national Negro sponsoring committee be formed to foster traveling exhibitions of the art of Negro artists and a concerted effort to have literature of the Negro placed in public schools, and be it further

RESOLVED: That an effort be made to raise the cultural standard of the adult Negro, and be it further

RESOLVED: That an effort be made to fight all forms of discrimination against the Negro in art and the theatre, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the Congress goes on record as urging Negro institutions such as newspapers, etc., give greater consideration, in the form of money and encouragement, etc., to Negro artists and writers, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress encourage the development of a Negro peoples theatre in every community to express the cultural traditions and present day problems of the Negro people, and use such theatres to embody the program of this Congress as a means of social education, and be it further

RESOLVED: That this Congress protest the presentation of Negro artist in caricature and subservient roles on stage, screen and radio, and be it further

RESOLVED: That this Congress vigorously oppose discrimination in the theatre against colored performers and audience, and be it further

RESOLVED: That inasmuch as the Artists' Union has performed functions similar to those of the Writers' Union on the economic front, this Congress urges all Negro artists, employed and unemployed, to join and support the Artists' Union.

P. RESOLUTION ON FREDERICK DOUGLASS MEMORIAL HOME

WHEREAS: The National Association of Colored Women, Inc., have reclaimed and maintained the home of Frederick Douglass at Anacostia, Washington, D. C., as a National Shrine, and

WHEREAS: There is need of improvement of the ground and landscaping of same, we are petitioning this Congress to join in an effort to have the Congress of this United States make an appropriation to defray the expenses of landscaping and of building a wall around the Frederick Douglass estate.

WHEREAS: This Congress has set apart the natal day of Frederick Douglass we heartily commend them for this consideration and we pledge our support and earnestly urge closer cooperation of men with women in all program for the general good.

WHEREAS: The National Association of Colored Women has had introduced into Congress a bill known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 202 by the Senator Neely of West Virginia, we ask the endorsement of the members of this Congress in bringing it to the attention of the appropriation committee that said bill shall be passed when it comes up for final reading.

The exposition herein referred to its to encourage mechanical, agricultural and cultural advancement of Negroes throughout the United States and to give definite examples of the progress made by them since emancipation.

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE SOCIAL SECURITY SECTION OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

I ON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR DIRECT RELIEF

WHEREAS: Mass unemployment and attendant staravtion and suffering and the continuation of the economic crisis are nation-wide in scope and constitute a national catastrophe, and

WHEREAS: Cities and States are unable to provide a uniform program of adequate relief which can protect all those persons in the United States who are in need and are entitled to relief, and

WHEREAS: Relief as it is distributed at present is both inadequate and as a rule discriminatory,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the great National Negro Congress call upon the President of the United States and upon the U. S. Congress to accept and undertake the distribution of relief as a federal responsibility and to enact legislation to provide uniform adequate relief to every unemployed and needy person who reside within the boundaries at the U. S. and/or its territories,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we call upon the President and upon Congress to continue and extend the present inadequate W.P.A. program to the end that every employable person who is now unemployed may work on a W.P.A. job at union wages; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That to the above-listed ends, the National Negro Congress goes on record in favor of the enactment of the Marcantonio Relief and Works Project Standards Bill now before Congress; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress calls upon all Negroes and their organizations throughout the United States to use all legitimate means and to cooperate with all movements which work to these ends.

II FOR A SYSTEM OF FEDERAL UNEMPLOYMENT, OLD AGE, AND SOCIAL INSURANCE WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION

WHEREAS: Mass Unemployment is a necessary evil, characteristic of the social system in which we live, and

WHEREAS: Such mass unemployment exists in all parts of the United States and territories, and

WHEREAS: Any serious measure to provide against mass unemployment must be national in character, and

WHEREAS: The present so-called "Security Program" of the government is inadequate and discriminatory, and

WHEREAS: The only bill now before Congress of which the provisions are adequate all embracing and non-discriminatory is the Frazier-Lundeen Federal Unemployment, Old Age, Maternity and Social Insurance Bill,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress goes on record in favor of the enactment of the Frazier-Lundeen Bill and calls upon all Negroes and their organizations throughout the United States to use all legitimate means and to cooperate with all movements which work for the passage of the Frazier-Lundeen Bill.

Q. CONDENSED RESOLUTIONS OF THE YOUTH COMMITTEE

WHEREAS: Negro Youth like their elders are confronted with social, political, educationa land economic problems of a nature too grave to exaggerate, and

WHEREAS: It is the indubitable duty and right of all Negro Youth to fight for the eradication of the evils from which they suffer, and

WHEREAS: In such a fight policies and objectives must be clearly determinted and made available to all organizations and individuals fighting for the advancement of Negro Youth, we therefore, move the adoption of the following resolutions by the National Negro Congress assembled:

Education RESOLVED: That the National Negro Congress go on record as demanding that the facilities of all municipal tax-supported educational and recreationcal institutions be opened to all people regardless of race and that application blanks for positions in such educational and recreational institutions and activities, be devoid of means by which a person can be identified as belonging to a particular racia lgroups, and be it further

RESOLVED: That this Congress take vigorous action in regards to the enforcement of (1) laws forbidding all forms of segregation, and (2) that in these states that do not have laws forbidding segregation we launch an unceasing fight for the enactment of such laws, and be it also

RESOLVED: That we fight against discrimination against Negro Institutions of higher learning practices by various collegiate organizations outstanding among which is the Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity, and be it further

RESOLVED: That our struggle for educational opportunities and equality in the South be carried on along the following lines—(a) equality and increase of appropriation for the education of Negro and white youth, (b) abolition of enforced separate schools, (c) support of tohse organizations like the N.A.A.C.P., which are fighting against the exclusion of Negroes from the institutions of higher learning, and be it further

RESOLVED: That in our struggle for educational equality and opportunity in the North and in the South we should demand and seek to establish (a) the inclusion of courses in Negro History in our schools and colleges, and

(b) for the placing of competent Negroes on the faculties of our colleges and universities, especially our tax-supported institutions, and demand the elimination of discrimination in athletics in our college teams, intra-mural activities, and be it further

RESOLVED: That this Congress go on record as supporting the American Youth Act, and be it also

Employment RESOLVED: That all business concerns refusing to employ Negro people on the basis of policy be boycotted, and be it further

Deliquency RESOLVED: That this Congress endorse all movements that teach parents the proper care of children, especially those that deal definitely with the problems affecting Negro youth, and that we support such private organizations as the Big Sister and the Big Brother Movement concerned with delinquent boys and girls, and be it further

Child Labor RESOLVED: That we hereby condemn in unequivocal terms the existence of child labor in the United States and to abolish this evil, we enlist the aid of all groups in securing the enactment of the proposed amendment abolishing child labor.

REPORT OF YOUTH SECTION OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

Delegates One hundreds and twenty-five (125) youth delegates representing youth organizations from various sections of the country registered by the registration committee. These delegates constituted a youth section of the Congress and deliberated on youth problems in a manner similar to the activities of the Congress as regards those issues on which the Congress was called.

Resolutions Substantially the youth section of the National Negro Congress adopted resolutions endorsing a militant fight for peace and an unremitting struggle against fascism. We endorsed the teaching of Negro history in the schools and colleges of the nation and called for a general fight for equal educational opportunities. We saw wisdom in cooperating with such student organizations as the American Student Union; and in fighting for the demilitarization of the Civilian Conservation Corps. We condemned child labor in the United States and committed ourselves to work for the passage of a constitutional amendment outlawing the evil. We pledged ourselves to a militant fight against those business enterprises which refuse to employ Negro labor on the basis of policy; and for the removal of all forms, rules and regulations based on color, associated with tax-supported institutions. We endorsed the American Youth Act and called upon all youth to support those social welfare organizations, such as the Big Brothers and Big Sisters ,whose activities are deterrent to delinquenty. Finally the incident in Gary, Ind., of Langston Hughes' being refused an audience in the Public Schools and in Negro Churches was condemned as a fascist tendency, and the session resolved to present Mr. Hughes to the Gary public immediately.

Organizational Structure (For Action) A Youth Continuation Committee of the National Negro Congress was set up. This Committee is composed of thirty representatives, youth selected from all over the country. The officers elected from this committee

are: Edward Strong of Chicago, Chairman; Ishmael Flory of Los Angeles, Vice-Chairman; Tansel Butler of Washington, D. C., and Lyonel Florant also of Washington, D. C., were elected secretaries. Miss Evely Frances Jackson of Cleveland, Treasurer.

A National Bureau of six people was established. The bureau is composed of individuals living near enough to Washington so that it may assemble regularly. The purpose of this Bureau is to develop concrete plans regarding finance, publicity, literature, office and executive arrangements, etc., to carry out the resolutions adopted by the Youth Section of the National Negro Congress and to extend youth divisions of the Congress, etc. Members of the Bureau are: Lyonel Florant, Washington, D. C., Tansel Butler, Washington, D. C., Angelo Herndon, New York city; Evelyn Frances Jackson, Cleveland, Ohio, Ethel E. James, Philadelphia and James Ashford, New York City.

Relation to National Body The relation between the National body and the youth action is achieved through the presence of the National Chairman of the Youth Continuation Committee who is to be a member of the National Executive Committee and responsible to it for youth activities.

Under the leadership of the youth continuation committee regional, state, city and local youth committees, composed of youth organizations and individually youth are to be organized to carry out the program of the National Negro Congress.

Respectfully submitted,
Presiding Committee Youth Section, National Negro Congress.
Edward E. Strong, Chairman

REPORT OF THE PRESIDING COMMITTEE
February 16, 1936

The Presiding Committee submits the following proposals to the National Negro Congress.

I. That the National Negro Congress become a permanent Congress convening annually.

II. That there be three national officers, namely
   a. Chairman
   b. Secretary
   c. Treasurer

III. That the following committees be set up, the chairmen of which are to be elected without regard to geographic areas:
   a. Committee on organization, rules and by-laws.
   b. Committee on finances.
   c. Committee on Labor under which there shall be three sub-committees, namely
      1. unorganized labor
      2. trade unions
      3. government employees
   d. Committee on women's work.
   e. Committee on farm and rural problems
   f. Committee on youth

g. Committee on legal and civic rights (to include legislation and lobbyng).
h. Committe on Church
i. Committee on Education and Culture
j. Committee on International Affairs embracing Ethiopia, Africa, the West Indies and all countries in which Negroes live or which affect Negroes.
k. Committee on health and housing
l. Committee on Inter-racial cooperation
m. Committee on Fraternal organizations
n. Committee on Business and Professional groups
o. Committee on Unemployment and Relief

IV. That there are to be 15 regional vice-presidents to be elected from regions (which are designated later in this report). These regional vice-presidents are to be included in the membership of the enlargd National Excutive Council.

V. That there shall be a National Executive Council of 75 members consisting of
a. The 3 national executive officers
b. The 15 regional vice-presidents
c. The 15 chairmen of the above named committees
d. 42 additional members to be elected at this Congress without particular regard to geographic areas

VI. That the present local sponsoring committees become the local councils. These councils are to be organized as federating and affiliating organizations together with individual sustaining members. These Federated Councils are to form the base of organization.

VII. That the Executive Secretary of the National Negro Congress is to be a full time, paid Executive.

The Presiding Committee proposes that the National officers to serve until the 1937 Congress shall be:

A. Phillip Randolph	New York City	President
John P. Davis	Washington, D. C.	Secretary
Marion Cuthbert	New York City	Treasurer

The Committee further proposes that the geographic areas as districted and the vice-presidents elected to their respective districts shall be:

First District—New England covering—Vice-president,
Julian D. Steele, Boston, Mass.
Maine
New Hampshire
Connecticut
Massachusetts
Rhode Island

Second District—New York and New Jersey—Vice-President,
Lester B. Granger, New York City

Third District—Pennsylvania and Delaware—Vice-President,
Arthur H. Fauset, Philadelphia

Fourth District—Washington, D. C. and Maryland—Vice-President,
Rev. W. H. Jernagin, Washigton, D. C.

Fourth District—South Eastern States—Vice-President,
Rufus B. Atwood, Frankfort, Ky.
Virginia

N. Carolina
S. Carolina
Kentucky
W. Virginia

Sixth District—South West — No Vice-President Named
Texas
New Mexico

Seventh District—West or Pacific Coast—Vice-President,
Mr. Augustus Hawkins, Los Angeles. Cal.
Arizona
Nevada
California

Eighth District—North West — No Vice-President Named
Washington
Oregon
Montana
Idaho
Wyoming
Utah
Colorado

Ninth District—North Central—Vice-President,
Miss Willie G. Brown, Minneapolis, Minn.
Wisconsin
Minnesota
Iowa

Tenth District—Central—Vice-President, DeWitt, D. A. Alcorn, Kansas
Missouri
Kansas
Oklahoma

Eleventh District—Nebraska and the Dakotas—No Vice-President named

Twelfth District—The Gulf States—Vice-President,
Hosie Hart, Montgomery, Ala.
Florida
Georgia
Alabama

Thirteenth District—Mississippi, Alabama and Arkansas—No Vice-President Named

Fourteenth District—Illinois and Indiana—Vice-President,
Atty. Chas. W. Burton, Chicago, Ill.

Fifteenth District—Michigan and Indiana—Vice-President,
Snow F. Grigsby, Detroit, Michigan

Committee Chairmen The presiding Committee further proposes these chairmen to the various committees.

1. Committee on Organization, Rules and By-Laws—Mr. B. D. Amis, Philadelphia, Pa.
2. Finance Committee—Dr. W. H. Jernagin, Washington, D. C.
3. Committee on Labor with 3 sub-committees—Mr. Clifford McLeod, New York City.
   a. Unorganized
   b. Trade Unions
   c. Government Employees
4. Committee on Unemployment Relief—Mr. Arnold Johnson, New York City.

5. Committee on Women's Work—Miss Thyra Edwards, Chicago, Ill.
6. Committee on Farm and Rural Problems—No Chairman Named
7. Committee on Youth—Mr. Edward E. Strong, Chicago, Ill.
8. Committee on Legal and Civic Rights—Mr. Richard B. Moore, Boston, Mass.
9. Committee on Church—Rev. E. L. Licorish, Brooklyn, N. Y.
10. Committee on Education and Culture—Mr. Ben Davis, Jr., New York City.
11. Committee on International Relations—Mr. James W. Ford, New York City.
12. Committee on Health and Housing—Dr. Matt Crawford, Los Angeles, Calif.
13. Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation—Dr. Arthur G. Falls, Chicago, Ill.
14. Committee on Fraternal Organization—Mr. John Marquess, Philadelphia, Pa.
15. Committee on Business and Professional Groups—Mr. Jacob L. Reddix, Gary, Indiana.

The Presiding Committee further proposes that the 1937 Congress convene at Philadelphia during the month of May. Any changes in the time proposed is left to the discretion of the National executive committee.

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

Mr. Joseph T. Albright, Minnesota
Mr. DeWitt D. A. Alcorn, Kansas
Mr. B. D. Amis, Pennsylvania
Mr. Rufus B. Atwood, Kentucky
Mr. Harry Basey, Ohio
Mr. A. W. Berry, New York
Miss Willie Gertrude Brown, Minnesota
Dr. Ralph Bunche, District of Columbia
Dr. Charles Wesley Burton, Illinois
Rev. Mathew W. Clair, Indiana
Miss Bernice Copeland, Wisconsin
Dr. Matt Crawford, California
Miss Marion Cuthbert, New York
Mr. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., New York
Mr. John P. Davis, District of Columbia
Miss Thyra Edwards, Illinois
Dr. Arthur G. Falls, Illinois
Mr. Arthur Huff Fauset, Pennsylvania
Mr. James W. Ford, New York
Dr. Albert E. Forsythe, New Jersey
Dr. S. Edward Gilbert, Iowa
Mr. Jerry O. Gilliam, Virginia
Mr. Lester B. Granger, New York
Mr. Snow F. Grigsby, Michigan
Mr. Milton Hanna, Wisconsin
Rev. W. O. Harper, Ohio
Mr. Hosie Hart, Alabama
Mr. William H. Hastie, District of Columbia
Mr. Augustus Hawkins, California
Mr. T. Arnold Hill, New York
Miss Murtis Howard, Ohio
Rev. W. H. Jernagin, District of Columbia
Mr. Arnold Johnson, New York
Mr. Henry A. Johnson, Illinois
Captain A. L. King, New York
Mr. Edward S. Lewis, Maryand
Rev. E. L. Licorish, New York
Mr. John M. Marguess, Pennsylvania
Mr. R. B. McKinney, Arkansas
Mr. William McKnight, Ohio
Mr. Clifford McLeod, New York
Mr. A. W. McPherson, Pennsylvania
Mr. Henry Lee Moon, New York
Mr. Richard B. Moore, Massachusetts

Miss Florence Nelson, Ohio
Miss Floria Pickney, New York
Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., New York City
Mr. A. Philip Randolph, New York
Mrs. Rosa Rayside, New York City
Attorney Louis L. Redding, Delaware
Mr. Jacob L. Reddix, Indiana
Rev. D. E. Rice, Maryland
Mr. Marty Richardson, Florida
Mrs. Neva Ryan, Illinois
Mr. Joseph P. Semper, Connecticut
Dr. Robert A. Simmons, Massachusetts
Mr. Edward Smith, Illinois
Mr. Julian D. Steele, Massachusetts
Mr. James Strickland, Ohio
Mr. Edward E. Strong Illinois
Rev. Marshall A. Talley, Indiana
Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Virginia
Mr. Layton Weston, Missouri
Miss Maude White, Ohio
Mr. Max Yergan, Pennsylvania

Note: Ten vacancies remain to be filled on recommendation of regional, state and local councils of the National Negro Congress and election by the National Executive Committee.

As at present constituted 23 states and the District of Columbia are represented on the National Council as follows:

Alabama	1	Maryland	2
Arkansas	1	Massachusetts	3
California	2	Michigan	1
Connecticut	1	Minnesota	2
Delaware	1	Missouri	1
Florida	1	New Jersey	1
Illinois	7	New York	15
Indiana	3	Ohio	7
Iowa	1	Pennsylvania	5
Kansas	1	Wisconsin	2
Kentucky	1	District of Columbia	4
Louisiana	1	TOTAL	66

CONDENSED REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegates present	817
Organizations represented	585
States represented	28
Combined and unduplicated membership of organizations represented	1,200,000

REPRESENTATION BY ORGANIZATIONS

Churches and religious organizations	81
Fraternal Societies	71
Trade Unions	83
Farm Organizations	2
Youth Organizations	26
Civic Groups and Societies	226
Political Groups and parties	46
Women Organizations	23
Educational Organizations	14
Professional Groups	6
Business Organizations	2
Newspaper groups	5
TOTAL ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED	585

REPRESENTATION BY STATE

Alabama	4	Minnesota	6
Arkansas	1	Mississippi	3
California	5	Missouri	16
Connecticut	3	New Jersey	8
Delaware	2	New York, including City of New York	157
Florida	3	Ohio	35
Georgia	2	Pennsylvania	43
Chicago, Illinois	353	Tennessee	4
Illinois, outside Chicago	14	Texas	3
Indiana	58	Virginia	11
Iowa	2	Washington	1
Kansas	4	Wisconsin	14
Kentucky	1	District of Columbia	21
Massachusetts	10		
Michigan	20		

Telephone Dearborn 2564

I. J. EHRLICH & COMPANY
Accountants and Auditors
82 West Washington Street
Suite 522
CHICAGO, ILL.

National Executive Committee,
National Negro Congress,
Washington, D. C.
Gentlemen:

Upon invitation of your secretary, Mr. John P. Davis we supervised the financial transactions of the National Negro Congress, held at Chicago on February 14, 15, 16, 1936, and submit herewith our report.

Respectfully submitted
I. J. EHRLICH & COMPANY
BY,
B. Gopstein
(Signed).

C/o Mr. John P. Davis, Washington, D. C.
Dr. C. W. Burton, Chicago, Ill

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS
CHICAGO ILLINOIS
February 14, 15, 16, 1936

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND DISBURSEMENTS

Total Income (Per Schedule)		$1,816.25	
Total Disbursements (Per Schedule		1,824.34	
		$ 8.09	(Deficit)
ADD: Unpaid Loan Richard Pittman	$45.00		
Unpaid bill of Stern Printing Co. (for program	98.00	$ 143.00	
TOTAL DEFICIT		$ 151.09	

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS
CHICAGO ILLINOIS
February 14, 15, 16, 1936

STATEMENT OF INCOME

Registration Fees of Delegates			$ 3.59.00
Donations: Youth Committee	$ 25.00		
Collections at the Congress	631.19		
Other Donations	781.07		1,347.26
Sale of Literature			59.77
Sale of Stamps			13.00
Advertising			15.00
Admissions to hall			34.04
Loans—Richard Pittman			45.00
Receipt from dance	$ 63.40		
Receipt from check-room	7.00		
	$ 70.40		
Cost of orchestra	$ 47.50		
Cost of entertainers	5.00	52.50	17.90
BUTTONS Income from sales		$ 35.23	

Cost of Buttons		37.00	(loss)
HOUSING Received for housing		251.50	
Less refunded		21.25	
Paid for housing:			
Upshaw	10.00		
Southway	70.90		
Vincennes	83.00		
Ritz	7.00		
Poro College	182.70		
Others	40.00	363.60	163.35 (loss)
MEALS Received from sale of tickets		155.75	
Less refunded		2.25	
		153.50	
Paid for meals		255.00	101.50 (loss)
Received from sale of program			91.40
Rental of space for both			10.00
TOTAL INCOME			$1.816.25

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS
CHICAGO ILLINOIS
February 14, 15, 16, 1936

STATEMENT OF DISBURSEMENTS

Telephone		$ 59.49
Stationery		167.12
Mimeographing Supplies		21.03
Postage	$159.74	
Less: Refunded	.63	
Fares		26.88
Salaries for office and other help		304.50
Telegrams	29.50	
Less: Refunded	.68	
Miscellaneous Expense		103.55
Express on Supplies		13.27
Sundry expenses of J. P. Davis		15.00
Office Rent		50.00
Rent for the Armory		300.00
Rental of chairs and equipment		177.00
Paid to stranded delegates		110.00
Ethiopian Flag		7.50
Printing		204.50
Badges		15.77
Paid to Policemen		22.00
Program Program	$112.00	
Less: Due Printer	98.00	
Rental of Reserve hall		101.00
Unaccounted (Paid to Mr. Thurman L. Dodson of Washington Delegation)		15.00
TOTAL EXPENDITURES		$1,824.34

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

National Negro Congress News

October 7th, 1937 Philadelphia, Pa.

tions to Delegates

reserve this sheet and study it carefully.)

ational Negro Congress will in just a few days. It appears at nearly 2,000 delegates will egister and that many other hundreds will come as observers. It is important that the convention run off smoothly and efficiently. This is possible, even with so many delegates, if each one knows the rules clearly. Please read the following instructions carefully and see to it that every member in your delegation is familiar with them.

1. **Do not come to the convention without sufficient funds.** We want every organization represented, but the Congress will not be able to handle expenses of any delegates. Each delegate must expect to pay

A Message from the National President

The Second National Negro Congress marks an historic and epoch making event in the life of the Negro people of America and the world. The whole program of the Congress has grown out of, and has been shaped in, the fires of struggle and oppression the sons and daughters of Africa have borne in the New World. Under the blistering whip of the Simon Legrees of the old slave regime, the spirit of revolt was enkindled in the hearts of the first black militant and revolutionary leaders that faced America, such as Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Gabriel, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, and Frederick Douglas. These noble spirits struck out of their tormented and tortured souls for the freedom they never knew. But their li[illegible]

Who wants the Third National Negro Congress in 1938?

If you wish to secure the Congress for your city please be sure to secure, **before you leave home,** invitations from city and state officials, chambers of commerce, leading organizations in your vicinity and **also a pledge of a concrete financial contribution to the convention expenses payable six months prior to the Congress.** Also bring information about available halls, size, seating capacity, etc. All this data **must** be in writing to be considered by the Committee on **Time and Place.**

ing, about $ [illegible] for food and $1.00 for registration. In addition each delegate should have such additional funds as are necessary for carfare and incidentals.

2. **Secure a souvenir program immediately after registration and study the program carefully.** The price of this program will be twenty-five cents and will not be included in the registration fee. The program will contain every detail about the convention sessions, speakers, committees, etc. It will be elaborately printed containing at least 50 pages in a gold and blue cover and will serve as an excellent permanent souvenir of the Second National Negro Congress. As only a limited number are to be printed we urge you to buy extra ones for your friends back home at the time you buy one for your own use.

3. **If you expect mail or telegrams** have all such messages sent to you in care of the **National Negro Congress, Metropolitan Opera House, Broad and Poplar Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.** Delegates may secure mail at the mail room which will be set up at the convention headquarters.

4. **Registration for Philadelphia Delegates.** All delegates living in the city of Philadelphia are urged to register at the O. V. Catto Elks Lodge Building, 16th and Fitzwater Streets, **between 5 p. m. and 9 p. m., Thursday, October the 14th.** This will simplify matters for the Philadelphia delegation and everyone is urged to do this. But those Philadelphia delegates who fail to do this should read the next paragraph relative to registration.

Registration for all delegates not covered above:

[illegible] the slave power, and they won the big and courageous heart of that matchless champion of human liberty, John Brown, who gave his all for Negro liberation at Harper's Ferry.

Under the stress of ceaseless insurrection by the old rebels, and the nascent social forces for the creation of democratic institutions, culminating in the Civil War, chattel bondage passed away.

But the task of winning true freedom for Black Americans is still unfinished. Civil and political liberties for the Negro people, though guaranteed by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, whose One Hundredth and Fiftieth birthdate all America now celebrates, are not yet secure, especially in the land of the cotton plantation. Involuntary servitude, through peonage mocks the Thirteenth Amendment, and the Klu Klux Klan, the Black Legion and Southern judicial terror, render the Bill of Rights to the Negro people of little avail. Add to this the color bar in the constitutions and rituals of certain trade unions, discrimination in the assignment of jobs to Negro workmen, and the problem of Afro-America looms in menacing magnitude and pressing urgency for solution.

It is to this man-size job, the Second National Negro Congress calls Negro Americans, in the mines and mill, factories and farms, on the railroads and docks, in merchandise marts and homes, in church and school room, in fraternal lodge and women's club, in trade unions, and college fraternaties, as well as all lovers of freedom and democracy among the white people, to assemble, discuss and work and formulate programs and proclamations of appeal and action for the liberation of the Negro, in particular, and the preservation of democratic institutions and [illegible]

with you when you register preferably on the letterhead of your organization.

Let us know you are coming. THIS IS IMPORTANT. Send us a postal card now to the O. V. Catto Elks Lodge, 16th and Fitzwater Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., letting us know exactly when you will arrive in Philadelphia and by what railroad. If you are driving let us know when you expect to arrive.

(SPECIAL NOTE TO DELEGATION LEADERS: As soon as your delegation gets on the train wire us at the O. V. Catto Elks Lodge, 16th and Fitzwater Streets, exactly how many **women** and how many **men** are in your delegation and the **exact time** and station at which your train will arrive. This will help us arrange for quickly housing your delegation). **Do not send these wires collect.**

8. **Resolutions.** Delegates or delegations having resolutions to present should draft these resolutions and have them clearly legible and ready to present before they come to the convention. MAKE YOUR RESOLUTIONS AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE.

9. **Food.** The convention will not have a restaurant of its own. Adequate eating places to fit every pocketbook are available in Philadelphia. Sandwiches, etc., will be sold at the Metropolitan Opera House.

10. **Organization of the Convention:** Every session of the convention will **begin absolutely on time.** Delgates are urged not to leave the vicinity of the convention between sessions.

The convention resolutions committee and presiding committee will be elected at 9 a. m., Saturday [illegible] October 16. Every dele-

Note carefully: Registration of all delegates will be made at the O. V. Catto Elks Lodge, 16th and Fitzwater Streets, Philadelphia, from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. Friday, October 15. Housing will be assigned delegates at the same time. From 6 p.m. Friday, October 15, registration of delegates will be made at the Metropolitan Opera House, Broad and Poplar Streets, Philadelphia, Pa. THERE WILL BE NO REGISTRATION AT THE [illegible] LODGE AFTER THREE P.M. THERE WILL BE NO REGISTRATION AT THE METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE BEFORE FOUR P.M.

Help us register quickly. Please have your one dollar in change when you come to the registration table to avoid making change.

Credentials. Each delegate should have a written credential from the organization selecting him as a delegate to leave with his registration card. Please bring such credentials

The method by which the National Negro Congress hopes to achieve this objective is unity of the varied and varying Negro movements with the progressive and liberal forces in the nation. It is that unity which has saved France from the prophets of a totalitarian state of the Hitler species. It is that unity of Republican Spain which has rescued it from the sinister hordes of Fascist Franco and the corporate state of Mussolini. It's the genius of unity alone which can save the race. YES, ONLY UNITY OF THE PEOPLE CAN SAVE DEMOCRACY!

Against war and fascism, against trade union discrimination and jim-crowism, against lynching and the mob spirit, against exclusion from employment and equality of educational, political and economic opportunity, against insult and re-action, the Second National Negro Congress hurls its thunderous voice and calls the Negro people to action.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,

[illegible] gate should be in his seat promptly at 9 a.m. Saturday, October 16, and should be seated with other members from his own state and city. This is necessary so that state delegations may caucus to select members to the presiding committee and the resolutions committee. The first formal session of the convention will begin promptly at 8 p. m., Friday, October 15. Delegates should be at the Metropolitan Opera House as early before that time as possible as we cannot guarantee delegates seats for the first meeting **unless they are present at 7:30 p. m.** EVERY DELEGATE SHOULD REGISTER AS SOON AS HE REACHES THE CITY.

11. BRING THIS INFORMATION WITH YOU WHEN YOU REGISTER: **The name and address of the president of your organization; the number of members of your organization (please have exact number)**

On to the Second National Negro Congress, Phila., Pa., Oct. 15, 16, 17, 1937

CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS, O. V. CATTO ELKS LODGE, 16TH AND FITZWATER STREETS

The National Negro Congress is a movement which every colored person in America should support. It is a movement to unify the efforts of all organizations working to improve the lot of the Negro [illegible] these organizations into a big federation, big enough and strong enough to win manhood rights for colored people in every section of the land, to win jobs, security and other economic and social rights for all Negroes. The Congress knows no politics or political party. It is frankly and honestly non-partisan - existing above political platforms and political parties on a program of full and equal rights for the Negro. The Congress does not exist as a new organization. It seeks to duplicate the work of no organization, to compete with no organization. It says to every organization, national and local, "Let the Congress serve as a federation of your organization and all others around a common program on which all forward thinking colored men and women can agree." It sounds the cry throughout the nation: "Now is the time to close ranks for freedom and equality. Let us unite the Negro organizations and the friends of Negro freedom on a program for security and manhood rights for the Negroes in America."

The program of the National Negro Congress is not the work of one man or one group of men. It was hammered out in hundreds of local conferences of representative

of every conceivable kind of organization. It was further refined and discussed by nearly one thousand delegates from every section of the country: men, and women elected to represent more than 585 different organizations at this epoch making meeting of the Congress in Chicago. It was developed in the fire of experience of Negro people in every walk of life. It is a broad and universal program. More than this it is a program to which every organization is invited to contribute the benefit of its experience and its wisdom, a program which will grow as the Negro people grow.

The National Negro Congress is a democratic body. Its every act, from its lowest to highest administrative body, is based upon democratic voting of democratically selected representatives. In each community where local councils exist all organizations have the right under the same terms to affiliate with the Congress and to send to the council representatives whose votes will determine the policies and acts of the council and the persons to be entrusted to administer this program. Each local council has the right to elect representatives to district and regional councils. And once a year all officers and members of the National Executive Council are elected by the popular vote of delegates from all kinds of organizations, from every section of the nation.

The Congress was formed to continue the long history of militant

struggle of the Negro people in this country: the history of Denmark Vessey, Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass - the history of earlier national congresses of Negro people which met and grappled with the problems facing Black America. It was formed to preserve for coming generations of Negroes - the grand heritage of the Negro in America.

The Congress exists to serve the interests of all the Negro People. It works for the domestic servant and the school teacher, for the steel worker and the sharecropper, for Negro housewives and Negro youth, for every type of Negro workers. It seeks to put into action a realistic program to meet every problem we face in this country: the right to vote, the right to work, the right to be protected in periods of unemployment, the right to be free from indignities heaped on us because of color or race. It fights for every right and privilege that any other person in the land is entitled to. It believes that full equality for the Negro is the best guarantee of a free prosperous and democratic America.

The first meeting of the Congress was held in the historic Eighth Regiment Armory in Chicago, Illinois on the anniversary of the birth of Frederick Douglass (February 14th to 16th, 1936.) In addition to the nearly 1,000 delegates there were in attendance at every one of the three general sessions and some 20

sub-sessions of special groups - audiences of from three to seven thousand additional persons among the largest meetings of colored people ever held in the city of Chicago. The Congress was the greatest show of solidarity of organizations devoted to the freedom of the Negro this nation has ever known.

Those who came to this great meeting, came with the sober realization that the problems facing the Negro were not just the same old problems. They realized - through their own bitter experiences of six depression years - that new and graver problems faced them and those they represented. They felt the need for new forms of action to combat growing denials of civil liberty, growing economic insecurity, increasing destitution, poverty and racial persecution. They felt as never before the need for tens of thousands of Negroes and their friends in hundreds of cities to come together locally and nationally to combat these growing evils. There existed the deep conviction that Negro organizations must work together.

Out of this conviction came a program. It was a program designed to indicate the major tasks which the Congress as a federation would set out to accomplish in coming years. In a short form* the basic program of the Congress, together with a brief explanation, is given below.

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*The complete resolutions have been published in the Official Proceedings for sale ten cents.

The Program of the Congress

Trade Union Work It was recognized that one of the basic reasons why Negro workers were the first fired and last hired in industry was because they are for the most part unorganized. At the same time it was realized that many barriers of segregation stood in the way of Negro workers joining the unions. Experience of Negroes in trade unions where they were accepted on an equal basis showed that they enjoyed higher wages, better working conditions and more security. Thus the Congress set itself as its first and foremost task the development of sound program of action to bring into the ranks of the trade unions on an equal status with other workers, the millions of now unorganized Negro workers.

The Congress gave the following express mandates to its officers for the accomplishment of this task:

1. Foster a national campaign for the passage of the 'Randolph Resolution' calling on all trade unions to abolish color bars now existing in constitutions and by laws and in the custom and practices of local unions. In short, work to do away with every barrier now standing in the way of trade union membership for the Negro.

2. Form, with the aid of bona fide trade unions, local Negro labor committees to educate and organize Negro workers.

3. Struggle to secure democratic representation of Negro workers in all bodies of organized labor in this country.

4. Give full cooperation to the Committee for Industrial Organization in its attempt to organize all workers in mass production industries (steel, auto, rubber, etc.) into industrial unions.

5. Begin national campaigns to organize Negroes, especially in domestic service, the laundry trade and the tobacco industry.

6. Give full support to the heroic struggles of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Local 370 of the Dining Car Employees Union, The Workers Council of the National Urban League to win recognition for Negro trade unionists.

Facing the Problems of Negro Women

The Congress was keenly aware that it must strike down the fetters enslaving Negro women. It knew that two of every three working women were domestic servants, toiling long hours for little or no pay. It knew that few opportunities for employment in industry, the professions, or in "white collar" employment existed for scores of thousands of qualified young women. It felt with the Negro housewife the burden of economic insecurity amidst high prices and low incomes. To meet these burning economic problems the Congress laid down these basic immediate tasks:

1. Concrete steps to organize domestic workers, to train them for better jobs, to improve their standards of labor through state and federal legislation, to include them into all plans for unemployment and social insurance.

2. Similar steps to win for Negro professional women (teachers, clerks, lawyers, doctors, etc.) equal status with other professionals, equal opportunity and equal pay.

3. To form housewives leagues against the high cost of living, against unhealthy community conditions, for decent schools and recreational facilities for their children, for maternity pensions.

4. To enlist every Negro woman in America in a mighty struggle against war, against fascism, against the oppression of their children on account of race - to make these women see how these problems are an inseparable part of their own economic and social plight.

The Negro Farm Population

The Negro remains in this country largely an agricultural people.

More than half of all sharecroppers in the land - these poorest farm toilers - are Negroes. They eke out an existence on little food, little or no clothing and practically no cash. There can be no freedom for other segments of the Negro population as long as the rural Negro continues a virtual slave of the plantation in the cotton belt of the South. The sharecropper and small farmer is tied down by an enslaving credit system in the hands of ruthless plantation owners. The sharecropper is immobile, unorganized and lashed by most vicious forms of racial and class prose persecution. To remedy these evils the Congress declared in favor of:

1. Federal legislation to furnish our farm population land and opportunity, and to free them from the blood-sucking credit policies of the plantation system.

2. Federal and state legislation to guarantee tenant farmers and agricultural workers the full right to organize and bargain collectively.

3. Inclusion of all the farm population in all plans for social and unemployment insurance; and, for equal relief and work relief with all other segments of the population.

Civil Liberties When the Congress met the Scottsboro Boys still faced death sentences and Angelo Herndon was still in the shadows of a twenty year sentence on a

Georgia chain gang. Other Negro prisoners, unjustly accused, vested away in Southern dungeons. The Black Legion and the Ku Klux Klan continued their campaign of mob violence and race hatred. Negroes were denied school facilities, the right to vote, to serve on juries, to enjoy civil rights of various kinds. Lynching was on the increase.

A thousand delegates representing more than one million Negroes strongly resolved that these conditions must be abolished, that we must wipe out every vestige of the Jim-Crow System. The Congress resolved:

1. To arouse broadest mass support for anti-lynching legislation.
2.
2. To give fullest support to the campaigns to free Herndon, the Scottsboro Boys and other such prisoners.
3. To carry on a vigorous and determined campaign for the right to vote, to serve on juries, to enjoy full civil rights in every single bit of territory in the United States.

To accomplish these objectives the Congress pledged itself to work for the unified action of every local and national body in the country around the common program of ending for all time the vicious survivals of human slavery.

War and Fascism. The Congress cast its lot with the forces of progress in America. It resolved to join with every other group in America fighting against reaction, against those forces seeking to drive America into war, against those unmistakeable signs of growing fascism in this country: Hearst, the Black Legion, The Ku Klux Klan, the American

Liberty League and other provokers of racial hatred and working class oppression. Those who discussed the evils of war and fascism saw them as real and present threat to the existence of the Negro as a minority group in America. They determined, therefore:

1. To carry on a mass campaign to bring home to every Negro in the country the dangers of war and fascism.
2. To cooperate with every progressive group in America working against war, against fascism and for the fruits of peace.
3. To carry on a boycott against the Hearst press and all who advertised in its columns - as a solemn and effective condemnation of the war-mongers and race persecutors.
4. To work in America for an effective neutrality law.
5. To give every possible aid to Ethiopia in its struggle against Italian Fascism.

Social Security Delegates to the Congress heard evidence from every section of the country indicating prejudice in the distribution of relief. They saw the exclusion of all Negro domestics, agricultural workers, professionals from any form of social and unemployment insurance. They saw the breakdown of social security legislation because of prejudiced state administration. Because of these evidences the Congress declared it to be the duty of the federal government to treat all of its citizens alike and to adequately provide for the well being of those who through no fault of their own were rendered unable to maintain themselves upon a decent American standard of living. To this end it endorsed:

1. The Harrington Relief Standards Bill, calling for adequate and equal standards of relief for all needy persons.

2. The Frazier-Lundeen Bill for Social and Unemployment Insurance, calling for social and unemployment insurance for all classes of needy and unemployed, including domestics, agricultural workers and professionals.

Negro Youth One hundred and twenty-five young people representing 26 youth organizations took part in the Congress and developed a sound program for the emancipation of Negro youth. This program was adopted as a basic part of the Congress program. It called for:

1. Action to throw open all schools of the land to Negro youth on a basis of equality with all youth.
2. Full support for the American Youth Act, guaranteeing education and jobs to needy youth.
3. Opposition to all forms of child labor.
4. Concrete steps to decrease juvenile deliquency, through action to secure equal recreational facilities, etc.
5. Fight against war and fascism, against color bars, against militarization of CCC camps, and educational institutions.
6. For jobs for Negro youth.

Foreign-Born Negroes The Congress militantly declared in favor of a guaranteed status of equality for all foreign born Negroes. It went on record for increasing mutual understanding of foreign and native born Negroes; and, for full support to the struggles of all Negro people in every land for manhood rights and social and economic equality.

Government Workers The Congress opposed the photograph and other methods of discrimination used against Negroes by the Civil Service Commission. It went on

record favoring a civil service system for municipal, state and federal governments based solely on merit and open without discrimination to all qualified Negro workers.

Negro Culture The Congress considered Negro culture and art to be a priceless heritage. It declared in favor of fostering the study of Negro history, the work of Negro artists and the development of all branches of art, literature, music and drama among Negroes.

But it realized that Negro artists of the present time - like other workers of hand and brain - faced problems of economic insecurity. It therefore established as its objective the development of trade union activity among them.

The Negro Church More than 61 distinct church and religious bodies were represented in the Congress. Delegates from these organizations contributed much of value to the program. At the church sub-sessions the average attendance was more than 400. Here the clergy and laity developed a new and militant program for the Negro church. They declared that the church faced the challenge of developing a concrete program in aid of the social and economic problems facing Black America. They declared it to be the duty of all sincere churchmen to build and support the National Negro Congress. They urged every church to set aside every Fifth Sunday as a day when the program of the National Negro Congress would be brought home to its congregation.

Negro Business Improvement of the standards of Negro business was advocated by the Congress as a means of maintaining what slight foothold Negroes had in business. Negroes were urged to patronize Negro business where it met standards of other business. Special emphasis was placed upon the development of consumers and producers cooperatives and upon the employment by all Negro business and tradesmen of union workers in their establishments.

Interracial Contacts The Congress established a national committee to foster interracial contacts, to develop friendly understanding between all peoples.

World Congress It declared in favor of the calling of a World Congress of Negro People.

Frederick Douglass Memorial It urged support to the National Association of Colored Women in the attempt to make the home of Frederick Douglass a national shrine supported by federal funds.

The Program of the Congress Moves On

The program as briefly given above has not remained on paper. Many parts of it have become alive. Local councils of the Congress in every section of the country have been formed and are carrying on day to day struggles to accomplish

the mandates given by the Congress. Local councils are now fighting for trade union organization, in steel, in the laundry trade, among domestic workers; for the Randolph Resolution. Others are vigorously fighting for the rights of Negro women. Others are waging war against many forms of racial persecution, against the Black Legion and the Ku Klux Klan. In a hundred communities the program of the Congress lives upon the hearts of stalwart and sincere men and women. In a hundred communities the program of the Congress is a throbbing reality.

Already many organizations not represented at the Congress in Chicago have indicated a desire to affiliate with the Congress, to take part in the work of its local council. And as rapidly as possible the message and work of the Congress is being spread into every community where Negroes live.

To you who read this pamphlet there is a call for action. The Congress calls on you to secure the affiliation of your organization, to form a local council of the Congress in your community if there is none. It calls on you to give financial support to the Congress, locally and nationally. To popularize the work of the Congress by sending for additional copies of this pamphlet to distribute among other persons who might be interested. It calls on you for council and aid. It asks you to act today.

Questions and Answers

1. What is the cost of affiliating my organization to the Congress?

It costs two dollars to affiliate an organization to the Congress. One dollar of this amount is sent to the national office, in return for which an official certificate of affiliation is sent each organization. The other dollar is retained in the treasury of the local council. If there is no local council the dollar is retained by the provisional committee to be used in the work of setting up a local council.

2. After affiliation what vote will my organization have in the local council?

Each organization is entitled to one vote regardless of size.
Organizations with more than 25 members but less than 125 members have two votes.
Organizations with more than 125 are entitled to one additional vote for each 200 members or fraction thereof, except that no organization may have more than five voting delegates on the local council.

3. How is the local council run?

The local council is its own boss. Representatives from affiliated organizations in a given geographical area form a local council, elect their own officers and set up their own committees. Their policies on a national scale are governed by the program adopted by the Congress, on a local scale by the votes of the representatives to the local council.

4. Who governs the national work?

The administration of the Congress nationally is conducted by the three national officers (president, secretary, treasurer) and 15 committee chairmen in charge of special committees. The work is directed by the National Executive Committee and the National Executive Council.

5. Who Constitute the National Executive Committee?

The National Executive Committee is made up of the three national officers, the 15 chairmen of special committees and 15 District vice-presidents in charge of work in 15 regions of the country. A quorum of this committee is nine. The National Executive Committee directs the work between meetings of the National Executive Council.

6. Who Constitute the National Executive Council?

The National Executive Council is made up of the members of the National Executive Committee plus 42 additional persons elected at the National Negro Congress. This body is the highest authority of the Congress between conventions of the Congress itself.

7. Who may organize a local council?

If no local council exists in a community any person or persons, representing an organization may begin the formation of a local council of the Congress, subject to written consent from the national office.

8. May individuals affiliate to the Congress?

No. The Congress is not a membership body but a federation of organisations. Local councils may set up advisory committees to which individuals may belong, but such persons may have no right to vote.

9. How are Youth Councils run?

Youth councils are autonomous bodies of representatives of youth organisation with their own set of local officers, with independent treasuries. These councils are governed by National Youth Officers and a National Youth Executive Body. Chairmen of local youth councils become automatically members of the local adult council and are responsible to the adult council for the work of the youth council.

10. When will the next Congress take place?

In the city of Philadelphia in May 1937.

Other questions which individuals or organisations may have will be promptly answered by the National Office of the Congress. Other aid in organisation [illegible] in conducting a program of activities by local councils and advice on various community problems will be furnished on request.

Announcing the

Eastern Seaboard Conference

on the Problems of the War and the Negro People

Saturday and Sunday, April 10th and 11th, 1943

Abyssinian Baptist Church

132 West 138th Street - - - - New York City

LONDON — STALINGRAD — TUNISIA — GUADALCANAL — over three-fourths of the globe hangs the smoke of battlefields. From all over the world arises the cry of men and women who are fighting to be free from fascist tyranny.

Here in America, as in the world abroad, there are only two paths before us. One the United Nations have chosen—the way that strives to secure for mankind the four freedoms that characterize a democratic government—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear. For 15,000,000 American Negroes this spells freedom from oppression.

The other is the way of the fascist aggressor which tramples underfoot captive nations, which drowns in bloodshed the lives, dignity and culture of minority peoples, and ruthlessly stamps out the right of oppressed people to full liberation.

There is no middle road today either in international relations or in domestic politics. Those who jimcrow and discriminate against the Negro at the expense of greater national unity; those who shut Negro men and women out of jobs at the expense of increased war production; those who disqualify Negroes for service in branches of the armed forces at the expense of our nation's fighting efficiency; those who cry "black domination" to prevent the passage of anti-poll tax and anti-lynching laws—all are closely following in the foot-steps of our fascist enemies.

Democratic rights will be won for the Negro people—but only as we ceaselessly struggle to defeat the fascist armies abroad and the agents of fascism within the United States.

To achieve democratic rights, there must be organization — a fighting alliance of the people for democracy and victory. We are, therefore, calling a Conference of all those who want to see this goal achieved—we appeal to representatives of Negro groups, labor, church, fraternal and civic clubs, social agencies, and institutions to join us in a Seaboard Victory Conference to consider problems of the war and the Negro people.

Our Program

FULL USE OF MAN POWER

1. For the final offensive against Hitler by full utilization of Negro manpower and womanpower in industry without discrimination, through reestablishing the Fair Employment Practice Committee with powers of enforcement. To secure equality of participation in the armed forces by opening democratically to Negroes every branch of the Army and Navy. To increase the nation's fighting power by releasing the two million Negro sharecroppers on Southern cotton plantations to produce the food needed for the nation and our allies.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

2. To organize support among all groups for the passage of an anti-poll tax bill and an anti-lynching bill in this session of Congress. To conduct a campaign to replace characterizations ridiculing the Negro in the press, on the stage, screen, and radio with faithful interpretations of Negro life. To defeat anti-labor and other pro-fascist bills now being introduced into Congress.

WAR TIME LIVING STANDARDS

3. To support Administration proposals for price and rent control, urging the wide extension of these controls, and the extension of the rationing system to all consumer goods. To support an equitable system of taxation which will reduce war profiteering to a minimum. To work for child care centers for working mothers in their communities; adequate housing facilities for war workers; social legislation to protect young workers and women workers in war industries.

A PEOPLE'S VICTORY . . A PEOPLE'S PEACE

4. To work to obtain the extension of the four freedoms and the principles of the Atlantic Charter, including full democratic and political rights to the African, Indian, Chinese, Puerto Rican and colonial peoples of the world. To urge the arming of the African peoples so that their troops may hasten the United Nations victory in Africa. To work in all ways possible to strengthen the fighting alliance of the United Nations, and for the continuance of this alliance in the establishment of a durable peace.

For Immediate Action

1. Two hundred and eighteen signatures must be obtained in the next sixty days to bring HR7, the anti-poll tax bill of 1943, to the floor of the House. Write to your Congressmen to sign this petition.

2. Two hundred and eighteen signatures must be obtained to bring HR51, the anti-lynching bill to the floor of the House for a vote. Write to your Congressmen to sign this petition.

3. Assist in securing 100,000 signatures in this area, addressed to the President, supporting his statement for restoration of the Fair Employment Practice Committee and urging that the Committee be invested with adequate powers of enforcement and that the postponed railroad hearings be resumed immediately.

Preliminary Program

SATURDAY, APRIL 10th

9:00 A.M. Registration
Morning Session

11:00 A.M. Appointment of Conference Committees
Conference Keynote Address
Afternoon Session

1-3:30 P.M. Panels
1. Manpower
2. A People's Victory—A People's Peace

3:45-6 P.M. 1. Democratic Rights
2. War Time Living Standards
Evening Session

9:00 P.M. An evening of entertainment
(Park Palace—3 West 110th Street)

SUNDAY, APRIL 11th

10:45 A.M. Special Church Services

2:00 P.M. Reports of Conference Committees
Adoption of Action Program

4:00 P.M. Victory Mass Meeting

Information for Delegates

All organizations interested in the Problems of the War and the Negro people are urged to send official delegates to the Eastern Seaboard Conference. Each organization may send three delegates. The registration fee for each delegate, visitor, or observer is one dollar, plus an entertainment fee of 50 cents. Housing reservations should be made at least one week in advance of the Conference date. For additional information write:

National Negro Congress

307 Lenox Avenue, New York City

MOnument 2-4570

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National Negro Congress

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Atty. Hope R. Stevens
Philippa F. Stowe
Edward E. Strong
Everett Thomas
J. A. Thompson
Rev. O. S. P. Thompson
Judge Charles E. Toney
Rev. Charles Y. Trigg
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Turner
Mrs. Alice Holdship Ware
Mrs. Marian S. Williams
Nathan Witt
Bernice Wright
Dr. Max Yergan

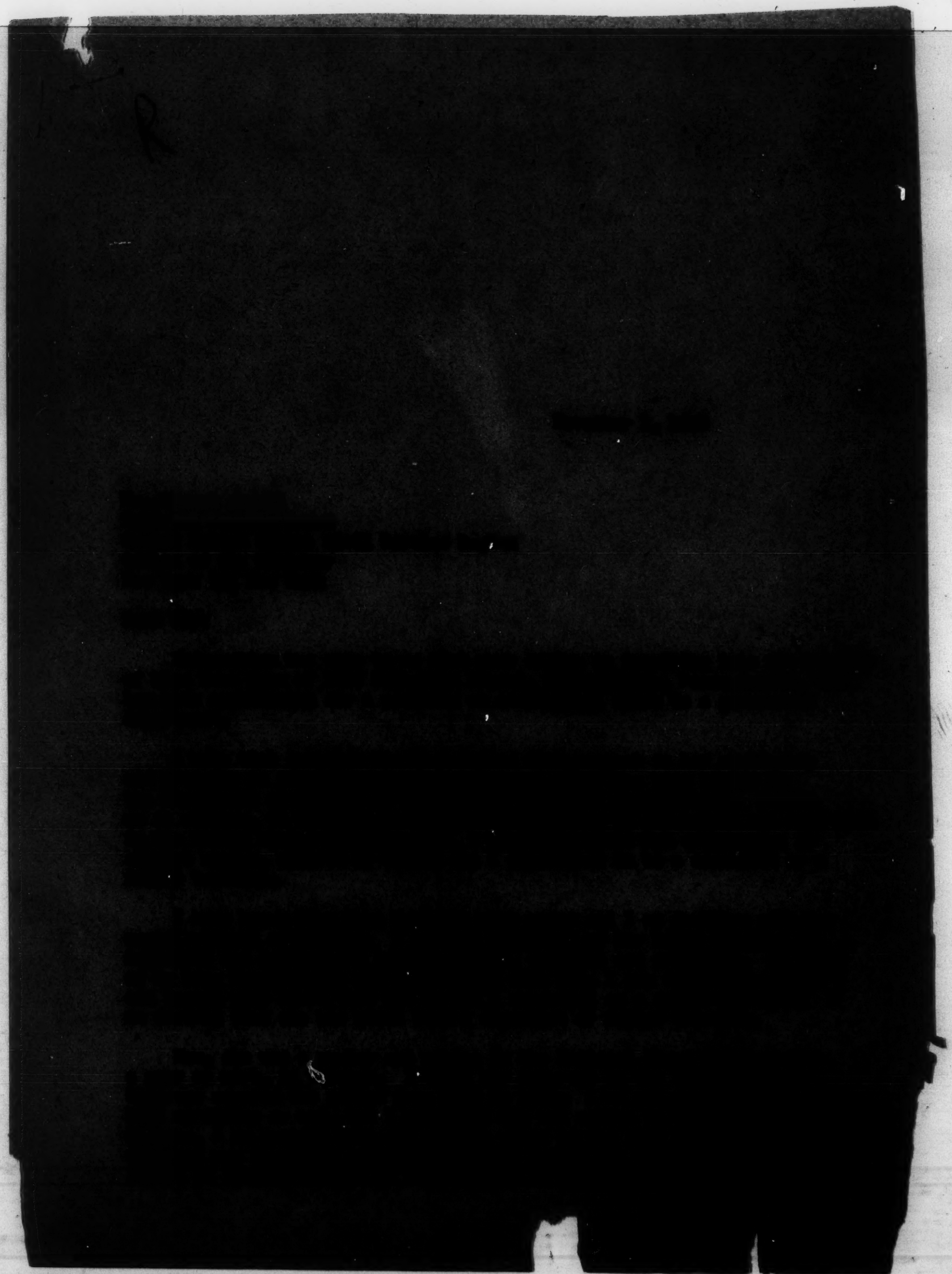
Pennsylvania

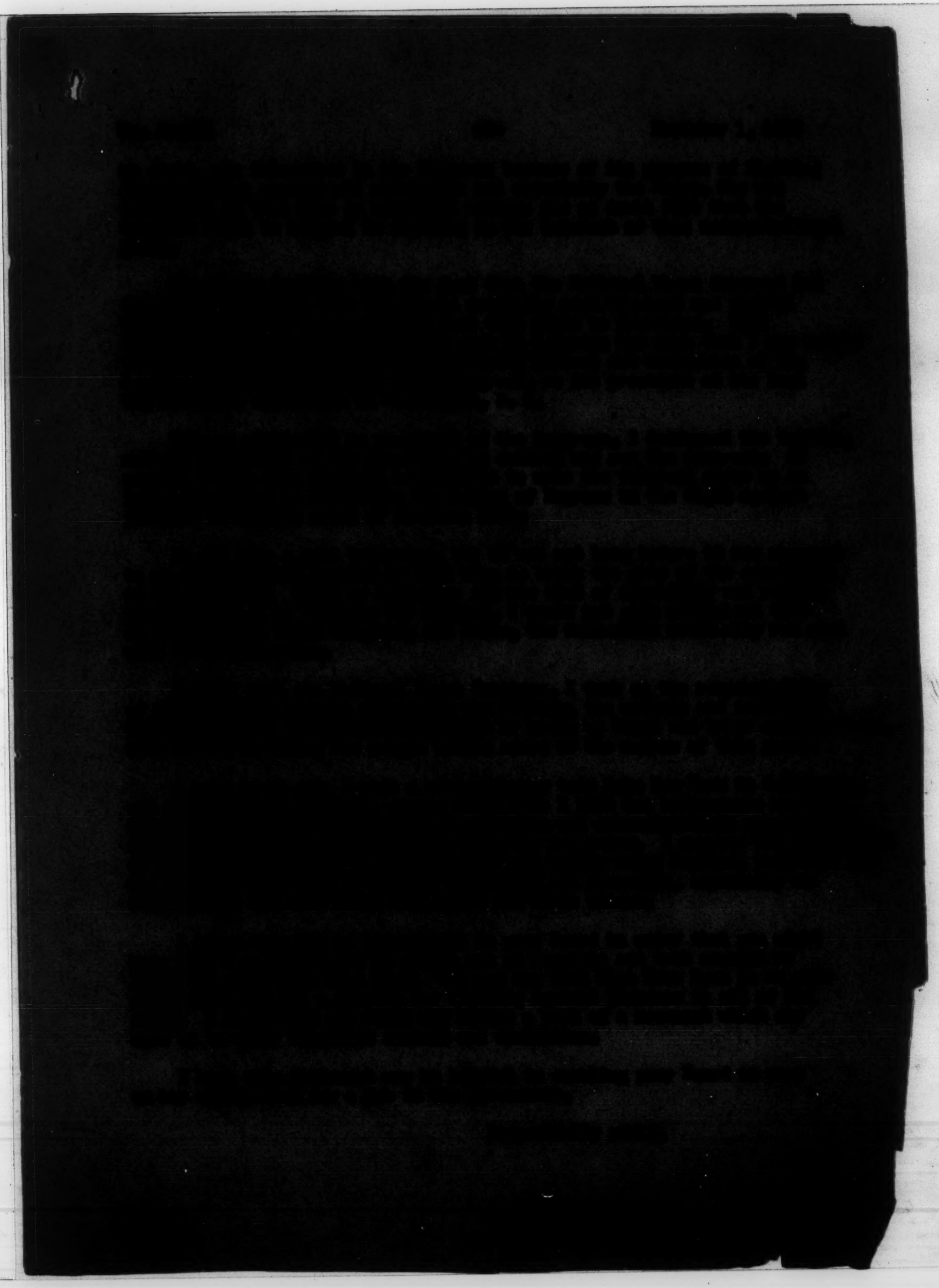
Mr. Clarence Clory
Helen Cunningham
Mrs. Bertha Josselyn Foss
Mrs. Celestine T. Fulchon
Mary Foley Grossman
Fred Guilford
Mrs. Olivia Henry
Mrs. Edith Hurley
Mr. William Jason
John Lymas
Louis Marquet
Mrs. Beatrice C. Overton
Rev. I. N. Patterson
Atty. Hobson R. Reynolds
E. Washington Rhodes
Sol Rottenberg
Mr. Philip Vangelder
Sarah T. Walsh
Mrs. Goldie Ervin Watson
Russell Watson

Virginia

Daniel Boano
President J. M. Ellison
Mrs. Anne B. Gellman
Leroy Harris
Richard D. Kidd
Harry Koger
Act.-Pres. R. O'Hara Lanier
Dr. Stephen J. Lewis
Roscoe C. Mitchell
Dr. H. T. Penn
Mrs. Robbie Mae Riddick
J. Harry Tyree

Afro Protective League, Brooklyn
Amalgamated UCAPAWA Local 26—CIO, Virginia
Brooklyn Victory Council for Equal Opportunity
Claremont Settlement House, the Bronx
Congress of Fraternal and Benevolent Organizations, New York
Conference to End Discrimination in New Haven
Connecticut Conference on Social and Labor Legislation
Council of United Negro Labor Leaders of Washington
Eastern New England Congress for Equal Opportunities
Greater Hartford Industrial Union Council—CIO
Holy Trinity Baptist Church, Brooklyn
The Home Front
Howard University Teachers Union—Local 440—AF of L
International Labor Defense
Hampton Institute
Joint Board Fur Dressers' & Dyers' Unions
National Council of Negro Youth
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
Negro Labor Victory Committee of Greater New York
People's Committee of Greater New York
St. Augustine Presbyterian Church, The Bronx
Salem Methodist Church, New York
Tidewater Virginia CIO Council
Transport Workers Union of America
United Cafeteria Employees—Local 471—CIO,
United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, District 4
United Federal Workers of America, CIO—New York Regional Council
Vermont Avenue Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.





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fered, by the board or committee before which the employee is given an opportunity to appear.

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The National Negro Congress is a federated organization of affiliated National, State, local, and community bodies which, according to the preamble of its constitution, "seeks to unite the Negro people and all friends of Negro freedom for complete social justice and full citizenship for the Negro Americans." Its stated aims and purposes include the abolition of Negro discrimination and intolerance, promotion of trade-unionism, broader employment opportunities, education and housing for colored people, and the spread of "truth regarding their traditions and contributions to American democracy." Earl Browder testified before the Dies committee, however, that it functions as a "transmission belt" for the Communist Party, and it has been characterized by James W. Ford, Communist Party Negro leader, as "a broadening of the people's front in America."

The National Negro Congress was proposed in May 1935 by a "national sponsoring committee," ostensibly unidentified with any organization, which issued a call for a convention, or congress, to be held at Chicago in February 1936. At this first congress A. Phillip Randolph, the president of the organization, in a keynote address, condemned the "hard, deceptive, and brutal capitalist order," and proclaimed that "the maneuvering and disposing of the forces of Negro peoples and their sympathetic allies against their enemies can only be effectively worked out through the tactics and strategy of the united front." He denied that the National Negro Congress was dominated by Communists or that he and John P. Davis, whom he described as "the moving spirit of the congress and secretary," were Communists although he was "willing to go down fighting for the rights of any Negro to exercise his constitutional right as a free man to join the Communist Party or any other party he may choose to join." Davis in fact was a prominent Communist Party "front" organization leader. Subsequently, however, at the Third National Negro Congress in April 1940, Randolph refused to be a candidate for the presidency of the organization on the ground that it was "deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists.

Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and "fellow travelers" have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the congress. One of the principal speeches before the first congress in 1936 was delivered by James W. Ford, the perennial Communist Negro Vice-Presidential candidate, who previously, in 1935, had told the plenum of the central committee of the Communist Party that the National Negro Congress "promises to be one of the broadest movements ever organized among the Negroes of this country," which "the Communist Party endorses." Active at this congress also were Benjamin Davis, Jr., and Louise Thompson, both members of the central committee of the Communist Party, and Edward E. Strong, the chairman of the presiding committee of the youth section of the congress, a leader of the Young Communist League. The Second National Negro Congress, held in October 1937, was likewise addressed by leading Communists or fellow travelers, including James W. Ford, Clarence Hathaway, former editor of the Daily Worker, Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy, Louise Thompson and her husband, William E. Patterson, also a prominent Communist leader and vice president of International Labor Defense.

The National Negro Congress, throughout its existence, has closely followed the Communist Party lines, espousing causes and adopting issues sponsored by the party, and with regard thereto has sought to affiliate itself and form united fronts with other organizations. It has characterized all legislation deemed a threat to the civil liberties of Communists or any alien or minority group as repressive and Fascist and has endorsed the defense of the Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon, and Tom Mooney. It is also actively engaged in the current campaigns to free Earl Browder and for the discontinuance of the Dies committee. In the field of American foreign policy it called for united action on the part of the democracies (including the Soviet Union) against fascism prior to the Russo-German pact of nonaggression, but after the signing of the pact assailed the imperialist conflict as having nothing to do with saving and extending democracy. When the Nazis attacked Russia, however, the leaders of the congress advocated all-out aid to the Soviet Union and urged immediate entrance of the United States into the war on the side of Britain and the Allies.

In the fields of activity normally attractive to Negro organizations, the National Negro Congress has been an agitational force against lynching and all forms of so-called Negro discrimination, lobbying for or against legislation on such questions through mass demonstrations, picket lines, telegrams, letters, and petitions. In the field of organized labor it has assisted the unions in their strikes and organizational work, and advocates union membership for all Negroes. Presently it is in the forefront of the struggle, along with numerous other penetrated or Communist-led Negro organizations, for increased employment of colored persons in war industries, greater opportunities for the Negro in the Army and Navy, and for additional civil rights.

Throughout its existence, the congress has worked closely with other Communist-front organizations, all of which has been faithfully reported in the Communist press. Leaders of these groups are guests or speakers at functions of the congress or send their greetings and pledges of support, which, in turn, are reciprocated by officers of the Negro congress. It frequently joins such organizations in sponsoring meetings and demonstrations and is affiliated with some of them, such as the American Council on Soviet Relations. From time to time the National Negro Congress has received financial aid from International Workers Orders, one of the strongest Communist organizations, and according to A. Phillip Randolph, John P. Davis, secretary of the congress, has admitted that the Communist Party contributed $100 a month to its support.

From the record of its activities and the composition of its governing bodies, there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted "an important sector of the democratic front," sponsored and supported by the Communist Party.

Mr. McCARTHY. I also ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the body of the RECORD at this point another document entitled "Washington Cooperative Book Shop," again stamped "Strictly Confidential."

There being no objection, the document was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Strictly confidential]

WASHINGTON COOPERATIVE BOOK SHOP

(NOTE.—The following statement does not purport to be a complete report on the organization named. It is intended only to acquaint you, without undue burden of detail, with the nature of the evidence which has appeared to warrant an investigation of charges of participation.

(It is assumed that each employee's case will be decided on all the facts presented in the report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and elicited, where a hearing is ordered, by the board or committee before which the employee is given an opportunity to appear.

(Please note that the statement is marked "Strictly confidential," and is available only for use in administration of the mandate of Public, No. 135.)

The Washington Cooperative Book Shop, under the name "The Book Shop Association," was incorporated in the District of Columbia in 1938 for the stated purposes of providing a meeting place for persons interested in literary and cultural activities, providing for the cooperative purchase and resale of literature and works of art for the profit of its members as consumers, maintaining a renting library and ticket service, and fostering other activities of a literary, educational, and cultural nature. The association is a nonstock corporation operated on the cooperative plan, with 9 trustees elected by the membership, which, according to its announcements, have numbered 1,000. It maintains a book shop and art gallery at 916 Seventeenth Street NW., Washington, D. C., where literature is sold and meetings and lectures are held.

Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale, books and literature identified with the Communist Party, and certain of its affiliates and front organizations, including works on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, reports concerning American Youth Congress, literature of American Peace Mobilization, articles on the Young Communist League, and Communist periodicals, such as New Masses. In this connection the Washington News of May 22, 1941, reported that the Washington delegates to the People's Convention of the American Peace Mobilization at New York City in that year were advised that only at the Washington Cooperative Book Shop could they buy literature approved by that organization. Information received from confidential sources indicates that certain of the officers and employees of the book shop, including its manager and executive secretary, have been in close contact with local officials of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia. One member of the association has reported that he received literature, unsolicited, from the Communist Party of the District of Columbia, a circumstance which he attributed only to his membership in the association. In May 1941, Joseph Starobin, one of the editors of New Masses and a teacher at the Communist Party Workers School in New York City, lectured at the book shop, reportedly following the Communist Party line of that day, stressing the invincibility of the Soviet Union, and criticising the Roosevelt administration. A quantity of literature of the type above described was displayed near the entrance of the book shop on that occasion.

In May 1941, the book shop desired to promote a membership drive and solicited the cooperation of the Cooperative League of the District of Columbia. The league, having received reports that the book shop was Communist-controlled, requested it to provide certain information. The information was not furnished and the book shop resigned from the league, stating it was doing so as a result of unfavorable publicity attached to the incident. At about the same time the Washington press carried news items reporting seizure by representatives of the Dies committee of a membership list of the book shop allegedly initialed to indicate those members who were regarded as "Stalinists." A meeting of the members of the book shop denied Communist control, and thereafter adopted a resolution disclaiming Commu-

a national office in New York City and from time to time has had branch offices at Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and in northern and southern California. The organization works through local branch offices opened in the locality of an alleged "political persecution" selected for representation. Such local offices conduct publicity campaigns through press releases and solicit funds to defray the cost of defending the alleged victims and of supporting their dependents during and after trial.

Information of the confidential character referred to above is to the effect that for a number of years past the NCDPP or N. C. P. R. has been infiltrated and controlled by the Communist Party. In one instance an informant reported that it received financial support from Amtorg Trading Co., the principal Soviet commercial agency in the United States, while another informant stated that funds of the NCDPP had been diverted to Communist Party uses. These allegations are supported by substantial evidence.

For years persons prominently identified with communism in this country have been associated with it, including members of the national committee of the Communist Party, Communist State officers, a present coowner of the Daily Worker, and numerous fellow travelers who were also closely associated with various Communist-front organizations, contributors to Communist publications, and otherwise outstanding in Communist activities. A former national chairman of the NCDPP, a member of the Communist Party, United States of America is confidentially reported to have toured the country with a German "political prisoner," lecturing on conditions in Germany and raising considerable funds, a portion of which were diverted to Communist Party uses. The organization has also collaborated with many other known Communist-front groups in their activities. According to another confidential source, plans for agitation and organization of the unemployed in the State of New York, leading eventually to the national hunger march of 1931, were partially formulated at its national office. It is significant that the cases selected for defense, so far as known, have, without exception, been those of Communists or cases publicized by the Communist Party.

The NCDPP figured prominently in demonstrations on behalf of the Scottsboro boys; vigorously protested the prosecution of Angelo Herndon, presently a high Communist official; condemned the "persecution" of William Schneiderman, California State secretary of the Communist Party, and Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America; came to the fore in defense of individuals prosecuted for soliciting recruits for armies of Loyalist Spain; defended those prosecuted for procuring forged signatures to a Communist election petition in Pennsylvania; organized the Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners; and solicited funds and sought to obtain as much Nation-wide publicity as possible on behalf of Robert Wood, Oklahoma State secretary of the Communist Party, and his Communist codefendants in the recent syndicalism trials in that State.

It also has followed the Communist Party line in numerous instances, condemning the Dies committee and the methods of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the use of troops in connection with the North American Aviation Co. strike in California in June 1941, and protesting the administration's foreign policy prior to the Nazi attack on Russia. Subsequent to the invasion it sponsored a people's meeting.

The organization has also engaged in activities which are not strictly civil liberties in character. In April 1938, for example, it cooperated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Civil Liberties Union, International Labor Defense, American League for Peace and Democracy, and Workers Defense League in staging a New Jersey Congress of Industrial Organizations organizing rally. In addition, it conducted an investigation of mining conditions in the States of Kansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma with particular regard to the development of silicotic and tubercular conditions. In connection with this project a former Kansas Communist State official testified before the Dies committee that the extensive correspondence between himself and various governmental agencies on silicosis in those States, introduced into evidence, had been prepared by the Communist Party headquarters in New York City and dispatched by him on behalf of the NCPR. Testimony before the Dies committee has characterized the NCDPP or NCPR as a "transmission belt" or front for the Communist Party.

Mr. McCARTHY. I also ask unanimous consent to insert in the body of the RECORD at this point another document entitled "The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties," again stamped "Strictly Confidential."

There being no objection, the document was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Strictly confidential]

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

(NOTE.—The following statement does not purport to be a complete report on the organization named. It is intended only to acquaint you without undue burden of detail with the nature of the evidence which has appeared to warrant an investigation of charges of participation.

(It is assumed that each employee's case will be decided on all the facts presented in the report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and elicited, where a hearing is ordered, by the board or committee before which the employee is given an opportunity to appear.

(Please note that the statement is marked "Strictly confidential" and is available only for use in administration of the mandate of Public, No. 135.)

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., and affiliates throughout the United States, is part of what Lenin called the solar system or organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathisers and supporters of their program among those who would never affiliate themselves openly with the party. Membership in the national federation or its affiliates likewise consists of those sympathetic to the stated aims of the organization, who may or may not be aware of its Communist control, as well as party members and fellow travelers.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7–9, 1940. Sixty-one organizations are said to have participated in this conference. In a pamphlet issued by the national federation it is stated that it was organized to coordinate several existing organizations concerned with the preservation and further realization of democratic rights as guaranteed by the Constitution. It has affiliates or chapters in various parts of the country, such as the Oklahoma Federation for Constitutional Rights, the Michigan Civil Rights Federation, and the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. Its method of operation, like that of International Labor Defense, the legal-aid arm of the Communist Party with which it is closely affiliated, is the creation of special committees for specific cases.

In one of its publications the federation states that it was founded because our constitutional guaranties are in danger, "as individuals we are powerless, but all together we are strong." The program of the federation seeks wider support by calling for the maintenance of the Bill of Rights, the preservation of the Wagner Act and of the guaranties to labor, the end of persecution of labor unions and aliens, and the repeal of poll-tax legislation. It demands the end of the "Gestapo activities" of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the abolition of the Dies committee.

The program of the federation parallels closely the Communist Party line of 1940. This adherence to the party line is illustrated by the opposition, contained in much of the federation's pamphlet literature, to compulsory military training, which "would introduce dangerous major steps in the direction of Fascist control over the entire life of the community and especially over the labor movement." It was at this time that Communists were opposing conscription and the entire national defense program. One of the tactics which they used to attack the program was the emphasis on the threat to civil liberties and the rights of labor and of minority groups. Thus the National Federation the Constitutional Liberties served a useful function to Communists as it declared that "Ours is the task of true national defense."

The national federation represents the principle of interlocking leadership common to Communist-front and penetrated organizations. Owen A. Knox, the national chairman—resigned September 30, 1941—for example, is treasurer of the Michigan Civil Rights Federation and a member of the National Committee of International Labor Defense and of the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder. Most of the national sponsors and most of the national executive committee and many of the local heads of the federation are leaders of Communist organizations or are prominently identified with Communist activities.

The activities of the national federation have been manifest chiefly in the various committees specially created for the defense of certain individuals. The defenses of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation. Through pamphlet literature and by appearances of members before legislative committees, the federation has also been active in behalf of or in opposition to legislation. It has led the recent fight against the continuance of the Dies committee, taken up by all Communist-front organizations throughout the country. In both these aspects it has operated in close affiliation with the International Labor Defense. The latter has now become clearly identified as a Communist organization and has thus lost much of its usefulness in attracting adherents. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties is one of the equivalent organizations set up to attract those who would not openly affiliate themselves with Communist groups if apprised of the facts.

Mr. McCARTHY. I also ask unanimous consent to insert in the body of the RECORD at this point another document entitled "National Negro Congress," stamped "Strictly Confidential."

There being no objection, the document was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Strictly confidential]

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

(NOTE.—The following statement does not purport to be a complete report on the organization named. It is intended only to acquaint you, without undue burden of detail, with the nature of the evidence which has appeared to warrant an investigation of charges of participation.

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June 1, 1951

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph

In looking over the Congressional Record for May 29th I came across an insertion by Senator McCarthy of some confidential material in connection with the early days of the National Negro Congress. Since it mentions you as the president at that time, I felt I ought to send you the page from the Record just in case it has not been called to your attention by someone else.

I don't know whether you will feel that you should make some statement to clarify your position at this point, but I do think you should be made aware of this unfortunate linking of your name with an organization which is in such disrepute now.

Cordially yours

(Miss) Sidney Wilkinson
Managing Director

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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUBJECT FILE

Negro American Labor Council Convention

Nov. 1962

The Morning Session, Third Annual Negro American Labor Council Convention, convened on November 9, 1962, in the Ballroom of the Sheraton Atlantic Hotel, 34th Street and Broadway, New York, New York, at 10:00 a.m., Mr. Joseph Saunders presiding.

MR. JOSEPH SAUNDERS: First, we will have the invocation by Reverend C. Simpson Turner.

REV. C. SIMPSON TURNER: Let us pray. Almighty God, Thou Rightiest Work of the Universe, Who in Thy Providence has appointed to every man his work, we humbly thank Thee for the progress the Negro American Labor Council has made among the laboring unions of this nation. We thank Thee for its wise and militant leadership. We thank Thee for the contribution of its president, who has made, in achieving equality and status and recognition of the organized labor forces of color in this country.

Deliver the Council from all greed and covetousness and grant that the Council members may live and work in brotherly union and concord, to Thy GlorY, their own weIlbeing, and the prosperity of their country. We pray Thee for our brothers, the industrial workers of the nation. Grant that there will be a greater participation of ALC members in the segregated labor unions of this country. Open the doors, we pray, for

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fuller integration of black young people in the exclusive apprentice program in this state and nation. Grant, O God, that our people may be more conspicuously seen in Government agencies and our feelings and concerns strongly felt at policy levels in government and in industry.

Give to the masses of the unemployed black workers the hope of a better day for them and their families, by breaking down present barriers of discrimination that prohibits them from fully participating in American working life.

May the emancipation of our women in the labor forces be not a myth, but a reality, by the upgrading of equal wages for their equal work. We beseech Thee, Almighty God, that Thou will continue to raise up leaders of able mind and large heart, and give them grace to follow wise counsel. Bless the oppressed workers of our nation, and build up a great body of workers, strong of limb, clear of mind, glad to labor, striving together, for the final brotherhood of all men.

We invoke Thy Blessing upon the proceedings of this day. May the deliberations of the Council bring about a better tomorrow for minority and majority workers alike, through a working democracy. Grant this,

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we pray, through Jesus Christ, Our Lord. Amen.

MR. JOSEPH SAUNDERS: Mr. President, officers and members of the Negro American Labor Council, honored guests, brothers and sisters, ladies and gentlemen:

I deem it an honor and a privilege to be chosen to welcome you to New York City, and the Third Annual Convention of the Negro American Labor Council. This being to date the most significant of the three conventions, because we have definitely arrived at the crossroads. Three years ago, the NALC was conceived and dedicated to the uplift of the black workers in unionism. This was done in the face of opposition from every phase of organized labor, making our pathway treacherous and uncertain, but thanks to unfaltering, militant leadership, we have, three years later, surmounted many of these barriers, inasmuch as we have gained the respect and recognition of labor itself.

This is evidenced by the presence today of staunch labor leaders from throughout the city, state and nation. This is further evidenced by the attention given this convention by the national press. But the crowning feature of recognition of the NALC is the presence of the top echelon of labor, namely, George Meany, President of the AF of L, and Walter Reuther,

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President of the UAW.

In spite of the advances made by the black worker during World War II, he has has to suffer the indignity of discrimination every step of the way, and today, he has found that he has a three-fold fight on his hands, for not only has he to fight discrimination, and prejudice, but he has encountered a new foe, automation. This leaves us with no other alternative than to stand together as one, and fight to continue to break down these barriers that say: "You cannot join our unions, because your skin is black, or if you are a member of our union, you cannot move up in the ranks, because your skin is black."

Encourage our youth to join this fight through the various workshops set up for that purpose. Not only are we fighting to hold the gains we have made, but we are going forward to expand them, and keep on expanding them, until the ultimate goal is reached, freedom and equality in labor for the black worker. Again, I bid you welcome. (Applause)

Now, I will turn the gavel over to Brother Cleveland Robinson, National Vice President and Director of Regional No. 1. (Applause)

MR. CLEVELAND ROBINSON: Thank you, Brother Saunders.

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President Randolph, other platform delegates, and guests, delegates to this Third Annual Convention of the Negro American Labor Council, and friends. To me has been delegated a task which I consider a distinct honor, and that is, to present to you the Chairman of our proceedings, and the Chief Executive Officer of this organization.

The name, A. Philip Randolph, has been known as one who has been in the forefront of the struggle for human dignity, for brotherhood, for the rights of the black masses, not only here in America, but all over the world, for well over half a century. This man has been every steadfast, giving vital and courageous leadership, wherever it was necessary. If we want to consider one man, mostly responsible for the Executive Order against discrimination first issued in the United States, we probably would do better thinking of A. Philip Randolph, than of the President of the United States. (Applause)

When the going was tough, A. Philip Randolph stood firmest. Not only did he stand firm before United States Presidents, but he stood firm in the halls of labor, and over the years, this man's voice, sometimes alone, could be heard in the halls of the AFL, and since the merger, in the halls of the

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AFL-CIO, and many times when these convention halls - where he was practically alone, except for his brother-in-arms, Brother Wilson, but undauntedly he carried on. Those of us who are, who have come on the scene, many of us long after Brother Randolph, owe to him the inspiration that we have had and when this organization was formed, out of the fact that this man had to take the abuse of practically the entire labor movement, but with rare exceptions, when he pointed out that these injustices against black workers must stop, and it's the obligation of the trade union movement to lead in the fight, rather than to be themselves oppressors. When this man stood abused, it was then that the black masses, the working people of America, said that it is about time. Our coming together is long overdue. Hence, under his leadership, and may I say, probably under his leadership alone, were we able to formulate the Negro American Labor Council.

And thus it was, that for these past two years, A. Philip Randolph stood not alone any more. He never was alone, but a lot of people didn't know it. But it was seen vividly, in the conventions that we have had, the Negro leadership rallying in support of the aims and objectives he put forward as the aims and objectives of the black masses of the country, and today, it is a source of gratification that recognition from top

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echelon in the labor movement is forthcoming. We welcome it. (Applause) We are not anti-labor. We are not anti-union. We want th build a strong labor movement, and that is why we welcome it. We want to march together, hand in hand, because the forces against black labor are also against white labor, and we must join together. (Applause) Hence we hail Brother Randolph, Leader of the Masses, fighter for freedom, and I now present him to you. (Applause)

MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: Thank you, Brother Robinson. Brother Saunders, Brother Overton, Vice Presidents of the Negro American Labor Council, fellow delegates, and friends.

First of all, I want to say that our small crowd this morning is due to the fact that our delegates and people work, and consequently this time of day is not too conducive for their presence. We have a number of buses on the road, with delegates on route here now, so that I wanted to have you know that we have our forces on the way, and we will be here in larger numbers.

Black America has been thrust into a job rights and civil rights struggle. It is not an accident, or an incident. It is a massive event. It bodes danger and opportunity. There is danger that

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Black America may be blocked and thrown back in the fight for job rights and civil rights, and there is opportunity to accelerate the struggle for the conquest of job rights and civil rights and human dignity. Which of the two paths it takes depends upon the principles, programs and practices it adopts. But the principles, programs and practices considered will only have reality in relation to the nature and origin of the crisis.

Thus while Negro workers have made progress, their economic status is still low. They exist within the shadow of poverty, yet they are virtually locked in a socio-economic poverty-structured system. Not only are Negro workers a hundred years behind their white brothers, but their relative pace of progress is stretching the distance between them, with black workers under the advance of radical technology falling further and further behind, with no visible prospects, given the continuance of present policies and attitudes of trade unions, industry and government, of every catching up.

The Negro's struggle for equal employment opportunities, over the past one hundred years, is of more than historical or commemorative interest. The crises of the present are rooted in the failures of the past, and lessons unlearned are tragedies prolonged. In

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our own time, the prolonged tragedy of Black labor, weighs heavily upon all Americans. It is becoming increasingly clear that no lasting political freedom or social equality is conceivable without the integration of the Negro into the economic life of the nation.

How far have we come, and how far have we to go? The Emancipation Proclamation not only freed the slaves, but in doing so, made the question of equal job opportunities a major social problem. Even before the Civil War, the question had arisen, though in less pressing form, with regard to the half million free Negroes. Generally free Negroes who lived in Southern cities, where Negroes often had a monopoly of mechanical skills, fared better economically than those who lived in the Northern cities, where they faced competition from skilled immigrant labor. So serious was the economic discrimination, against free Northern Negroes, that in Philadelphia, for example, in 1837, comprised fourteen percent of the poorhouse population, though only seven percent of the population at large. This dusty statistic is an early example of a two-to-one relationship that has shown remarkable persistence down to the present.

During the 1830's, many free Negroes organized the so-called "Conventions movement" of which

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Frederick Douglas was eventually elected president. It is of immense interest that this movement, in 1853, adopted an economic program, calling for the establishment of an industrial college for a type of apprenticeship training program, for Negroes then. Thus, even before the Civil War, Negroes, feeling the squeeze of job discrimination, and segregation, organized to fight economic insecurity, and advanced programs that have a familiar ring today.

The slaves freed on January 1, 1863 were freed not only from their masters, but from their livelihood as well. Thaddeus Stevens, looking toward the transformation of the former slaves into a class of small independent farmers, advocated the government's giving them forty acres and a mule. The Northern industrialists, however, who had gained control over the Republican Party, could not countenance the confiscation and division of large plantations. Many of the Negroes who did secure homesteads were driven off under President Johnson's program of restoring the land to the white planters.

Homeless and property-less, the great mass of Southern Negroes had no alternative except to return to the plantations, this time, as tenant farmers, and sharecroppers. The failure of Reconstruction to

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provide Negroes with an economic base, the tragedy of the period, foredoomed all efforts at political democracy in the South. Even as the Negro was enjoying the fullest participation in political life, helping to maintain Republican power in the South, the stage had been set for the time, when a score of years after Reconstruction, his landlord would march him to the polls, with voting instructions, and later, disfranchise him altogether.

Few examples in history so vividly illustrate the fragility of political freedom unmoored in economic security. Thus, the Negro found himself cut adrift in the gilded age, the nadir of big business morality, the pinnacle of its speculative and exploitative irresponsibility. From the Industrial Revolution that was sweeping the country, the Negro was excluded, North and South.

In the South, the Negro had never really competed with the poor white for land, having been reduced almost immediately to sharecropping, but he had offered competition in mechanical skills. In fact, at the end of the Civil War, one hundred thousand of the one hundred and twenty thousand artisans in the South were Negroes. By 1890, the skilled Negro worker had virtually ceased to exist. The mania for textile mills and tobacco factories had gripped the South, and

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the last decade of the 19th Century took on the character of a religious campaign, and planted managers promised poor whites industrial salvation in the new "white-only" enterprises.

In the North, which claimed ten percent of the Negro population, in this period, Negroes were systematically barred from all but the most menial tabks in the burgeoning mass industries. To what extent the denial of job opportunities to Negroes, both the North and South, stemmed from interlocking controls of management, is difficult to determine, as the historian, Rayford W. Logan, points out, in "The Negro In American and Thought". Nonetheless, after the famous compromise of 1877, big business continued to constitute the principal force for peace at almost any price for leaving the South alone. Further investigation may reveal close links between Northern capital and management, and the supposedly predominantely Southern enterprises of cotton and tobacco factories. In any case, the Southerners had their own reasons for keeping these factories white. Whatever the motives of the Northerners, their policy was deliberate, and it is clear that Northern capital made ample and profitable use of the Negroes as strike breakers.

Not only the Federal Government, through

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its Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction policies, and Northern and Southern capitalists, were responsible for the deterioration of the Negroes' economic conditions, the unions were also to blame. It is not entirely coincidental that the surge of American capital, the freeing of the slaves, and the formation of the first national labor organization, should occur almost simultaneously. Yet the confluence of these events was significant for the future of the Negro.

The national labor union was formed in 1866 and it was a weak counterweight to the power and influence being wielded by these industrialists, backed up by the Supreme Court, and other agencies of government. Before its destruction, following the Panic of 1873, the National Labor Union had recognized the danger posed by Negro strikebreakers, and decided to organize black workers, but into separate locals. The reaction of Negro workers was the formation, in 1869, of the National Negro Labor Union. The fate of the National Negro Labor Union was predictable. Although Negroes had successfully established independent churches in the 18th Century, inexorable economic laws militated then, as now, against the organization of workers along racial lines. Efforts of the National Negro Labor Union to affiliate with the white, with white labor, were un-

successful. Negro workers remained isolated, and were increasingly used as strikebreakers.

The Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, was more anxious to recruit Negroes, aiming at unskilled as well as skilled workers. The Knights brought Negroes into some all-black locals, and also some mixed ones. In 1887, it may have had as many as 90,000 Negroes, our of a total membership of half a million. Many of its organizers played courageous roles in the South, braving terrorist anti-labor tactics of a sort all too-familiar to the students of the CIO drives in the 30's. The decline of the Knights, following the Haymarket Riot, in 1886, paralleled the rise of a new union, and a new labor philosophy.

Unlike the Knights, the American Federation of Labor, founded in 1886, had a decentralized structure, consisting of essentially autonomous craft organizations. Because of its disinterest in unskilled workers, the AF of L could attract few negroes, at the same time various unions that constitutionally excluded Negroes from membership could not be curbed because of the Federation's structure on other national bodies.

Structural questions aside, however, the AF of L lacked the broad idealistic spirit of the Knights

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of Labor, and for the latter's crusading spirit, substituted a more narrowly economic and practical program. Still the Federation's 1893 and 1894 Conventions stated: "We here and now reaffirm, as one of the cardinal principles of the Labor Movement, that the working people must unite and organize, irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality, or politics." The resolution was not binding; it was only a request.

But consistent discrimination by its affiliates riddled away at even this principle, so that by 1901, the Federation gave ground on the issue of social equality, and approved the organization of separate locals. It also scoulded Negro workers for strikebreaking, as if the AF of L's exclusive policies were unrelated to that practice.

Thus, the labor movement in this period, with the general exception of the Knights of Labor, also hindered the integration of the Negro into the expanding economic life of the nation. It is interesting to note, however, that all three of these national labor movements felt constrained, at least, to enunciate the principle of class solidarity, without regard to race, whereas, the large corporations of the period, in the main, were silent. It should also be borne in mind that the character of the age was determined infinitely more

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by the interests of capital than by that of the fledgling labor movements.

The decline of the Knights of Labor, whose policies had been favorable to Negro workers, was largely the work of corporations in alliance with the Big Business government, even as the rights of the AF of L was facilitated by its conservative philosophy, less sharply counterposed to that of the new ruling class. Implicitly, we recognize this in applying the term "business unionism" to the AF of L, and "social unionism" to the Knights of Labor. Whoever was most to blame, government, management or labor, the results were clear, despite the march of the nation from agrarianism to industrialism in the second half of the 18th century, 85% of all Negroes in 1890 remained in agriculture, and domestic service. By 1900, the figure had dropped only to 84.7%.

To describe this phenomenon as a pattern of unequal employment opportunites is epphemistic. Only when viewed as an almost total exclusion from the national revolution in technology and economic organization, can the Negroes' experience prior to World War I be understood in terms of a lack of skills with which he met the 20th Century. This economic alienation of the Negro was, of course, paralleled by his deepening

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social and political alienation. With the advent of World War I, masses of Negroes migrated North, many of them refugees from technological displacement in Southern agriculture, and Negroes, for the first time, made an entry into modern industry.

The rate of unemployment among the race was reduced, and its earning capacity increased. Still, Negroes remained concentrated in domestic service and unskilled occupations throughout the prosperous Twenties, and their position was less secure than that of white workers. Although Negroes constituted five percent of Detroit's male workers in 1926, they constituted also sixteen percent of the unemployed. The Negroes marginal economic position was catastrophically demonstrated during the Great Depression, in the course of which, nearly half of his number in skilled occupations were displaced. In 1931, sixty percent of the black workers in Detroit were unemployed, as compared with thirty-two percent of the white workers. Unemployment among both races was understandably higher in the industrialized North than in the more agricultural South.

It is interesting to note, in the North, in 1937, Negro unemployment stood at 39%, and white unemployment at 18%. In 1935, over half of the Negroes in Northern cities were on relief, as compared with one-

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third in Southern communities. Roosevelt's New Deal brought many benefits to the pauperized black man, but he remained industrially submerged. On the eve of the defense build-up, for one thing, the Negro had been trained at small-scale construction, and was handicapped when the government financed construction programs were undertaken in the early Thirties.

Of course, racial discrimination persisted in hiring, as it did in the administration of the welfare measures of the New Deal, especially in the South. As late as October 1940, approximately one-fourth of the Negro work force was unemployed, as against thirteen percent of the white work force. Nor, was the problem simply educational. Only four percent of all Negro college graduates in 1940 had an annual income of $2,500.00 a year. The figure for whites was thirty-four percent. That was after eight years of the New Deal.

Contrary to popular belief, the launching of the defense program in 1940, however, much as it aided white workers, did not automatically lead to a significant increase in the employment of Negroes in defense industries. Despite the anti-discrimination pronouncements of the New Deal Administration, Negroes continued to be barred from these industries. Meeting the situation, the Negro relearned a basic lesson, even

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from his friends he could expect little except through the exertion of vast social practice. Thus was born the march on Washington, with thousands of Negroes throughout the country, bareheaded, by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Mobilized, over one hundred thousand strong, convergents on the Nation's Capitol, with the demand for equal employment opportunities in the defense industries.

Many efforts were made to have the march called off, and when it became clear that we could not be cajoled, President Roosevelt signed an Executive Order, 8802, in June 1941. The order reaffirmed the government's policy of non-discrimination, and established the Fair Employment Practices Commission to investigate violations of this policy in defense industries. How much FEPC was responsible for the rise in Negro employment after 1942 has been debated. Certainly, where FEPC was successful, it was accompanied by government pressure, training opportunities and the existence of full employment.

Without full employment, generally, the effectiveness of Fair Employment Practice legislation would doubtless have been diminished, as competition for jobs increased. It has never been possible to abstract the condition of the black worker from those of

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labor at large, and as we have seen, the New Deal never succeeded in achieving full employment for either race, white or colored, until the initiation of war production.

But of comparable importance to Executive Order 8802, for the negro worker, was the right to industrial unionism in the late Thirties. For the first time since the decline of the Knights of Labor, an active effort was made to bring black workers into the House of Labor. Not surprisingly, the leaders of the new movement were those unions in which negroes had along been best represented, particularly, the United Mine Workers, which in 1900 could claim one-third of the total organized labor force of the country. Negroes played an important role in organizing the Steel Workers, and in New York City, the Negro Labor Committee helped bring negroes into a wide variety of CIO unions.

Only isolated instances of segregated locals in Southern textile industry marred the CIO's early non-discrimination policy. By 1940, the CIO had taken in 210,000 negroes, who gradually acquired new industrial skills. In 1940, 4.4% of negro male workers were unskilled. Four years later, the figure had risen to 7.3%. Correspondingly, the figure for the semi-skilled rose from 13% to 22.4%. It was also during this period that the negro became predominantly urbanized.

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Not withstanding the large gains made by the negro during these years, in economic and civil rights, thanks largely to the militance of industrial unionism, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the precariousness of his situation was demon strated anew at the War's end. With the curtailment of defense production, negroes lost their jobs faster than the whites. Not only did they lack seniority, but many were concentrated in those defense industries that were least convertible to peacetime production.

Black labor's plight was callously aggravated when Congress killed the Fair Employment Practice Commission in 1946. In withdraving its support of the equal opportunities principle, Congress paved the way for the inevitable decline of skilled negro craftsmen and foremen. Having won the war against racism abroad, with the help of her thirteen million negroes, the Nation apparently no longer felt constrained to continue that war at home.

Once again, the Federal government had abandoned the negro to his economic oppression. Certainly, recent years have seen progress in the negro's struggle for equal opportunities. In the absence of Federal legislation, a score of states and numerous

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cities have enacted their own Fair Employment Practice Programs, varying in scope and enforceability. Direct action by negroes at the 1948 Democratic Party Convention was largely responsible for President Truman's Executive Order, #9981, ending segregation in the Armed Forces.

President Kennedy's Committee, on Equal Employment Opportunities, established in March, 1961, is a considerable improvement over the phlegmatic predecessor, though it still lacks some of the powers of Roosevelt's FEPC.

That discrimination persists in employment created by Federal Grants-In-Aid and loan programs, as well as in National Guard and Reserve Units, is documented in the 1961 Civil Rights Commission report. Moreover, in the report, the Commission has reported that efforts of the Federal Government to promote non-discriminatory employment by government contractors and Federal agencies had not generally been effective in overcoming resistance to hiring negroes in any but the lower categories.

The labor movement has made welcome advances. During the Fourties, there were still 26 AF of L affiliates whose constitutions barred Negroes from membership, and thus from fruitful employment. Today, only the Brotherhood of Locomotive

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Firemen and Enginemen explicitly excludes negroes. Twenty-six International Unions and seventeen state central bodies have established Civil Rights Committees. One and a half million negroes now reside in the house of labor, and have one increasing representation in labor's governing councils, even in the South.

The 1961 AFL-CIO Civil Rights Resolution forthrightly proclaimed the AFL is in the forefront of the civil rights revolution in our land. It is the foremost force in the drive to eliminate and prevent every form of race discrimination and racial injustice in the American community. It is not without interest that no comparable statement has come from any other national economic or business and industrial organization.

Still, resolutions are not enough. In apprenticeship training, hiring policies, seniority lists, pay scales, hiring policies, job assignments and the like, the discrimination persists in too many locals, especially in the building trades. Negroes continue to be barred from some unions, segregated in others. To combat these unions, hundreds of negro trade unionists banded together in 1959 to found the Negro American Labor Council.

Loyal to the Labor Movement, recognizing

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it as the most progressive institution in our society, the Negro American Labor Council has fought vigorously to cleanse the trade unions of every vestige of Jim Crow. Racism, we have insisted, is uniquely incompatible with labor's needs and labor's aspirations. It is no less an evil than Communism and corruption, and must be met with equal severity.

Many of our white liberal friends have been perplexed, or irritated by the seeming impatience of the Negro American Labor Council, while gratified by the impatience of the Southern negro students. They are incensed by the cruder forms of racism in Dixie, but point to the progress of black workers elsewhere. That progress in employment opportunities has been made during the past century is as foolish to deny as it is fruitless to proclaim.

That progress has been made does not gainsay the fact that the negro today faces an economic crisis, a crisis without precedent. For progress is relative, and we are in a period when a rapid movement is required. Merely to stand still, the crisis confronting the negro worker today can be summed up in one word, automation. The displacement of men by machines hits the unskilled and semi-skilled workers first and hardest, and these are the jobs to which negroes have been relegated.

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As late as 1955, only 12% of the negro work force had risen into professional, technical, managerial and white collar clerical and sales jobs, as opposed to 42% of the whites; 47% of the negroes were in service, and other non-skilled farm jobs. Another 15% were in agriculture. At present, there is no single skilled craft in which negroes constitute even 2% of the total. More ominous than the figures themselves is the fact that the elevation rate of the negro into more skilled occupations has fallen behind the rate of automation displacement. This is indeed a crucial fact.

Nowhere is the crisis more starkly revealed than in the unemployment figures. Far from indicating progress, they point to an almost steady deterioration in the position of the black worker. Whereas the unemployment rate during the years 1947-1955 did not exceed 8.9% for negroes and 4.6% for whites, the rate in 1958 was 12.6% for negroes and 6.1% for whites. The Bureau of Labor Statistics for August 1962 showed 11.4% of the negro workforce unemployed, as against 4.6% for the whites.

Thus, despite all progress, the black unemployment rate has remained double that of whites for decades, and at the moment, it is two and one-half times that of whites. A recession for white workers is

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virtually a depression for black workers. The extent to which the negro unemployment rate is due to automation is suggested in these statistics on chronic unemployment. Most of the chronically unemployed are victims of technological displacement. At present, among those unemployed for more than fifteen weeks, 23.8% are non-white.

Statistics can be endlessly elaborated. Their meaning is plain. The relative position of the negro in the economy has remained astonishingly static, over the years, and the future threatens even that woeful position. The negro is not only a loser, automation is likely to create even more skilled jobs than men to fill them, according to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. As a nation, we possibly observe the languishing of untapped talent, in stagnant pools of unskilled labor, black labor, continuously drained by automation, into the sewers of unemployment.

Since man's first concern on earth is to live, his sources of life, or economic status, is of primary importance. It is one of the main bulwarks in our modern industrial art. It is a basic determinant in establishing or circumscribing the potential position of an individual or group within the socio-economic spectrum. Because economic status involves economic security, and

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economic opportunity that underlie living standards, they hold high priority in the struggle for life of an individual or a group.

Thus, unions exercise immense control over the economic status of negroes and workers, by their capacity to manipulate their occupational mobility, thereby maintaining and reinforcing their status as virtual outsiders. In fact, the negro's economic viability is definitely conditioned by limiting his occupational and job mobility. In view of the rapid mortality of jobs in modern American industrialism as the result of the continuous introduction of new tools, materials and processes, in the production of goods and services, workers without occupational and job mobility face relatively permanent job instability, and economic insecurity. Such is the serious plight of the black worker today.

Because of the long historical existence of the sinister concept of the biological inequality and hereditary inferiority of the negro, it is difficult to find negroes with first-class status in any occupation, and hence practically all negro workers, regardless of qualification, lack occupational and job mobility. Even in a semi-skilled occupation, such as longshore work, on the waterfront, negro longshoremen, of long seniority,

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do not possess occupational mobility. This is evidenced by the fact that they are excluded from the West Side piers, where the luxury liners dock. It is also seen by the fact that there is less than a half dozen negro longshoreman in the quaisi-white collar "Checkers Local", in North or South, and the existence also of Jim Crow locals in the South, although negro workers constitute the majority in this industry.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners practice preferential placement of white members, as against negroes, in the City of New York, by the racially segregated Local 1888. The geographic jurisdiction of this local is Harlem, where its members as a rule depend upon employment, which is both inadequate, and generally of a repaid nature, except when housing projects are being built.

It is well know that negro hotel workers, in the main, do not enjoy occupational and job mobility, since they are either racially segregated into second-class hotels, or completely excluded from the big hotels in Miami Beach, Florida, Atlantic City, New York City, and most of the big metropolitan centers, except in the pattern of tokenism at banquets. And negro bartenders, in the big hotels, in any city, are as scarce as hen's teeth.

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According to Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, negroes and Puerto Ricans are victims of restrictive job mobility by their concentration in the low-paying semi-skilled and unskilled areas in the garment industry, because of race bias in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which of course is denied by the leadership of ILGWU. While I would not give a judgment as to the accuracy or inaccuracy of the charges of Mr. Hill, I have no reason to affirm or deny the charges. The fact is, that negroes and Puerto Ricans are grouped in the low-paying unskilled and semi-skilled sections of the industry.

Now, there is a three-way form in operation denying the negro occupational status according to Herman D. Block, of Cornell University - denial of union membership, which is requisite for apprenticeship leading to master mechanic rating; dependency upon the union hiring hall for employment and partial union control of the licensing boards. Negro occupational status and job mobility are directly related to union restrictive measures. Since skilled occupations controlled by these industries are high in occupational status, and these are generally closed to the negro, it leaves fewer occupations open.

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What is to be done? The first step is to awaken, inform, arouse and mobilize black workers in and out of the unions and to transform them into a militant and mass movement. Since history is full of lessons to the effect that it is virtually impossible to move the labor movement, or to move the business movement, or to move the government without a movement. Moreover, our dualistic Democratic society, with many varied and various segments of the population, with their specific interests and concerns, envariably encounter, but not provoke opposition from a particular group or groups of the population, with adverse interests and concern.

Such is the case with such major groups as capital and labor, as represented by the National Association of Manufacturers and the AFL-CIO. The negro and the South, as represented by the NAACP and the White Citizens Council, and its allies. There are also groups of citizens that organize their interests, such as the Senior Citizens Movement that fights for legislation for medical care within the framework of Social Security, which was bitterly attacked and defeated by the American Medical Association.

And in the long run, the group wins out and achieves its goal not always because its cause is right, but because it possesses the more effective

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leverage, and can bring more pressure to bear and constitutes the greatest threat to the power and stability of the government. Of course, it is an advantage when a group can claim that moral grounds for its cause, which, interestingly enough, no group is willing to admit it does not possess. Thus, the awakened oppressed ever disturbs the oppressors.

Note the long struggle against slavery in the United States. It was the insurrections led by black revolutionists, under the valient Toussaint L'Overture in Santo Domingo, in 1793, the slave revolts led by Gabriel that alarmed the masters of slavery in South Carolina in 1800, the uprisings in Virginia by Denmarquiese in 1822, and Nat Turner in 1831, that shocked and frightened the daylights out of the pompous slavemasters. Such are the mechanics and dynamics of the struggle of the oppressed against their oppressors, not only in the United States, but also in Africa, and Asia, against Western Colonial tyranny and terror, as well as revolts in Eastern Europe under Communist savage oppression and violence.

Many proposals have been made. Perhaps the most pretentious is the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity "Plans for Progress" program, the purpose of which is to secure the large

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employers and the national and international trade unions, the AFL-CIO, to sign with President Johnson, at the White House, Plans for Progress, of equal employment opportunity. This strategy may be extremely helpful, only if the government does not leave compliance upon a voluntary and permissive basis, but takes firm, positive action to compel 38,000, more or less, contractors, operating 50,000 or more facilities, and a hundred national and international unions, to abolish race bias, or accept the penalty of the cancellation of the contract and the elimination of the jobs.

Up to the present time, this program is a mere moral gesture, even if not without some educational value. It is a lesson of record, that powerful corporations and national and international unions understand nothing but force, but even if contractors and unions are forced to comply with the Plans for Progress Program, and negro workers secure entry into various occupations and jobs, the question arises, where are the negro workers who are qualified for the said jobs in this age of technology? Of course, there are some, but how many?

In view of the fact that progress in apprenticeship training of negro workers in the last decade is around ½ of 1%, an improvement of two or three

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hundred percent would not mean much. It is a notorious fact that in the building trades throughout the nation, negroes represent only two percent of the apprentices. In view of the long term of apprenticeship, from four to five years, to produce a journeyman in practically all of the crafts, and because of the rapid liquidation of jobs, around two million annually, for the unskilled and semi-skilled areas of industry, areas in which negroes are chiefly concentrated, some drastic, but basic and bold massive nationwide program must be defined, mainly by the Federal government, but pushed by the Negro masses, to salvage the black proletariate from the condition of chronically unemployed denizens of metropolitan slums.

In addition to the normal type of apprenticeship training which must be made accessible to negro youth in all crafts immediately, in-plant, on-job training, in the factories, mines and mills, is imperatively needed and should be carried out by government upon private business, but it will not be done without the continuous pressure of black America. And of course, essentially a vigorous campaign to secure the enactment of Federal Fair Employment Practice Legislation should be sponsored by a coalition of negro organizations, with their labor and liberal allies.

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But while this legislative battle should be stepped up, its achievement will take much too long to meet the emergency job, the crisis confronting black laboring masses today, a crisis which is becoming increasingly explosive. It is frankly, social, racial dynamite. Therefore, since negro workers ahve been systematically barred from apprenticeship programs on account of race bias, they are one hundred years or more behind their white brothers in the possession of skills, and can they overcome this tremendous handicap and catch up? No one can answer this question. It is obvious, without sounding the note of defeatism, pessimism, that the odds are against the negro, unless all barriers of race are promptly swept away, and is it even possible then?

Reinforcing apprenticeship programs, or on-the-job training with related classroom theoretical work, for the preparation of workers for skilled crafts, through vocational and technical education, has provided by the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, and broadened by the George-Barden Act of 1946, that the keynote of education for employment and training for living has been immensely meaningful only to white workers. These acts were largely sponsored by Southern Congressmen, for the benefit of the White South. Few negro leaders or

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workers knew either of the existence or purpose of these acts.

The National Defense Education Act of 1958 was designed to help states to develop area vocational programs, offering technical education in fields involving extensive use of science and mathematics. Here again, education is distinctly related to economic developments, and manpower needs of the nation, involving chiefly white workers and students, especially below the race-conscious Mason and Dixon line, where practically two-thirds of negroes live. The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 brought the Office of Education into the training aspects of this program, designed to give new impetus to those areas of the country which had been most seriously affected by excessive, persistent unemployment. Efforts to attrack new enterprises to such areas and to revive old ones, and thereby create new jobs, involved the retraining of workers. Retraining negroes in segregated schools of the South, that neither had the physical equipment, or trained teaching personnel to provide the retraining, is a failure and a futile gesture.

In the North, only a handful of negroes get within earshot distance of any program for retraining workers, OR for jobs. The Clark-Holland Manpower

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Development and Training Act is designed to recognize that the skills of many persons have been rendered obsolete by dislocations in our economy arising from automation, from foreign competition, relocation of industry, and shifts in market demands. It calls for government leadership, to insure the benefits of automation are shared by capital and labor and the public. The purpose of this act is unquestionably constructive, but its utilization by the negro, in the light of the dogma of State's Rights, that uphold States' wrongs, under the color-cast culture of the South, is practically nil.

The implementation of these Federal Acts in the interest of negro job rights is a challenge to the negro pressure power, reflected by the Negro American Labor Council, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and all negro civil rights movements. Even the Full Employment Act of 1946, the purpose of which is to provide for the Federal Government to assist states and communities to bring about the best use of manpower resources to meet problems of unemployment by promoting maximum employment, production and purchasing power, has never achieved its objective. Even in relation to white workers, to say nothing of black workers, who can suffer from unemploy-

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ment, despite a condition of relative full employment because of the inevitable tendency, due to race bias, to develop a hard core of the black jobless.

This is why the black workers face an uncertain future, and will continue to do so, until the racial inequities are completely removed throughout the length and breadth of the nation. For instance, according to Dr. Daniel Schreiber, Director of School Dropout Project, National Education Association, almost one million nine hundred thousand American youths graduated from high school last June, and while 650,000 will pursue further education, more than one million will try to enter the labor market. This one million will be swollen by 850,000 who dropped out of school during this past school year, and if the ratio of dropouts of negro youths to white youths is comparable to the ratio of unemployment of negro workers to white workers, then, whereas normally, according to the population relationship of black to white, 850,000 black youth would drop out of school. Actually, twice that number, or 170,000 will be included in the dropouts.

Before we, and the Negro American Labor Council ask ourselves whether there will be jobs for all, black and white, and what kind of jobs will be available, let us take a look into the future as early as

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1965, three years from today. According to estimates of population projections, the 1,900,000 graduates of 1962 will become 2,500,000, and increase of 600,000, sixty thousand of which will be negroes in 1965. If the ratio remains constant, practically 800,000 will seek college training, and 1,500,000 will enter the labor force. Their dropout counterpart increase will increase this number to approximately two million, three hundred thousand new workers. The large number of youths reaching the age of 18 will increase from 2,600,000 in 1962, to 3,800,000 in 1965, approximately half a million of whom will be black. These youths will enter our rapidly changing world, with technological improvements in industry, making it possible to produce more units of goods and services in less time, and liquidating, as it were, some two million unskilled and semi-skilled jobs annually.

The question might well be raised, can our black youth survive and move ahead in a highly competitive, racially prejudiced labor market? In view of an increased demand for skilled, technical professional training, which they possess but sparingly, this question must be met. Moreover, without success to unlimited areas of vocational and scientific education, reinforced by on-the-job apprenticeship training, which is only

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possible in industry within trade unions completely free from race bias, negro youths will be trapped in a dilemma of job impermanency, a trade of skill acquired today becoming obsolete tomorrow as the result of the bewildering sweep of change, incident to the revolution of automation.

This is why, my dear brothers and sisters, the presence and the role of the Negro American Labor Council is so grave, urgent and imperative. Youth of minority groups, and especially black youth, have particular problems that must be realistically met, first to include development of the creative and constructive self-image, which is in consonance with the universal image of forward-looking youth of America. Second, identification of the needs, responses and aspirations, yearnings and rising expectations with the militant march of the disadvantaged youth under the yoke of colonialism and imperialism of world Capitalism and Communism, in Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe. Three, inspiration and motivation from status symbols of accomplishment of black leadership in the skilled trades, technical, professional and scientific fields. Four, development of adequate personality mechanisms to deal with the hostility and rejection on ethnic grounds. Five, development of constructive personal attitudes

towards work and achievements. Sixth, belief in his personal worth, as a human being, regardless of race or color.

The Negro American Labor Council must formulate and develop ways and means of helping black youth find their way, not only to economic success, but to moral and spiritual service to the black community, in particular and the entire city, state and nation in general. Breaking through ethnic marginal economic opportunities cannot occur in a vacuum, it can only develop in a community context, in which indigenous community leaders and institutions play a key role.

Many significant jobs are not filled, or even found, on the basis of merit, but on the basis of a complicated system of community and personal connections and pressures. The opportunity available to black youth must be construed as the function of the total community, and not the sole personal responsibility of individual youths, or even of their families.

The use of all the devices for breaking down barriers to unemployment, to employment, and job mobility, and progression upward, in wage rates and status, is a personal responsibility that falls on the leaders of community institutions and movements, religous, labor, business, educational, fraternal,

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political and civic. I am sure the leaders and members of NALC share with me a sense of the tremendous magnitude of the problem of the job and skill training crisis of black youth, as well as a sense of great inadequacy which now exists in our general efforts to cope effectively with the dimension of the issue of job inequity for black workers.

Whether it is the part-time avocational affect of private agencies and voluntary groups, or the more systematic programs of public schools, and public institutions, which have direct contact with hrge numbers of black youth, I think there is little doubt, but that these progr ms fall desperately short of fulfilling the vacuum which exists in this area. The problem, albeit, increases both in magnitude and complexity year after year, and with each generation of negro youth. We have only to show, on the favorable side of the ledger, a few individual success stories, which circumstance has accidentally placed in our hands, and on the negative side, the mounting delinquency and jobless rate, with their attendant psychological cots to the youth involved, and the staggering social losses that cannot be reclaimed.

In addition to psychological and social losses on account or race bias, according to a statement

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on the economic cost of racial discrimination in employment, presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, September 1962, by the Council of Econom ic Advisors, there are measurable economic losses resulting from racial discrimination, that arise from

(1) inefficiences in the use of the labor force, resulting from failure to organize, to utilize, fully, the existing skills of our population, and

(2) failure to develop potential skills fully.

This memorandum attempts to apply rough quantitative estimates of the gains that might accrue if various types of racial discrimination were eliminated. All the estimates herein are based upon the definition of economic loss as amount of national product that is foregone. Measurements, therefore, relate to how much greater the gross national product could be if discrimination were eliminated, or had been eliminated in the past. Because of a legacy of past race discrim-ination that affects todayh occupational, geographic and capital structure, and the skills, training and education of labor force, the gains would only accrue over time, as the economy adjusts and the labor force is upgraded.

Part of the gain in output is attributable

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to increased employment of non-whites. The calculations assume that in the absence of discrimination, the unemployment rate among negroes would be the same as among whites. Thus, there would be a net reduction in unemployment, which could be achieved only if the level of demand in the economy were high enough to provide employment for whites and non-whites on the same basis.

Thus, it is relevant to ask, not only how much higher the gross national product might be today if non-whites, an estimated 92% of whom are negroes, were able to be as productive as whites, given their present productive capacities, and measured by education, also, how much higher the gross national product would be if non-whites had been educated as fully as whites. Because this was not accomplished, on account of the unfinished, or incompleted Civil War revolution, which failed to fulfill its traditional, liberal,classical mission, of transforming the slaves into free workers and independent proprietors, provide them with free suffage and a free public school system, the remnants, vestiges and survivals of the old slave order, like the grimer former appendages, dingers to cause the social malady of racial bias.

If non-whites, the statement continues to point out, had the same educational levels of whites,

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and if the economy utilized their education, the gross national product today might be perhaps 5.7% higher, which amounts to $17,000,000,000 at today's level of the gross national product.

Elmer Roper, nationally known public relations analyst estimates that race bias cost the country thirty billions of dollars annually, since it is estimated that the negro market today, despite race bias, represents twenty billions annually, if racial discrimination were eliminated, and the estimated economic loss of seventeen billions by the Council of Economic Advisors is added to the present market of twenty billions, the negroes annual income would reach thirty-seven billion dollars annually, and with Elmer Roper's figures, would amount to the enormous level of fifty billions annually.

This is why the Negro American Labor Council was born. It wants negroes to get more jobs, more remunerative jobs, jobs requiring skill and responsibility, in order to increase their standard of living and economic security. But how is this wealth created? It is created by black labor, both hand and brain. When the earnings of black labor dry up, the black community will dry up, decay and die. But the earnings of black labor, however, around the level of a bare

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subsistence wage, without trade union organizations, even the wage rates of non-union workers, are raised by the struggles for living and cultural wage standards of organized labor. The million and one half negro members of trade unions have contributed enormously to the building of the existing Negro labor market, but if there are no jobs, or few jobs, what then? Obviously both black and white workers will suffer, as they do in recessions and depressions.

How are jobs made? I am told that the Mayor is already here, and I want to come to a close with my talk, as I don't want to detain the Mayor. I have a few more pages, I think. It will be in order, I think, if I hold up my talk at this time. I think we might have the Mayor come forward and greet the convention, and I will finish my report after the Mayor has finished. (Applause)

SPEAKER FROM THE TABLE: Will the following people go to the back to meet with the Mayor, please. President Joseph Saunders, New York, Morris Doslow, New York, Boyd Wilson, Steel Workers, Stokes from the Mine Workers, Vice President Stokes of the Mine Workers, Joseph Beavers, Hotel and Restaurant, Washington, and Bim McLawrence, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Will you please go and escort the Mayor

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to the dais, please.

(Applause)

MR. J. PHILIP RANDOLPH: Now, fellow delegates and friends, we are greatly honored with the presence of the Mayor of New York City. A distinguished public servant,and one who has rendered sound and constructive a dministration to the affairs of our great city. I knew the Mayor's father, who was one of the most distinguished Senators in the United States Senate. His name could be equated with social and labor legislation. The Senate was greatly impoverished when he passed away, and of course, I am not here to talk on the history of the Mayor's forebearers, but I want to present to you at this time, the distinguished Mayor of the City of New York, the Honorable Robert F. Wagner.

(Applause)

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER (Mayor, City of New York): Thank you very much, Mr. Randolph, ladies and gentlemen. It is a great pleasure for me to be here to greet you in our city and to speak to this fine organization. I have always had a deep and affectionate regard for Mr. Randolph, who was also a great friend of my father's. A veteran of a lifetime of struggle and of a thousand battles for social justice and human rights. (Applause)

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In singling out Mr. Randolph, I do not mean by any means to overlook the other men and women who have stood shoulder to shoulder with him through the years and have helped to found and lead this fine organization and many other organizations pointing in the same direction, with some of whom I have been privileged to work through the years.

At this point, let me refer to one particular cause, for which this organization and others like it have been fighting for a long time and one which has always had my support too, the cause of a higher minimum wage. At year or so ago, this organization took the lead in advocating the passage of a local law that would raise the minimum wage to $1.50 per hour for all workers in this city of ours. I have long believed that $1.50 an hour was the only decent wage level that had any meaning, or any dignity in the 1960's, with the cost of living being what it is today.

To achieve this, it was first of all important to amend the Federal Minimum Wage Law. I strongly favor a national minimum of $1.50 an hour. That is what it ought to be. (Applause) That is what it is going to be, if the Congress we have just elected really understands the message that the people sent out on Election Day.

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Such a Federal Minimum Wage Law would apply, of course, just to jobs in interstate commerce, and wouldn't cover the jobs in garages, laundries, hotels and restaurants and many of the other occupations in which a great number of New Yorkers are employed. That is why we fought for a State Minimum Wage of $1.50 during the last session of the State Legislature. The State Administration didn't see that. What they finally passed was an amendment raising the minimum wage to $1.15 an hour. That minimum went into effect less than a month ago, but even in that law, there are big loopholes called Exemptions from Coverage. Those exemptions are the worst in cases where the need for coverage is the greatest. For a great many New Yorkers, there isn't even a minimum wage of $1.15 an hour. There isn't any minimum at all.

So when the State Legislature refused to raise the minimum to $1.50 and to broaden the coverage, your organization turned to the City Government and asked us to pass a minimum wage law. No city had ever passed such a law. No city had even considered it. There are a lot of reasons for that. I won't go into them.

When I began to think about it, the one fact I couldn't get away from was the fact that there

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are thousands upon thousands in the city who have families to support, very large families, who are paid for their labor at a rate less, and in some cases, substantially less, than $1.25 an hour. I don't think I have to tell this group what a dollar, or a dollar ten, or a dollar fifteen an hour means in terms of take-home pay at the end of a week. It doesn't mean much.

I know the living conditions of families that are forced to live on incomes at this level. It isn't pretty. It isn't healthy. There is a further fact I know. I know that it costs the city ten million dollars every year in relief payments to families whose wage earners get less than $1.50 an hour, in order to bring the incomes of the families in question up to the bare minimum standard considered acceptable under Federal and State Relief regulations.

Yes, our Welfare Department pays out ten million dollars a year as supplementary relief to families of seven thousand wage earners making less than $1.50 an hour. Well, I believe that people would rather get their money in the form of paychecks than in relief checks. (Applause)

So, I asked our City Council to pass a local law providing a minimum wage for every person

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employed in this city. We broadened coverage, so that our local law is the most comprehensive in terms of coverage of any minimum wage law ever enacted. (Applause) As I think most of you know, our minimum wage law covers even domestics, who in their own way, are the most - are among the most exploited of all categories of workers.

The City Council passed that law, and the Board of Estimate approved it, and I signed the bill into law. I used several pens in signing it, sothat I could give those pens to some of the men who had led the fight for the passage of that law. I brought two here this morning. Two others are on the way. They should have been here, and we have two, and the others will be here shortly. At this point, I want to give them to two men, and mention the other two who will receive them just as soon as they arrive, who deserve to have them.

First of all, and with a certificate, to Mr. A. Philip Randolph. (Applause)

The next one, to my good friend, Mr. Joseph Overton. (Applause)

The other two which should have been here, and we will get them to them just as fast as possible, is formy own good friend, Bill Rowe, who has done so

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much to help us. (Applause)

And to that great fighter in District 65, Cleveland Robinson. (Applause)

The driver got into an automobile accident bringing them here, so we will get them to you as soon as possible.

A moment ago, I referred to the fact that the City Welfare Department pays out ten million dollars a year in supplemental relief checks to families whose breadwinners work for less than $1.50 an hour. Mr. James Dumpson, my Commissioner of Welfare, and in my opinion, one of the greatest Welfare Commissioners this City ever had (Applause), recently estimated that if those wage earners who are receiving less than $1.50 an hour could be raised to $1.50 an hour, it would save the City Government one million dollars, and the Federal and State Governments six million dollars a year, right here in New York City, because the Federal and State Governments contribute to the relief costs, or a grand total of seven million dollars a year in savings. That amount is worth saving, isn't it?

But there is something even more worth saving, that is the self-respect of those workers who are forced to work at sweatshop wages. (Applause) Raising their wages to a halfway decent minimum will

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help make them feel like human beings again, which is essential for the social health of our entire city. The way I look at it, that is why we fought for this law.

That isn't all we in the city government are doing, or plan to do, to advance the aims we share with your organization. Passing a minimum wage law is only the beginning. It just meets one relatively small part of the problem. There are other, and perhaps even bigger parts. Raising the minimum wage doesn't do anything for those who don't get any wages at all, the unemployed, including the unskilled unemployed.

Because we believe in doing everything possible to support programs of education for the young, and of training for the unskilled, our City Department of Labor has established an Apprenticeship Training Information Center, where the latest information is collected and made available on job openings, with apprenticeship programs, and where applications may be filed for such jobs and programs. This Information Center has been functioning on a full-time basis ever since October 1 of this year, and the more business it has, the better for the city and its future.

We had your organization in mind back when we established the Mayor's Committee on Exploitation of Workers. In recent weeks, the staff of this

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Committee has been expanded. It has been reported to me that this Committee has been meeting with increasing success, and it must really expand its functions. That Committee has an almost endless amount of work to do that it could do, and must do, in collaboration with labor unions, and organizations like yours.

Recently, we started something we called Operation Job Advancement, in which we are seeking the widest possible support for a program of opening up jobs and promotion possibilities for members of minority groups. We are going to press forward on this front too, and press hard, and I hope, go far. There is no more crucial front than this one.

I could go on and talk at even greater length about what we have done to attack the problem of the exploited, the underpaid, the unskilled, the unemployed, all those who are at the bottom of the social and economic ladder in this city. Those who are at the center of the most difficult and challenging problems that this City and this country face. Yes, I could list many more actions and activities that we have been and are engaged in, to help solve this problem, but I am going to be perfectly honest with you. We haven't done and aren't doing enough by far. (Applause) We must do much more. We must accomplish much more. We know

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some of the things we ought to do, but we aren't doing them well enough, or reaching deep enough.

I will not undertake today to tell you what the city government is going to do that it is not yet doing. I will only tell you that I am resolved that we must do much more than we are doing, and we must try some new things that we are not now doing.

Now I would like to say a few words, in closing, on a subject on which thousands of words have been said in the last 48 hours, but still not enough. One of the greatest of our fellow citizens has died, and has left an emptiness that is crying to be filled. The only way to fill it is with words. I am referring, of course, to that wonderful lady, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mrs. Roosevelt, in her thirty years at the very heart of American life, affected this country more profoundly than any woman who had ever preceded her. She affected everything in this country. She affected the status of women, she affected politics, she affected race relations. She affected the very way in which we look at our government in the performance of its duties. It was her view that those who felt themselves to be the least of our citizens, were no less than the first. It is my belief that in her time

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she did as much for social justice in her own way, as the Supreme Court did in its. (Applause)

She believed in people, and in the dignity of people. In the period of life that she devoted to everyday people, while she was in a position to do so in the White House, she understood that it was important, whenhelping people, to help them right away, right then, when they needed it most. She has left this world, having lived the most useful life of any human being I can think of. Nothing anybody can say can really add to what she was, or to what so many of us feel about her, but it is important to remember that the causes she fought for, and the purposes she served in her lifetime, are the ones which hold the main hope for surviving in today's world of the hydrogen bomb and rockets to the moon, and to make tomorrow's world one in which people will have learned to live and work together as equals, a world in which right and justice and understanding shall preside and prevail.

Thank you very much. (Prolonged applause)

MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: Thank you, Mr. Mayor, and I want to say that your comments on Mrs. Roosevelt were eminently timely, and at this juncture, in honor of the person who has been called "the first lady of the world", a woman of graciousness and greatness,

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a woman whose whole life was devoted to humanity and human dignity. On behalf of that great spirit, I want to request you to stand in one minute's solemn silence.

(The audience remained standing for one minute.)

The Mayor is compelled to return now to his office. Let's give him a rousing applause. (Applause)

Now, fellow delegates, if you will bear with me, I will finish my talk, in a few minutes, and then we will have one of our leaders of labor to address the convention. (Applause)

How are jobs made? Jobs are made by increasing and utilizing capital, labor, management and land, through science, technology and industrialism. The increased production and distribution of goods and services, which is only possible as the result of increased purchasing power, which rests upon rising wages and salaries, provide more jobs. But wages are not voluntarily given. They are exacted through collective bargaining of union labor. Even government does not voluntarily grant wages boosts. Government must be pressured by organized labor, both at the bargaining table, and in the City Council, State Legislatures and Congresses.

Thus, the gross national product must be

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increased, which is only possible by raising the rate of economic growth. This is a process which requires government intervention, and long range planning, involving national taxation, programming, periodic government expenditures in public works, and the continuous extension of the public sector of the economy. This can only be made possible by collective bargaining of organized labor, and its political pressure and power.

In fact, without the continued growth and development of the power of organized labor, to be employed as a countervailing force against the tremendous power of private corporate capital, our open, free, dualistic, democratic society will wither and die, under the mighty juggernaut of big business, the primary motivation of which is profits. Therefore, a powerful, well-organized, massive labor movement, under aggressive militant leadership, free from race bias, and with a political arm of its own, is the only hope of democracy, and freedom in America today. This is why the Negro American Labor Council moves uncompromisingly to deepen the consciousness of the Negro community of the value, importance and necessity of the trade unions, the only voice of the workers, black or white.

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I am particularly concerned about the negro becoming increasingly labor conscious, labor union conscious, since I head a union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which took five years to win recognition from a powerful and ruthless Pullman Company. During this struggle, our union faced as inflexible, bitter and vicious opposition, from the negro press, church and leaders, with very few exceptions, as we encountered from the powerful Pullman industrial dynasty. This is, in fact, one of the blackest pages in the history of the black working class, fought by the leaders of the black community, in its struggle for first class industrial citizenship. And make no mistake about it, The negro community is not yet labor union conscious. It is capital conscious. It is anti-labor and pro-business. It is the mission of the American Negro Labor Council to change this.

The Negro community and the labor community must be brought closer together, since they are natural allies. Both need each other, at the labor-management bargaining table, and at the ballot box and in the halls of the Congress. While the struggle to wipe out root and branch race bias in all its forms must be uncompromisingly and vigorously pushed, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the absence of race

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bias is not to be equated with equal employment opportunities. In other words, it is necessary, in order to avoid disillusionment, to recognise that non-discrimination and equal opportunity are n ot the same. When the "white only" signs are taken down, we may have non-discrimination, but still be a long way from equal job opportunities.

It is a matter of common knowledge that denial of opportunity isn't purely the result of wilful discrimination. The historical process of discrimination has woven a very subtle web, indeed, in our society, so subtle that its effects continue even after the intent to discriminate has vanished. Without the possession of skills, training and technical education, therecan be but little, if any, opportunity, even when and where there is no blight of race bias. Thus, the likelihood is that the albatross of racial discrimination shall have long flown away, ere negroes come into the possession of skills and training requisite to participation in the process of the production of goods and services with the tools, processes and materials of the revolution of automation.

According to the National Urban League, there is simply not enough talent available in certain areas of industry and business, to take advantage of

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the new job opportunities, that the work of the President's Committee, the State and Local FEPC units and other forces are opening up. But while equal opportunity does naturally follow, while it does follow the disappearance of race bias, it is also evident that equality of opportunity is impossible where, as and when, racial discrimination exists. This is why there is no alternative to the negro's fight for first-class citizenship and human dignity to the fight to abolish all forms of race bias. The evil operation of slavery and segregation, performed upon the skilled work capabilities of negroes, over a period of a quarter of a thousand years, has set them back of their white brothers over a century.

The curse of color-cast culture to black workers is written in the stark and forbidding realities of the highest rate of joblessness of any segment of the work force of the country, Yet, not only is the American public not actively responsive to this fact, but even negro workers and the negro community are not adequately informed, awakened and aroused to move to change this situation.

Thus, since the American conscience accepted and accommodated itself to the monstrous system of slavery, and segregation for centuries, and

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only awakened under the impact of the crisis of slavery votes of the Civil War, the Court Action, to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the negro uprisings in the South, under the Leadership of the Reverend Martin Luther King there, the student movements, in the form of boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rights, prayer pilgrimage and vigils and the demands of black tradeunionists for equality in the house of labor, it is clear that the conscience of the country will only frown upon social and racial wrongs today, under pressure and continuous progress. In our American free society, a multitude of questions involving social, labor and racial justice bob up ever and anon. The question which ultimately becomes an issue in the social conscience is that which some organized group makes an issue.

Verily, social and racial change does not come automatically, in fact there is social retrogression, as well as social progression. It is either one or the other, at any given time in the life of a people, when the people choose the part, and make social change progressive, or permit it to retrogress. Where there is long, entrenched, institutionalized racial inequities, the only remedy consists in making the struggle against color injustice a burning issue.

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This requires the use of protest, public demonstrations, mass uprisings, such as mass marches, picketing, boycotts, and various forms of sitins and non-violent direct action.

Thus it is the task of the Negro American Labor Council to make the disadvantages of marginal racial job opportunities an issue of compelling challenge in the house of labor, and in the national community, while maintaining a sound trade union posture; because the membership of NALC is in the house of labor and the negro community, it holds a strategic dual position for creating a creative climate for construction co-operation between the labor community and the negro community to advance civil rights and labor's rights. This requires that NALC maintain two positions:

1. Uncompromising committment to the abolition of race bias in the house of labor, and 2, uncompromised committment to the support of free, democratic trade unionism, Charges of racial discrimination by the NAACP against ILGWU have provoked countercharges and refutations from ILGWU against the NAACP. The investigation of the Internaltional Ladies Garment Workers' Union by Congressman Powell's Committee on Education and Labor was the occasion of angry outbursts of denunciation between leaders of these two organizations,

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which have been followed by bitter propaganda campaigns and recriminations against each other throughout the country.

I greatly deplore this conflict between these two outstanding, influential and important movements in the life of New York City, in particular, and the country in general, because they are fighting for the same basic objective, namely, civil rights, and labor's rights. Being aware of this pro civil rights record of ILGWU, when the union's leader, David Dubinsky asked me, at the Chicago meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, did I consider that he and the ILGWU were anti-negro, I promptly replied "No".

I reaffirmed that position. I wrote him a letter to that effect. I also wrote him that while I didn't consider him or the ILGWU anti-negro, I didn't mean by this that ILGWU was free from some forms of racial discrimination. (Applause) In fact, it would be difficult to find a labor union, or any institution or movement, including the church, government or business, which is controlled by white people in this country, which is free from race bias. (Applause) There are evidently some forms of race bias in every department of the government, under President Kennedy's administration, but there is hardly a fair-minded person who would claim

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that the Kennedy administration is anti-negro, but if you ask me to point to an anti-negro government, I would name the Southern states. These governments deliberately seek, administratively and legislatively, to block the progress of the negro and to keep him down as second class citizens.

If you ask me to point to a union, a union which I consider to be anti-negro, I would indicate the Big Four Railroad Brotherhood, three of whom exclude negro firemen from membership, and one, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, was only forced to admit negroes under the threat of expulsion from the AFL-CIO as a result of a resolution placed before the 1959 San Francisco Convention, bythe delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at that time.

I would place Local 26, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in the category of being anti-negro, but not the International Union, one of whose local unions, Local 3, of New York City, whose business manager is Harry Von Arsdale, has taken the leadership, and done a fine job in providing for the participation of negroes and Peurto Ricans in an extensive apprenticeship program on a meaningful scale.

I would also point to a number of national

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and international unions in the building trades, and a number of racially biased local unions of practically all of the national and international unions, but I would not include the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, with 100,000 negro and Puerto Rican members, in this category, although it is not wholly free from the sins of omission and commission involving race bias. It should, I think, do well to give serious consideration to the charges of racial discrimination made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (Applause)

And may I add that I have no reason to believe that the denial of these charges by ILGWU are not made in good faith, and they deserve the serious examination and consideration of the NAACP. In view of the fact that two perfectly responsible national organizations, with leaders of unquestioned ability, integrity and dedication to thecause of civil rights and labor's rights, are engaged in a propaganda cold war, which is certain to be harmful, not only to them, but to the cause of interracial trade union brotherhood, civil rights and labor's rights, I want to suggest and recommend that Roy Wilkens of the NAACP and David Dubinsky of ILGWU, who appear to be in sharp disagreement, with respect to certain questions of fact, as w ell as

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opinion, sit down together at an early date, and discuss this dispute with a spirit of reason and good will. (Applause) - With the willingness to admit the validity of charges, where there is obvious vulnerability on the part of the union, and also to retreat from unfactual charges, and a non-rational position. But, if their personality clashes may render this procedure undesirable, I strongly advise that these two distinguished leaders accept the arbitration of the dispute by a committee of three, or five, eminent citizens of recognized good will, for the good of civil rights and labor's rights. Persons of the stature of Dr. C. B. Powell, of the New York Amsterdam News, Dr. Carman, of Columbia University, Dr. Gallagher, of the City College of New York, Theodore Keel, of New York City. Otherwise, this racial labor conflict may serve to widen the gap between the negro community and the labor community.

Apparently, unfortunately, all forms of contact and communication between these two organizations have closed, and a hostile confrontation is now the modus operandi. Needless to say, this psychological warfare is both unnecessary and disastrous and must promptly end, and a creative, constructive process of friendly dialogue, on a basis of consensus established in the interest of cooperation in achieving complete

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first class citizenship of negro and Peurto Rican workers in the industry and the union, and the maintenance of the power and integrity of the union.

We in NALC are deeply concerned about this racial-labor dispute. We have two interests, civil rights and labor's rights. We know it can, and must and will be resolved. This will come because the NAACP has the leadership of Roy Wilkens, an able and resourceful statesman of civil rights, and ILGWU has been piloted by David Dubinsky, and able and resourceful statesman of labor . Moreover, one basic lesson of the philosophy of history is the fact that one side of a dispute may be wrong does not make the other side right. It just doesn't seem to be a mark of wisdom for two groups that are fighting for freedom for themselves to be fighting each other. I am greatly disturbed and distressed that the ineptitude of procedure, the rationality of action and unprincipled position of the New York City local chapter of NALC took on the Congressional investigation of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. The New York Chapter, at one of its meetings, without a careful examination and evaluation of all the factors involved in this question, and with a flare of vast arrogance and self-righteous, went on record to help out out a leaflet to help round up negro and

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Puerto Rican workers to appear at the hearings of the Congressional Committee, to become informers against their own union.

May I vouchsafe to the delegates and officials of this NALC Convention that when I read the leaflet, I was deeply shocked and grieved that a chapter of NALC, composed of negro trade unionists, could betray not only the principles of the Negro American Labor Council, but the revolutionary ideals and aspirations of the working class of the world, their unions, labor unions, their only voice and instrumentality of struggle against oppression, exploitation and tyranny, by taking a course of action which tends to break the faith and common purpose in their own union as a weapon of combat. (Applause)

It is not the function of NALC to become the ally of any Congressional Committee of politicians, to help to train its guns of investigation through harassment and persecution, against any union, of our fellow workers, brothers and sisters. It is a gross violation of the basic trade union morality, and cheap, shoddy, dishonorable business for NALC to become a busybody among the members of ILGWU, or of any union, in an attempt to create dissention in the ranks, to the embarrassment of the union.

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NALC leaders and members must understand that reform, or revolution for change in a labor union, a people or government, or any other institution, must come from within. (Applause) It cannot be imposed from without. This does not mean that unions that practice race bias should not be attacked, exposed and condemned. In fact, pressure and criticism from without will help wake up the workers from within.

Thus, we need to learn the fundamental lesson of organized labor, and precisely within the framework of reference of this situation, namely, that a union, and the union alone, is the voice of its members. Members of the union elect, select and pay the leaders to express the philosophy, principles and program of labor. But while the NAACP cannot serve as the voice of the garment workers, it has the right, responsibility and obligation as the voice of all negroes in the United States of America, to expose, condemn and fight to eliminate race bias wherever it may find it. Therefore, in the terms of this problem, the ILGWU and the ILGWU alone, is the voice of the garment workers, and David Dubinsky is the spokesman. NALC cannot serve as the voice of the garment workers. We do not pretend to serve as the voice of the garment workers.

Not even the AFL-CIO can serve as the

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voice of the garment workers, and certainly no Congressional Committee, even without partisan political motivation can serve as the voice of any group of workers, and let me add that I do not regard Congressman Powell's Committee on Education and Labor as being anti-labor. Its record is pro-labor, and the hearings including union and management and the workers have been fruitful.

But, history shows with a plentitude of evidence, that the fortunes and future of the trade unions and industrial unions must not be placed in the hands of any Congressional Committee in quest of deliverance from exploitation and injustice, however apparently good its intentions may be. There must be no illusions about this, although some Congressional investigations have been useful.

Obviously, the aforementioned course of action of our New York Chapter is only calculated to isolate the Negro American Labor Council from the organized labor movement, since there is not one single bona fide union in the United States, or for that matter, in the world, which would not condemn the alliance of a labor organization with any Congressional Committee. Moreover, no unprejudiced trade unionist has any conception of what it takes to build a un ion, who will

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gunsay that it is one of hard and difficult living. There is no doubt about the fact that all the bestial labor bias has not been driven from the labor union management of the garment jungle, or that ILGWU has not done all it should and could have done to achieve racial equality in the union, and on the job, and in the factories.

The broadside by Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the NAACP shook up ILGWU and its leadership, and there was just enough fact in it to make trade unions aware of the fact that any and all practices of race bias are being relentlessly tracked down, which is certain to bear fruit. Though I am not always in accord with some of the methods, there is one thing one cannot doubt, and that is the attacks made by Herbert Hill, upon unions and industry, have done some unquestioned good, and that is they have served (Applause) notice upon all and sundry that race bias in all forms must go, for this I applaud him. (Applause)

Because Communists have been routed and thrown out of the labor movement, and have failed to sink any roots in the negro community and other minority groups, it was natural for them to look upon the rise of a mass movement like the Negro American Labor Council as the happy hunting grounds. Thus, in harmony with

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their behavior pattern, and international format, the Communists moved into local chapters of NALC to proceed to build beachheads of infiltration and domination of these chapters, and finally, the control of the policy of the National Council. The Newsletter, which the New York Chapter issued, in June, 1962, reflected a distinct Moscow orientation in an article entitled: "All African Trade Unions Federation." A pertinent section of the article begins as follows:

"The history of the trade union movement in Agrica has been a long and glorious one, that culminated in calling of the All African Union Federation. All of these countries who were formerly colonial masters over many of these African countries attempted, in every conceivable way, to sabotage the Federation. A major role was played by Irving Brown, the AFL-CIO representative, to wreck this Federation. We who have had a long, and sometimes bitter experience in the AFL-CIO can imagine what Mr. Brown had in mind.

The Africans were not taken in. They fought for and won a democratic and free trade union movement in spite of Irving Brown, and his European counterparts. It is quite interesting to note that among those that met secretly with Brown, and tried to destroy the unity of the African workers, was Tom O"Boyer,

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of Kenya. The move was for those members who are a part of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, largely controlled by the AFL-CIO leadership of the World Federation of Trade Unions, a federation of trade unions largely from the socialist and neutralist countries.

It would be noted that the blast against Tom O'Boyer, recently designed Secretary of Labor of the Government of Kenya, and former Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labor, parrots the Red line. The Red line seeks to discredit African labor leaders, like Tom O'Boyer, who maintain allegiance to the ICFTU, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which is committed to the policies of the free world, as against the Communist dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, which is committed to policies of labor slaves, since unions in the Soviet Union are organs of the state, and the workers have no right to strike. The Communist formula for the organization of African workers provides for either neutralist labor unions, or the development of Pan-African labor unionism. The natural trend of African workers, preferring however their acceptance on the leadership of the Communist dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. Any labor leader who refuses to follow this Marxist labor doctrine

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is marked for slander and libel, with the view to breaking the faith of the African laboring masses in this leadership, and of course any association of African labor leaders with the leadership of the AFL-CIO is utter blasphemy to the Communist gods.

Hence, the Newsletter was the calculated reflection of the Communist ideology on African labor, and in accordance with the dogma of Communist fundamentalism for agression against the so-called bourgeoise African leadership and the conquest of the minds of the innocent African masses. Needless to say, this sort of propaganda can only serve to turn organized labor, as well as the liberal community in the United States against the Negro American Labor Council. It is indeed a kiss of death.

In this same Newletter there appeared an article entitled "Stell Workers Sold Out", in which the following statement is made:

"The leadership of the United Steelworkers of America negotiated, and we use the word very loosely, a sell-out contract. This two year agreement does not provide for any money during the first year, but may be opened - re-opened on issues of wages, pensions, insurance and work practices in ninety days notice on May 1, 1963, or later." Aside from the fact

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that the members of the Editorial Board had not read the contract, which theyhad branded as a sell-out contract, their criticism revealed an utter lack of knowledge of labor contracts, since they condemned the steelworkers contract merely because it did not provide for a wage increase, although there are numberless union contracts, with management, that involve no wage raises. As a matter of fact, there are contracts in the railroad industry, national in scope,that contain provisions for moratoria on wage increases for a given period.

When I read this Newsletter, I promptly called in the members of the Editorial Board, and engaged them in a long discussion of the articles in question. I ordered the President of the New York Chapter to stop the issuance of any more Newsletters, until further notice, and that the Editorial Board be reorganized and further that the members of the Board not be assigned to any official activities of the Chapter. I also ordered that in the future, no Newsletter be permitted before submission to me for criticism.

After discussing these articles with them, it was apparent to me that the Board were prisoners of their own limited information about union agreements, and some absolutist dogma that criticism of any big AFL union, or an African leader outside the Casablanca

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bloc, under the cover of race bias, was evidence per se, of a fighting movement of revolutionary purity within the framework of which there is little, if any area of logical maneuverability.

I tried to show them that NALC does not derive from, or rest upon the syllogism that (1) race discrimination is bad; (2) all un ions are guilty of some discrimination; (3) all unions are bad. Under this logic, if we assumed that one is justified in not joining a union which has race bias in it, negro workers would not join any unions at all, and were we to carry this logical proposition to its extremity, negroes would wind up in joining few, if any movements in America or the world. And they would, conversely, get out of everything they are in, because race bias is in everything that white people have anything to do with.

But the policy of NALC is not to remain out of, or to refuse to join unions that are known to practice racial discrimination, but to remain in, and also to join biased unions, and fight to drive racial discrimination out of them, both from within and from without. (Applause)

Having had an extensive and fruitful experience with the machinations of some adroit Communists of the Old National Negro Congress, of which I

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President, a mass movement of the late 1930's, which I was compelled to torpedo in order to break the grip of the agents of the Kremlin upon that movement, and being familiar with the literature and the doctrine, I was not dismayed when Communists began infiltrating the chapters of NALC. Since the passing of the National Negro Congress, the Communists have had no where to go among Negroes, and when they are isolated from organized labor, and minorities that wage a continuous battle for labor's rights and civil rights, they are forced to fall back for association and adventure upon the FBI agents, who represent a large segment of the Communist Party and in order to be recognized as accepted and as undeviating faithful brethern of the Communist church, out-Communist the Communists in berating American capitalism and imperialism, thereby rising to some of the most trusted places of leadership in the party.

Hence, the appearance of the Newsletter, written by an editorial board of three members, while not startlingly surprising, was immensely distressing that some of our brothers had not yet discovered the difference between trade unions in a free democratic society and trade unions in a totalitarian fascist or communist society. Without a clear understanding of

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the simple fact that workers are slaves in a communist state, without the right to strike, and that workers are free in a democratic state, with the right to strike, NALC will be involved in endless confusion, chaos, and eventual collapse.

The Communist infiltration of the Buffalo chapter, for domination of the movement, was quite a natural phase of the behavior pattern of communist action. But so soon as I was alerted by John Costen, President of the Buffalo Chapter, who came to New York with copies of the Buffalo Evening News, which carried a series of articles on communism in the Buffalo Chapter, I promptly wired the officials to stop all activities of the Chapter until further notice.

I had Vice President Joseph Overton go to Buffalo, investigate the charges of Communist infiltration and domination, advising him to reorganize the Chapter, with a view to eliminating the red gentlemen. This was done. Subsequently, on account of a number of communications stressing the importance of an NALC Chapter in Buffalo, I went there and addressed an enthusiastic meeting, and made it clear that before I would tolerate any Communist activities in the Buffalo Chapter, we would wipe out the Buffalo Chapter entirely. It is the trend of any aggressive movement to seek and

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move into a vacuum for development and growth.

Thus, Communists took over the official positions of the Cleveland Chapter, and proceeded to make policy decisions concerning the position the Chapter should take on current national issues, on the ground that its autonomy gave it the right to take a position on certain issues, regardless of the National President. Some of their members and officials, as I recall, during the Presidential campaign, that is the one before the last one, kept my telephone hot with inquiries about various candidates they thought the Chapter should endorse. I repeatedly informed them, because of the bipartisan political composition of our movement, NALC, it was not the policy of NALC to endorse any candidate. Later, the President of the Chapter wrote me several letters, as well as telephoned me, that he felt NALC should sponsor the case of May Mallory. I told him emphatically that the Cleveland Chapter has no right to sponsor or back the case, in any way, and that such a decision, involving a matter of national significance, could only be made by the National President or the National Executive Board.

I also indicated to him that May Mallory had picketed NALC public meetings in New York City, but it had no effect on him, for he informed me the Chapter

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was going to sponsor the case anyway. Consequently, he wrote me trying to make a case for the Communists who had been exposed by a negro special investigator of the Un-American Activities Committee, on the grounds that the Committee was condemned by well-known liberals. I wrote him that although I was in favor of the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee, because of its invasion and disregard of constitutional civil liberties of citizens, this did not justify NALC refusing to look into charges against certain officials of the Chapter, for Communist history and connections.

Vice President Frank Evans wrote me concerning the Communist cell in the Cleveland Chapter, and I authorized him to use his own best judgment in handling the situation, with a view to wiping out the Communist menace in the Chapter. I want to commend Vice President Evans for moving with dispatch, and without compromise or appeasement of the Red forces.

But suppose NALC chapters had such unlimited autonomy as a few chapters have advocated, that the President lacked or should lack the power to keep them in line with NALC philosophy, principles, policies, programs and practices? Our movement would now lie in ruins, disgrace and dishonor, isolated from the bona fide labor movement of the country, smeared and

discredited with Communist infiltration and domination.

Now, while I would not be guilty of mouthing a witch-hunt, against Communists or Communism, or any other political sect, let me make it unmistakably clear that before I would permit the Negro American Labor Council to be used as a door through which Communists could enter to descend upon the black laboring masses so that they might brainwash them to advance the fortunes of Communist Russia, I would disestablish the Negro American Labor Council. (Enthusiastic applause)

Please, dear brothers and sisters, let me assure you that Communism is not thewave of the future, it is not the Messiah of the working class of the world. The Russian Soviet Union, which has become a "have" nation, and has lost its proletarian evangelism is much more concerned, as a highly centralized Bureaucratic form of Communist industrial for state power and profit in its national interests than it is in the ideological liberation of the workers, in or outside the U.S.S.R., although it seeks to delude the workers, especially in Africa and Asia, into believing it is the fatherland of labor.

First of all, let it be understood that NALC is not a trade union. It is a labor organization committed to fighting for the equality of civil rights

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for black workers in the house of labor and also to the philosophy of free democratic trade unionism. Therefore, it negotiates no contracts concerning rates of pay, or rules governing working conditions, nor does it seek to adjust grievances or claims. Nor is NALC a civil rights movement, although it supports civil rights movements like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Non-Violent Student Movement, as well as other bona fide civil rights organizations.

Therefore, we initiate and conduct no sit-ins, wait-ins, stand-ins, freedom rides, boycotts or picket lines, but we support them, that are bona fide. NALC, like other movements cannot do everything and shouldn't try. We are a specialized movement, with the clear objective, namely the abolition of race bias against black workers in the unions, industry and government. It is a big enough task for any one movement. In very truth, it is big enough and difficult enough to engage the interest and concern of every negro, labor and liberal movement in the country, if we hope to win our goal in a time for us, so that the winning of this goal will be meaningful to the black laboring masses of the nation.

Moreover, NALC is not equipped either with

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the requisite training, personnel and experience, to enter into the civil rights field, nor is it equipped with the requisite training, personnel and experience to negotiate or evalutate contracts. This is the function of a trade union. We are only concerned with inquiring into the nature of a contract of a union when it involves race bias. NALC is non-partisan, but nont non-political. It is primarily controlled and con-cerned about increasing registration among negro workers, and the use of political action to secure executive and legislative measures for labor's rights and civil rights.

NALC is not anit-white, but it is pro-negro. NALC is not anti-AFL-CIO, or any other bona fide trade union. It is pro-AFL-CIO. It is pro any other bona fide trade union. The complete abolition of race bias in trade unions and industry is our major objective. Integration of negro trade unionists in the policy-making bodies of unions, local, national and international, city central labor councils and state AFL-CIO Federations.

We seek integration of negroes into the staff structure of unions, desegregation of Southern City Central Bodies of bodies of State Federations of the AFL-CIO. We seek the establishment of civil rights

committees in national and international unions, and Central Labor Councils and the State AFL-CIO Federations. We seek the negotiation of non-discriminatory clauses in union contracts, the abolition of Jim Crow local labor unions, the elimination of exclusionary membership clauses, based upon race or color, or by tacit consent.

Now our methods are: Reorganization of AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committees, which has been effected by the appointment of William Smitzler as Secretary-Treasurer, as Chairman, with a number of new members, including a negro vice presidentof the Hod Carriers' Building Laborers' Union, and the president of the Transport Workers' Union.

We also seek the reorganization of the Civil Rights Department, which is long overdue, since it is the agency for the implementation of the 1961 Miami Beach Convention resolutions for the elimination of race bias in the house of labor. We also seek the reorganization of the department from the top, including the Director, Boris Schiskin (Applause). The Civil Rights program of the AFL-CIO will not move ahead until Brother Boris Schiskin is replaced, by a more vigorous and aggressive director.(Applause)

NALC therefor recommends that a new Director of the Department of Civil Rights be selected and appointed

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at an early date. We recommend that the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, or Civil Rights Department, hold periodic regional or national civil rights conferences, to evalute and assess methods, strategies, and tactics and techniques for the advancement of the civil rights cause in the house of labor.

I recommend that the programs of the Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO, and of civil rights movements for voter registration, especially in the South, be coordinated. I propose that a nationwide legislative program for the enactment of a Federal FEPC be developed. We propose that NALC develop with the cooperation of civil rights movements and labor unions job rights marches on city hall, state capitals, and if need by, on the nation's Capitol, to awaken and stir the conscience of the country concerning the social misery, the economic wretchedness of the negro masses in this 20th Century, and a hundred years after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln.

I propose that all Newsletters of the local chapters be discontinued, and that a National Newsletter be issued monthly, edited by the President, the details of which will be worked out by the National Board. I propose that NALC chapters not engage in

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the picketing of any bona fide trade union, without prior authorization from the National President. One over-enthusiastic group of misguided brothers from Chicago, in seeking, I am told, to get certain concessions from the Building Laborers' International Union, made the blunder of picketing the headquarters of the AFL-CIO in Washington, D.C. this past summer. I propose that the local chapters of NALC seek to establish some practical, cooperative working relationships with the City Central Labor bodies in the state AFL-CIO federations, and the national and international unions, with a view to developing participation of negro youth in broad apprenticeship training programs, comparable to the plan set up under the splendid leadership of Van Arsdale, of local #3.

I propose that the National President of NALC be empowered to employ a full-time Director, when the finances warrant same. I propose that no NALC Chapter be authorized to sponsor or endorse any civil rights case, unless it sponsored by the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, or some other bona fide civil rights movement. (Applause)

NALC is the only area of dialogue, though quite inadequate, between negro and white trade

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unionists, upon the basis of equality in the country today. While a negro staff person in a union may indeed have dialogue with his superiors, it is not employer-employee sort of thing., it is an employer-employee sort of thing, which is hardly the same as when negro and white trade unionists have dialogue upon a basis of equality. But in order for negro and white trade unionists to have fruitful dialogue, there must be an area of consensus. That could thus be 1) common committment to free democratic trade unionism; 2) committment to a democratic form of society within the framework of which alone, can free democratic trade unionism survive; 3) opposition to the Communist or fascist totalitarian form of society, under which the trade union is an organ of the state, without the right to bargain collectively on the basis of equality with management, and without the right to strike; 4) committment to civil rights, which is an attribute of a free and independent citizen; 5) committment to the spiritual and moral values of the Judeo-Christian tradition that emphasize the worth of every human being, and the sacredness of the dignity of the human personality; 6) committment to first-class citizenship in the house of labor of all workers, regardless of race, religion, national origin or ancestry; 7) committment to the principle that any worker, white or

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black, Jew or gentile, Protestant or Catholic, to equality of opportunity to learn in order to earn; 8) committment to union and ethnic democracy. Brothers and sisters, if we fight and move forward, and faint not, we shall win. Thank you very much. (Applause)

Thank you delegates and friends. We have the privilege and honor of presenting to this convention one of the noted leaders of labor in the New York Community, and the country at large, Brother Max Greenberg. He is the president of one of our largest national unions, and we are honored and delighted and happy that he has found it convenient to come to address this convention at this time. I hope you will receive him in the spirit of our modern, free, democratic trade union movement, by showing your signs and evidence of class solidarity. All of us, rise and receive, Brother Max Greenberg. (Applause)

MR. MAX GREENBERG, President R.W.D.S.U. AFL-CIO: Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters. It is indeed an honor and privilege to address this great convention of the Negro American Labor Council. I feel that inviting me, you are honoring the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, which I am privileged to serve as president. I am especially proud that your convention chairman, and your convention Secretary

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are both leaders of our union, and that a number of our affiliates, including such important unions as District #65, Local 1199, Local 338, are actively involved in the work of the Negro American Labor Council. (Applause)

It is fitting and it is proper that these local unions and others as well in the R.W.D.S.U. should support the work of your organization. Our union has long been aware thof the problems of civil rights and equal opportunity in America. This was expressed as long ago as 1937, when our International Union was founded and its constitution was drafted. That constitution then included and still includes these words:

"No worker, otherwise elegible for membership in any local union, shall be discriminated against or denied membership by reason of race, national origin, or religious affiliation." (Applause)

On a broader front, our international union has participated in every effort of the labor movement to guarantee full opportunity, not only in the areas we are immediately concerned with, such as wages, working conditions, security on the job and promotion opportunity, but also in the broader fields of political and social equality. We have joined in the efforts to implementation of the Supreme Court decision outlawing

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segregation in the public schools, and we are against school segregation in the North as well as in the South. We are against segregation imposed by local school boards, as well as by state law.

Similarly, we have fought side by side with such organizations as the NAACP, CORE, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference against poll taxes, against segregation in lunchrooms and other public facilities, including retail stores, and we have worked side by side with these forces within the labor movement, which are seeking to end all forms of segregation and discrimination against negroes and other minority groups.

At the last convention of the AFL-CIO the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, joined with other organizations in efforts to clean our own house of the last vestiges of racism. We supported, and we will continue to support the great leader in the struggle for first class citizenship for all Americans, A. Philip Randolph. (Applause)

We supported, and we will continue to support, the principle of equal opportunity within the labor movement; equal opportunity in hiring, equal opportunity in apprentice training, equal opportunity for promotion and advancement on the job, and equal

opportunity for leadership in our own ranks. (Applause) I am proud to report to you that my union practices what it preaches, that we have negro leaders on every level of leadership in our international union, on our Executive Board, on our General Council and in our local unions.

We have only one yardstick for leadership, and the same yardstick is applied equally to all members. It is a measure of experience, ability and dedication to our union. At the same time, we recognize that people who have been subjected to exploitation throughout their lifetime; people who suffer discrimination in so many areas of their lives, people who have learned the facts of racial segregation and discrimination through bitter experience, these people need special encouragement in achieving their potential as leaders.

As a union concerned with organizing the vast numbers of unorganized workers in our jurisdiction, we intend to make full use of the talents and ability of every one of our members, because we recognize that this is the only way we can achieve our goal.

I have discussed our union's position on these matters not because I think we deserve any special commendation. We take the position we do first and foremost because it is morally right. (Applause)

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We believe in equality, and it is a shame and a disgrace that one hundred years after theEmancipation Proclamation, there are still so many areas of inequality, discrimination and segregation in our country. Our job, yours and mine, is far from done. In fact, it is only beginning. Just as the enrollment of James Meredith at the University of Mississippi is merely a first step in the long struggle toward desegregation of our schools and colleges everywhere in the country, so the progress we have made in the labor movement thus far is only a tiny beginning.

I believe that the fight against racial discrimination in our country will take on more intensity in the months and years ahead. The fight will go on, and I know that the Negro American Labor Council will be in the forefront of that fight. I believe a focal point of the struggle for equality in America will be waged on the economic front.

During the past three and a half years, we, in my own union, have experienced an important phase of that struggle in our campaign to win first-class citizenship for the hospital workers in New York, ninety percent of whom are negro and Pourto Rican. The efforts of the hospital workers to organize and to win decent wages and working conditions have served

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many purposes. The hospital workers' struggle has brought together the negro and Peurto Rican community in their first joint efforts for goals that they both share, and this unity holds great promise for the future.

Perhaps most important of all, the struggle for hospital workers to organize has put the spotlight on one of the pockets of poverty that are a blot on our nation, and it has made clear how all too many of these pockets of poverty are filled by negro and Peurto Rican workers.

Yes, I believe the economic struggle is the decisive one in the fight for equality. The effort to open our public schools and universities to all students, without regard to race or color, is an urgent one. So is the task of opening public recreation facilities, restaurants, hotels and the like, but all these efforts, commendable as they are, will prove meaningless unless the negro, the Peurto Rican and every other American has equal opportunity for jobs, for promotion and upgrading, for the professions, for goverament service, and in fact, for every type of career. (Applause)

I don't know how many of you saw a feature article in the New York Times Sunday Magazine

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Section some months ago. It dealt with the graduating class of a negro high school in North Carolina, one of the separate but equal schools, that white supremacists in the South point to which such pride. But what happened to the graduates of just a few years ago? The top student in the class, the girl who was valedictorian in the graduating class, was working as a maid for a white family in town. The top student among the boys in the class was working as a truck driver, not in North Carolina. He is working in the North. Of all the students, only a handful could hope for jobs that made at least some use of their intelligence and education.

Perhaps a few of them are in Federal Civil Service, which at least offers some opportunity to qualified negro youngsters, although we have plenty of evidence that higher classifications in Federal service are closed to negroes in the South. The same deadend of economic opportunity was evident in the recent television program which you may have seen. This program dealt with the all-negro town of Mount Bayou in Mississippi.

This 75 year old town has 4,500 people. It has a negro mayor, a negro police force, a negro school board, and a negro businessmen class, but it is

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a dying town. The children who live in this rural ghetto do not experience Jim Crow discrimination in their own town, but at the same time, they can't make a living in that town. So every year, a good part of the population goes out to work on the nearby cotton plantations, and the farms. They work ten hours, for which they get $2.50 and $2.75. It is small wonder that the average income of Mississippians is not only the lowest in the country, but if you separate the negro income from the white income in Mississippi, you will find that the negro must get along on about half of the little bit that the white earn each year.

The experiences of the people of Mount Bayou, and of graduates of Jim Crow schools in the South proves that there can be no such thing as separate but equal. The very act of segregating people by race, or by creed or by nationality tends to set one against and produces an exploited group. As a Jew, I have experienced discrimination during my own lifetime, and yet I know that at its worst, anti-Semitism in the United States has never been such a source of discrimination, and exploitation and downright misery as negroes in America have suffered.

And yet, there are similarities, and parallels, and I think, lessons, that can be learned

from the experiences of the Jew's fight against anti-Semitism. The emancipation of the Jews in Europe dates from September 28, 1791. The birthplace was Paris, and the setting is the French Revolution. It was on that day that the Jews of France became citizens of the newly created Republic of France. The emancipation of the Jews came not at the beginning of the French Revolution, but two years later, after a bitter and prolonged debate in the National Assembly.

Then, some twenty years later, the emancipation of the Jews spread into Western Europe, and in 1812, the Prussian Act of Emancipation was adopted. An interesting debate ensued, recorded in the following remarks of the Speaker for the liberal wing of the Upper Chamber. He said:

"In spite of our desire to exercise the most liberal tolerance, we must be sure that it is done step by step. The government submits a law which would extend civil rights for Jews. The government has appealed to us to adopt its recommendation, and refers to the morality involved. But at the same time, it admonishes us to be cautious, and counsels us that admission of the Jews to greater civil rights be gradual."

And so, we find the Jews in Europe being

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urged not to be impatient. They would be integrated gradually. And some 120 years later, an Austrian housepainter decided he knew how to solve the Jewish problem, by elimination.

History is repeating itself. The so-called Southern moderates are today urging the same gradual extension of civil rights for negroes. I tell you that history teaches us that there is no such thing as a gradual granting of civil rights. (Applause)

Equality must come now, not tomorrow, not next month, not next year, but today. (Applause) Time is running out. I warn you, that if this country delays in granting equality to everyone, then some house painter may arise, yes, in this country, with a solution to the negro problem. It won't be the solution you and I seek.

The time has come for every American to enjoy every opportunity available to all Americans. This means the right to live where one pleases, the right to work at any job one is capable of doing, the right of all the kids in America to a full edustion in any school in America, the right of every American to aspire to high office in the community, in industry, in the labor movement and in the nation. It seems to me that there must be two basic elements in all of our struggles against

discrimination, if we are to succeed. One is to develop in the exploited group the leadership and determination to do something effective about its own plight, and secondly, to unite with other like-minded groups in a common struggle for the objectives they share.

The last few years, particularly, have seen both these developments within the negro community, in the birth of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, under the magnificent leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King (Applause) and the establishment of the Negro American Labor Council, under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph (applause) and the growth of such organizations as CORE. The Negro Community of American has demonstrated its strength and its dedication, and in associating their efforts with those of the labor movement, and other progressive elements in our society, these organizations have demonstrated their responsibility and their maturity.

For my own part, I welcome this occasion to wish you well, and to pledge to you that in your efforts to wipe out every vestige of discrimation, my own union will stand shoulder to shoulder with you, all of our members, white as well as negro, Jew as well as gentile, will fight together to erase the ugly blot that has defaced our nation for all to many years.

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(Applause)

Our struggle will not be an easy one. There will be may obstacles and setbacks that we must overcome, but they will be overcome. Some day, surely, we will see translated into reality the words of a song that mahy of us learned in our early school days:

"America, America, God shed His Grace on thee,

And crown thy good with brotherhood, from sea to shining sea."

Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: I want to express on your behalf, as well as mine personally, a very great appreciation for that very fine, stirring and effective address to this convention. I want to assure Brother Greenberg that we are not unaware of the very fine tradition of his organization. We are familiar with some of the fine spirits of that organization. Brother Cleveland Robinson is one of our able, resourceful and dedicated trade unionists and champion of civil rights. He is a part of Brother Greenberg's organization. (Applause)

We are looking forward with great pleasure to listening to the address from Brother David Livingston, President of District 65, tomorrow, and this convention, I am sure, will be highly edified and

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also moved by his brilliant presentation of the case of labor.

Now, let me appoint some Committees. One is the Committee on Credentials, the Chairman of which is Brother Parrish, Richard Parrish. I hope that Brother Richard Parrish will get together, and be able to make a partial report when we assemble in a Plenary Session this afternoon before the Workshops and the Committees start their work.

Thank you Brother Greenberg. We understand that you have to leave now. Let's give him a rousing hand. (Applause)

I want to appoint Brother Thomas Stark as the Chairman of the Rules Committee, and Brother Cleveland Robinson as the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions and Constitution. We also have Brother Croughter as the Chairman of the Auditing Committee.

Now, these Chairmen should announce, as soon as they can, where they want to meet, and I will supply them with some names on the committee of which they are the chairmen.

Now, tomorrow, Walter Reuther will address the convention at eleven a.m. I hope that we will be on hand to listen to a great labor statesman, and tonight, we will be favored and honored with an

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address by George Meany, President of AFL-CIO, which is the most powerful labor national center in the world. As our program is to win certain objectives, through certain methods, our basic method is winning the fight from within the labor movement. (Applause) That is our basic method, and of course, other methods are necessary, and are useful, but this is the only method we can employ, because we are in the labor movement, and we have the responsibility to carry on this fight in it.

Now, tomorrow night, at the Williams Institutional Church, Seventh Avenue, 131st and 132nd Sts., we will have Negro Labor on the March, a Job Crisis giant rally, and the speakers will be Reverend Ralph Abernathy, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, M.B. Webster, First International Vice President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and may I say that Brother Webster will have something to say about the Fair Employment Practice Commission set up by Franklin Delano Roosevelt. That was the first Fair Employment Practice Body which was ever established in this country. Webster was a member of that body from beginning to end, and he knows more about the actual operation of such an agency than anybody else I know. Dorothy Height, President of National Council of

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Negro Women; James Palmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality; and Cleveland Robinson is the Chairman, who is the Secretary-Treasurer of District #65, who will preside at that meeting.

Now, tomorrow, we will also have Brother Harry Van Arsdale, who is leading the discussion of the workshop on Apprenticeship Training. This Convention is going to have a structure of just one Committee, that is - well two Committees, the Committee on Auditing and these other House Furnishing Committees, but there is Credentials, and Rules and so forth, but the real work of the Convention is going to be done in the workshops, and Willoughby Abner is the Coordinator of the Workshop on Apprenticeship Training. Boyd Wilson is the Co-ordinator of the Workshop on Unemployment. Horace Sheffield is the Chairman of the Workshop on NALC and the Negro Community. Joe Beavers is the Coordinator of the Workshop on Discrimination in Government and Industry. I am also appointing Brother Joe Beavers as the Parliamentarian fr the Convention. He is an old fraternal society operator, and you know, nobody anywhere in the country can tie anybody up who has had experience in the fraternal societies. They are experts, and so we are going to have him.

We are having also a Workshop on Equal Pay for Equal Work, and the Specialized Problems

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of Negro Women, and Vice President Lola B. Holmes, is the Coordinator of that Committee.

So now, tonight also, the Reverend George Lawrence, of the Antioch Baptist Church, will give the invocation at the banquet, which will be held in the Americana Hotel. We will have a little get-together just before the banquet begins, but the banquet will begin around seven o'clock, and I hope to see all of you there, everybody here, and bring some others. We want the place packed, and I think it will be.

Now, Brother Overton, the Secretary of the Convention, have you any announcements that you would like to make?

BROTHER OVERTON: Mr. President, I would like to make the following announcements - the location of the various workshops.

The Workshop on Apprenticeship Training, Bill Abner, will be in the Crystal Room

Boyd Wilson, on Unemployment, the Red Room. All of these places are located on the Mezzanine Floor.

Horace Sheffield, on the Program of the NALC, local and national, will be held in the East Room.

Joseph Beavers, his workshop will take place, on Discrimination in Government and Labor,

will take place, in the Blue Room, and it will also be divided into an area for the Workshop which Lola Bell Holmes is operating on Equal Pay for Equal Work.

The members of the panels for these shops have been notified already to go to these various areas. Delegates to the convention interested in any of these programs can also move in that area, starting at two o'clock.

The National Board Meeting will be held at one-thirty, in the Gold Room, on the Mezzanine Floor.

MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: I understand that I am supposed to have a little conference with some of the members of the press, after we adjourn, but I imagine that will be brief.

Well, there being no further business before the convention at this time, we are now considered adjourned.

(The session adjourned at 12:00 p.m.)

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A Workshop Session, the Workshop on Unemployment, of the Third Annual Negro American Labor Council Convention, convened at 2:00 p.m. in the Red Room, Sheraton Atlantic Hotel, 34th Street and Broadway, New York, New York, on November 9, 1962, Mr. Boyd Wilson presiding as Coordinator.

SPEAKER FROM THE PANEL: Mr. Wilson, who is listed as the Coordinator, is continuing to form opinions about me, because he seems to know me better than anybody else. My name is Furjear, P U R Y E A R, and I am Associate Director for the National Urban League. I have for that agency the responsibility for coordinating the program on employment problems and employment. It was formerly called Industrial Relations, but now we think the new title is more indicative of what we really do.

I want to introduce to you, Mr. Adolph Holmes, who is Assistant Director on that problem. To my right, is Mr. Hobart Taylor, who is Executive Vice Chairman of the President's Committee.

We had somewhere in this hotel a box of material which relates to this subject, thinking that you might want to take something home with you. You can look at it later. There is a pamphlet on Automation, which was prepared by the President's Committee

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on Labor-Management Policies. There is an address made by Louis Vine, who is Director of the United States Employment Service. This particular speech deals with the Federal Government's responsibility and new interest in the Employment Service program that is operating around the country. More important, there is a specific section which deals with the kinds of changes that must take place in reference to the kinds of services that are available for minority citizens.

The subject of this panel is Unemployment, and I guess I couldn't introduce it to you in a more dramatic way than to say, if you are realistic and really want to look at thepicture of unemployment as it relates to negroes, think of it as a group of people which comprises approximately eleven percent of the total population, but in terms of unemployment, it is a group which represents almost twenty-five percent of the total unemployed.

In some cities, like Detroit, the percentage can run as high as sixty-seven percent of all the people unemployed. In Chicago, it can run as high as thirty-seven percent. In other cities, it can run from five, which is slightly below the national level to figures which exceed the national level. The reason I say it can, when you look at these people,

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who for whatever reason you can say, are counted as unemployed, these figures ought to have particular meaning for individuals working in that labor market.

Even more important than knowing how many people are unemployed, I think for our purposes here, we have to give some attention to the reasons for this unemployment. The standard reasons of course, and the ones that most people like to jump off on, is discrimination. I can't justifiably say this, because I don't have the facts to support it. My concern has that to do with the unemployment, has to do with the under-employment, which is the lack of an opportunity to use the higher skills. This large group of negroes, who for no reason of their own, having been born and reared in communities which have not provided them with opportunities for education, and for work experience of the sort we need for today's role of technology, I have a much greater concern for these people than I may have for the group that hollers "discrimination", because, I think Mr. Taylor will attest to the fact that there are some jobs around that cannot be filled because there are not people with the skills and qualifications required to do specific jobs.

But it would almost break your heart, though, when you see the figures in unemployment, and

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note the large number of negroes who will never go back into the labor market, because they lack what we refer to as a "basic skill in education". They actually are not retrainable. And this is pitiful. A man, thirty-two years old, in 1962, who has so little education that the only thing you can train him for is a job which is fast-leaving the labor market. Some people call it automation. I think automation is a high-class name. A lot of what is happening isn't necessarily automation. It is a greater use of the machines we already had. We have even moved to the place now, where the janitor in this hotel must be able to read to be able to tell the difference between the wax he uses on asphalt tile and the wax he uses on wood, because wood wax will melt asphalt tile. You see, thirty years ago, this was no problem. You had but one wax.

In addition, no matter how much work a government agency can do, no matter how much work the National Urban League and its sixty-three affiliates across the country may be doing, as it works with local agencies, local groups, whether they be labor, ministry, education, or what not, no matter how much work is done, there is this broad group in the unemployed group, for which little or nothing can be done under present circumstances, and I would like you to turn that group over

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in your mind while Mr. Taylor makes a statement or two, and I have here somewhere one or two suggestions I would like to make, concered with what you might do when you get back home, not only as representatives of this convention, but as citizens of the communities in which you live.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Well, Mr. Coordinator, Mr. Puryear, ladies and gentlemen. I have been introduced by Mr. Puryear. I am an assistant to the Vice President, and I am also Executive Vice Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment Opportunities. I am a Detroit lawyer, on leave from a law firm. I hope to get back there pretty soon, like Mr. Nixon, but I hope I don't suffer Mr. Nixon's fate all the way. (Laughter) It would be sort of rough to follow in his footsteps.

The - Mr. Puryear has outlined for you, about as well as anybody can, the nature and scope of the problem, and so the things which I would ordinarily start with, I don't have to say. I could give you some more statistics, for instance, showing that the average median wage of a white man is about twice that of a negro - $4,000.00 against $2,000.00, and that the same type of relationship exists with a white woman, somewhere around $3,000.00 for her, and around $1,000.00

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for a colored woman. It is even worse now, and I could ask you how much does it cost, in modern America, if you were going to live in whatever home, take care of a couple of kids, have a car to get back and forth to work, insurance policy, maybe something for her to pick up the groceries in, and keep it insured, and something on your life, and buy clothes for the kids, and live the same kind of life that so many white people are living in so many suburban communities that you see all around you, and that you don't see any negroes in.

I think you have got to come out. If you said: "If you conserve, and if you are careful, and if you are really going to have a nice home life, belong to the local club, take a vacation to Yellowstone Park once a year, with camping equipment, you are going to have to make close to $10,000.00." I say, all right, that is very fine.

Now, we take the Federal Government. This is the big employer of negroes. They employ more negroes percentage-wise than there are negroes in America. Negroes are ten percent of America; they are almost twelve percent of the Federal payroll, but when you start talking about this sort of thing that I just mentioned to you, you are talking about a fraction of one percent in the Federal Government. You are talking about

ten percent, or twelve percent, or anything of that sort. You are talking about a minor fraction. In fact you are talking about a couple of hundred people, this is all you are really talking about in America. When you turn to private industry, you are talking about the same thing, and so you have this problem. When you think of negroes, and when you think of what they have got to do in order to discharge the responsibilities of citizenship, you are up against the fact that they don't have gasoline to put in their engine.

This is fundamental in relation to any understanding of the problem. Now, Mr. Puryear has mentioned something about education. I was in - and I am going to just draw a few pictures for you, and see how these fit in with what we have said.

I was in Seattle last summer, and I had the pleasure of going out to an aircraft corporation, and they showed me the different things they were doing. They employed forty thousand people, Seattle's largest employer. He told me that forty percent of their people were in school, that of the forty percent that were in school, twenty-five percent of them were not in school for improving themselves, but just for the purpose of keeping up with the jobs they already had. In order to hold on to the jobs that they already had, they had

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to go to school at night, because their jobs were changing so fast, and they had to learn new techniques.

But you see, a fellow who never gets there in the first place, and never gets the minimum skills to hold any kind of a job there, will certainly never get a chance to pick up and move into these new techniques. It is at the point of entry that your first big problem starts, preparation to enter the field of employment.

Then I left there, and I went down to Los Angeles, and there I had lunch with Westley Fraser, and there were some industrialists there, and we started discussing the problem. One of them told me that he had read in his newspaper that there were 175,000 unemployed people in the City of Los Angeles, and I thought that was pretty big. I just happened to turn over to the classified pages, and I saw so many ads for jobs that I decided to sit down and add them up. They were so numerous that I couldn't do it, so I finally I took the paper to the office and had my staff add them up, and they told me that they were advertising for over 200,000 jobs in Los Angeles. Here you have 175,000 people unemployed, and 200,000 jobs.

The reason, of course, is that the 175,000 people are not equipped to handle any of the

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200,000 jobs, obviously. This is the case. These people told me that they would employ anybody, anywhere and would be willing, if the cost of running their own programs wasn't so high. These were all in the aerospace industry, and the government apparently doesn't allow them credit for that on their "cost-plus" arrangement, and so they hadn't done it.

But, I point this out to you as another aspect of the problem, to show you just how serious this matter is. In other words, we can open all the doors in the world, and we have rules and will open these doors. We can open them, but unless a man is able to walk through under his own steam, it does no good to open that door.

So we have got eventually come back now to do the job in the beginning, that has need to be done. We have got to sit down with our school boards. We have got to sit down with our civic leaders, and all these people, and we have got to sit down with our pupils, and we have got to develop aspirations, and we have got to develop the type of desire to know, and knowledge of techniques that will enable them to manage in the modern world. This means more than a good heart and a good feeling. It means more than feeling right about things. It means the capacity to actually accomplish something in a sound and legitimate and objective way.

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In the negro race, two-thirds of the college students are women. In the white race, two-thirds of them are men. Women do not get as high-paying a job as do men. So the minute that you invest in a woman, and we should educate our girls, but I am just saying that you are going to get a limited return, less than you get when you invest in your sons.

The next problem is, I saying, not saying that you shouldn't do one or the other. You ought to sacrifice and send them both, but our problem is that we not pushing these boys. We still have the old-fashioned idea, that somehow, the ancient parents, and it was true, that it was a waste of time to educate a negro male. After all, what he was going to do with his hands, he didn't need to go to college for, whereas a girl could get a job teaching school, or she could get a job in nursing, or social work, or other things, where their education would be useful.

But now, there has been a shift, and wehave got to shift with the change of time.

The next point I want to bring out on this level, is that this situation has resulted in the creation of fundamentally a matriarchal society, and in which there are a high percentage of broken homes, because is unable in this modern industrial society to

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head that family, and this is something that we have got to correct, if we are going to have the proper type of relationship that will motivate people to become a part of the general society. I don't think we have to dwell on that at great length, but the importance of trying these things together can't be too often emphasized.

Now, I want to tell you about one or two things that we are doing here, in an effort to help our problem. As I sit in now, with the members of our staff, tunneling with the construction industry, in the Bureau of the Budget, I was asked this morning, for a comparison reporting form for the construction industry, which is not reporting up to the present time. You undoubtedly know that we have a system whereby all of those companies that have government contracts are required to report to us, and tell us how many negroes they have in their supervisory ranks, and their managerial ranks, and in their professional ranks, and their unskilled and semi-skilled classes, and all this information, from all of the business interests in America, is put onto postcards and fed into a computer, and there we take the census data, and we feed that in there. We know how many negro electricians there are in Philadelphia, and we know how many openings there are for

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electricians in Philadelphia, and we see how many that Philco, let us say, has hired, and so we being to talk about these things from the standpoint of facts. We no longer talk about these things from the standpoint of supposition. We are moving in this direction, and we have not gotten it done in the construction industry, which employs a large number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, but hopefully, we will get off the ground on that today, and around the first of the year there will be some results beginning to be evident there.

This tied in with the rest of our reporting program, which has about seventeen and a half million workers under it. This will bring it up over the twenty-million mark, with the Plan for Progress, we are going out now into non-government industries, and it is our hope that we will, sometime within the next six to eight months, have between two and three million workers who don't have any connection with government contracts, under our jurisdiction, and officially committed to carrying out a policy of equal opportunity.

Now, the importance of this is that people who are not too well educated find the greatest opportunity, quite frequently, in the retail trades. Girls who work in shops and stores, and things of that kind, salesmen, are jobs where we have no jurisdiction, and

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where it is very difficult for FEP Commissions to do the kind of job they want to do, so in order to accomplish this, you are going to have to get permission from those who are on the Commission to do something about it. I think that you folk are well aware of the fact that a hundred AFL-CIO unions are going to sign a pledge of non-discrimination next Thursday, at the White House.

As a matter of fact, the Wall Street Journal, I don't know if anybody here saw it. I brought it alone. They have an article about this meeting that is going on here today, and it is their lead article, incidentally. "Labor-Negro Issue of Job Equality, Historic Allies", and it talks about the meeting here. Today's paper. I would think that the Negro American Labor Council has arrived, since they have made the lead article in the Wall Street Journal. (Laughter)

At any rate, we want to move in that direction, and what we do in connection with that will only be a first step. We are also moving towards a pilot decision program in Los Angeles, and here the Urban League is being very helpful, because when I heard about these 200,000 jobs and 175,000 people, I asked - I talked with Murray Lewis, of the Jewish Federation in the West, and they had an idea that these people could

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trained and industry was willing, and the schools said they were willing, but it took them a long time to get ready, but I think the school system is going to get ready now. Beginning in February. I am supposed to get a letter when I get back, and at the same time, I have talked with the Labor Department, and I think they are going to start some on-the-job training for those people, which will qualify them for different types of welding, and other specific jobs that are needed.

Now, the importance of this should be noted in this way. What can be done in Los Angeles can be done elsewhere. There are now only eight or ten large urban centers in America, so if you analyze this problem and think about it in a practical way, you realize that this is not as complicated a thing as it seems, and it is something that we can do something about now, if we actually put our shoulders to the wheel and get out and do it, and get the people in the spirit to learn, and people will have the spirit to learn when they realize that there is something that can actually be done to help them, and that if they do learn, there is a job that is waiting for them.

So this, then, is an aspect of the problem.

Another step in our program relates to more stringent enforcement, and I think you will be hearing

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something about that in the next day or two. These things together comprise an arsenal of approaches and a spectrum of weaponry that ought to be helpful, but they are no substitute for what you, yourselves, can do in your local communities, what you say to people, and the inspiration that you give to your children and the children of your friends, that America has not completed itself yet. There are jobs to do, there are ships to be built, and great buildings and planets to be discovered and to be explored, and this can only be done by intelligent, alert people; that we are Americans, and part of this intelligent, alert people. If we can just get this inspiration and this aspiration as part of the living, and walking and breathing of the people that you come in contact with. We should tie this in with a stringer demand on the school system to furnish them with the necessary intellectual tools, so that this desire can become a reality, then this meeting that we are holding, and all other meetings and the work that these men are engaged in doing, will not have been in vain.

I just wanted here to say, and I will say, that the Steelworkers and Autoworkers have been the people who have pressed hardest for what is now proposed to be done at the White House next Thursday.

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I think that a large part of what Mr. Rydell has done is due to his counsel, and to the advice that we have given him and to the way in which our boys handle themselves. I think that you have here right beside me a man who has done a great deal, in a very practical way, to bring about the objectives which we hope to achieve. I am referring to Mr. Puryear, who has given his life to it. I have just gotten into it a couple of years ago, and so I felt that mention should be made of that.

Let us be up and doing. Let us be on our way, and let us see to it that the people in the school systems, and our neighbors and friends, that we do mean business, and that we do mean to train people to do a solid and substantial job in the future.

MR. PURYEAR: Thank you, Mr. Taylor. I met Mr. Taylor some years ago, when he was Assistant District Attorney in the City of Cleveland, I mean Detroit. I have known his father for quite some time. It is pretty evident that we have been able to attract men like Purview, and Mr. Taylor, and others here to discuss with you this all-important question of unemployment. We don't necessarily need the Wall Street Journal to say we have arrived. The fact that we can get these men here to discuss this important subject, men

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who are experts in their field. I would like to say that we are going to have, certainly for a few minutes, Mr. Taylor has to leave shortly, and Purview is due in Baltimore, and Mr. Taylor is due in - where are you going? (Speaker was Mr. Boyd Wilson)

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: I have two more meetings here, and then there is a talk tonight.

MR. BOYD WILSON: So, they will be here to answer a few of your questions. Please announce your name, and the city from which you come, so that we can get on the record that people all over the country are concerned about this problem of unemployment.

MR. PURYEAR: Boyd, could I take just a minute to reemphasize something that Mr. Taylor said. Note that our drift in conversation is geared more to seeing to it that the next generation of our youth will not fall victims of the same system and problems of their parents. In other words, we are pressing now to keep these youngsters in school, for you to play your part in seeing that the educational programs are up to date, meaningful programs for kids. Only in New York City, in the last thirty days - New York city is one of the oldest cities in the country, but it has only been in the last thirty days that the great big City of New York has decided that there is something wrong

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with the textbooks. That the textbooks in our schools do not depict negroes in any way as to show contributions. The history books showed them as slaves. The music books show them in the"Three B's - Barrelhouse, Boogie and the Blues", not in the three "B's" - Bach, Beethoven and Brahms. So that New York is now saying that all of the children ought to be able to get a fair shake in terms, so that as you provide textbooks, which will give an opportunity for kids, white and negro, to get a more realistic picture of the contributions of negro citizens.

The kinds of guidance programs our kids have had, North, South, East and West, have not been designed to really help a kid choose a career, plan for it, enter into it and make progress. There are too many instances in which counsellors have decided that this is all the negro youngsters can get, and when they get old enough to get out of school, they help them get a work permit, and they drop out. And five years later, they find out that when opportunities for advancement come along, they don't even have a high school diploma. You see?

Still, in 1962, we have too many vocational and technical high schools in this country that are nothing but dumping grounds for dumb students, or

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the intellectually backward students, for the problem children, and it seems to ridiculous that you, on the one hand say, let's put the knuckleheads in the vocational schools, and then expect Boyd Wilson to take that knuckleheaded boy and turn him lose on a steel I-beam. It is inconceivable that at this late date we are still saying "Put a dumb boy in the auto shop", and then this same principal who put the dumb student there will take his $4,000.00 Buick down to that same auto shop and expect that dumb boy to repair it, to tune it, and have him get in and drive across the country.

So that we are saying now, that as parents, as community leaders, as labor leaders, you have a responsibility to insist that there be negro representation on every policy-making and planning commission in your town. If you aren't there to tell your story, there is nobody else who is going to tell it for you.

I don't argue with why there has to be a negro labor committee. I don't argue why there has to be Jewish labor committees. I do know that when national labor people sit down and talk, they list all the problems, and when they get through, down about problem 999, is equal opportunity, that is you. Now when the negro organize it, that is first. You see.

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So that there is this problem of establishing some priority for something we are talking about, and sometimes you have to be there and be seen, and then somebody says "OH, I have to deal with him too." When you open your mouth to say your own piece, you will have read a little bit, so that you are aware of the facts and figures. You will have talked with some of the people in education, in employment, in government, in industry, in business and in labor, to see what these people are thinking about, and you become for them a spokesman, at their request and invitation, and not by grabbing the ball and running down the field.

The only thing is that there are these we can't do much with, but we ought not be satisfied to see another generation come along and be victims of the same situation.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I would like a comment briefly here, on something that is underlying what Mr. Puryear and Mr. Taylor talked about, and this is the adult education of the current worker, who knows or suspects that somewhere along the way that the particular occupation in which he is engaged, and I will use an example that happened in New Jersey, in the electronics industry, where we lost 6,000 jobs in one year. These people had to be retrained for something

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else. Then, another instance in New Jersey, where Mack Truck left and went to Baltimore, and the rate of pay that they would pay them, no other industry could hire them at that rate of pay, and as a consequence, the workers had to be retrained. So, what I am suggesting here is, that within the school system of your community, they do have adult education programs. Management sponsors certain training programs. Unions sponsor certain training programs, and it would seem to me that as union members, or even an individual just looking forward as to whether I can be occupied in this specific industry within five years, it behooves the individual to get out and prepare himself for something that he might not even know what it is, and at least start learning a new trade. Never be satisfied and complacent to stay at the same level, because even you can get promotable in what ever occupation you have, but it requires new responsibility and additional knowledge, as a consequence, in order to be able to not only attain that position, but be able to hold it.

Mr. Tayler pointed out that 25% of these people were going to school solely to keep their jobs. So, this would certainly be significant to me, that in order to get another one, it would imply additional education.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH SUBJECT FILE Negro American Labor Council / Convention Nov. 1962

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Mr. BOYD WILSON: Very good. This is the kind of participation we hope that you will engage yourselves in. We have had these people come here for the purpose of giving you some answers and some guidance as to what we need to do, and those of who have interest in this subject, I know you will reflect that interest by coming here. We want you to feel free to discuss this subject.

MR. CLAUDE BAILEY (Baltimore, Md.): I would like to refer my question to Mr. Tayler. I know we have gone to a lot of places that have government contracts to ask how many negroes do they employ, and they either tell us they don't know, or they are not allowed to give that information.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Well, that came about because of the fact that some years ago the American negro decided that could deceive others into forgetting about him if he didn't make a record of his color, or if he acted as though he wasn't there. So we had this great movement in America to delete any information about race. Now, this might have been pretty good if you were the same color, and had eyes and everything else so that you couldn't tell what a person was unless you asked, but the American negro is generally identifiable, and so when comes to hiring

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somebody, when you know you have looked at the person and you are going to hire. When you get ready to promote somebody, well, the supervisor knows the people that work for him. Well, then, the only thing that we did was to give them something to hide behind.

They will say - we don't know who are our negro employees. This never occurs to our mind.

In this area, I think I made the first recommendation in this thing, to Mr. Holleman, who at that time was Executive Vice Chairman to the Vice President, and I suspect that people know that I am colored. The only way that you are ever going to find out what is being done to colored people is for records to be kept in order that somebody else will now what is going on there.

I checked the different FEP laws that were supposed to prevent this, and I wrote a brief on it, and nobody has questioned it yet. In fact, I finally got a lettem from everybody, reluctantly. The only law in this country about keeping a record is in reference to pre-employment information, applications. There is absolutely nothing, and never was a law, there never has been an ordinance in America, which prevented post-employment evidence of race from being kept, and of course this was the first thing that a lot of people

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told us. But I checked it out a little bit in advance, and I am happy to report back that this isn't the case, and I think that we ought to face this thing on the basis of reality. I don't find anything wrong with my color, and with my relations, and the people I am kin to, and things of that sort, nor to the way in which they look. And I presume that the other people feel the same way about the way that they look, and this is fine.

But I don't see anything wrong about it, and certainly, if we are going to face a problem of this magnitude, and you know that you are dealing with a thin-grained customer, which applies to all people who look in a certain way, the only way you can ever find out the extent to which it is being corrected, is by the keeping of records, and the filing of reports which indicate what has happened with respect to it.

I Went into this long thing because I wanted to deal with the philosophical question as well. But, in answer to your question, whoever tells you that isn't tell you the truth, and if you have a problem on it, I would be glad to send you a copy of the brief which we have, which traces the law of each state and each community that has an FEP.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Interestingly

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most of the companies that try to hide behind this are the companies into which you could walk, and say there are one, two, three. It is very seldom the companies that have thousands.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Well, we had this problem down in Fort Meade. We asked the Director of Personnel how many negroes they had hired at Fort Meade and he said he didn't know.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Well, I tell you one thing, I can tell you. I can tell you now. We got it by agency and everything, and we have got it for two years now. We have just had the second hand count, and they have been able to count them without asking them. They were worried about embarrassing somebody by asking whether they were colored or not. The number that you would have to embarrass, you embarrass, and they told me that they haven't had an embarrassed soul.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Well, you take like in Baltimore, when you make the application, you don't have to put the color "white" on the application, because all they have to do is look at the high school you came out of. It is either Dunbar or Douglas, so they know that you are negro.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: They also know if you go to Mount Moraiah Babptist Church. (Laughter)

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Or people who live in a certain section. You have to keep moving around. (Laughter) Of course you have negroes coming out of schools other than Douglas and Dunbar.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I am very glad that you clarified that, because you recall at the last convention at the Urban League, this was quite a question and there was some doubt as to whether or not we were in keeping with the policy that we had developed ourselves in years back - no identification, and here when we wanted some dependable statistics, those who weren't too favorably disposed towards were hiding behind that and not even giving the shameful statistics.

MR. PURYEAR: The Urban League has gone on record now in supporting the keeping of this statistical data after employment.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I listened very carefully to this question that you held on this government contract thing. It just appeared to me, and I could be off the ball, the way I understood this government contract business, that it wasn't a matter of whether the state had a law on it, prohibiting discrimination. When these government contracts were issued, I doubt if there were any negroes in the meeting discussing issuance of government contracts. I doubt

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that very much.

But, this proposition was put to all these people who were receiving these government contracts, according to my understanding of the thing, that under certain conditions you would have to abide by in order for the government to give you a contract. This you would have to sign. Some of these stipulations were that if you sublet any of this work, whomsoever you sublet it to, will have to sign the same stipulation.

The way I understand it, there wasn't anything pertaining to a state that had a Fair Employment Practice Committee, of whether there was a union involved, or several unions involved. This was the condition, under which I, the government, will let you have the government contract.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: There is something I didn't make clear. What Mr. Barelet was talking about was where they - an employer says, that the law does not permit me to keep this type of record, and therefore I cannot answer your question. This only occurs in those states that have FEP laws, because these provisions against the keeping of pre-employment records of race are contained in Fair Employment Practice Laws, and in no other states do you find such laws. Do you see what I am trying to say?

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Now, therefore, this is the reason why I discussed fair employment practice laws, because it is only in those states that have these laws can this problem arise. In the State of Mississippi, for instance, there is no restriction against keeping the records, and so it was only in those states - the point you have made is well taken, because I should have, or I assumed that everybody understood what I knew, which was not true. This only occurs in those states. Mr. Barelet knew. I could tell from the way he asked the question, but I didn't say it, and that is the point. This problem can only arise in those states that have these laws, and my answer was related to those states that have them.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: But your responsibility, as far as government contracts are concerned ?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Is nationwide, whether there is a law or not.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: But the matter of keeping of the records was the question that was asked.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: But my responsibility and the responsibility of the Board, is nationwide, wherever Americans are.

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SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: You say that it is your responsibility - and let's see that I get you straight in my mind - (Laughter)

MR.HOBART TAYLOR: Well, you can do that too, if you want to. (Laughter)

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: The only responsibility here is on the part of the government contractor - the government contract compliance committee - Do I, I can't fire you right now?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: That is close enough. You got me.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Now you and I demand a chance to talk some business, because I am very concerned about this. I am very concerned about every company that went down and secured from the United States Government, and signed the stipulations in there, knowing what this situation was back home, and then came back, and failed to carry out his responsibility to that contract. I am deeply concerned about that, and I am also concerned about where can I get any kind of rock, stone, or brick to help me try to break down some of these positions. It is not something that the negro is begging for, not something that he should even have to fight for, because when these people accepted these contracts, they accepted them under these conditions,

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according to all the copies of these contracts that I have seen.

I identify you, then, as the man who is responsibile to help carry out this obligation.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: That's right.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Now, when we run into a company who is not complying with this -

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: You drop me a post-card, and tell me.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Fair enough.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: That's easy enough.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: It's that easy.

RUTH WEBER (Chicago, Ill.): Drop you a postcard and you can tell us the situation in that factory?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: No, what I will do, I will cause an investigation to be made.

MISS RUTH WEBER: You can't give us the facts?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: How can I? I am in Washington. I don't know the people. I don't know what is going on, but I will turn it over to the enforcing staff and they will turn it over to an agency, and in the course, we will see that somebody goes out there and

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examines that plant, and tells us, and asks the people who are involved, and if there is somewhere where there is complaint about a matter, they interview this person and take a statement. I will tell you that we, in the first year, we have discharged and settled up more cases than the Nixon Committee did in eight. Our rate of corrective action, as far as government contractors were concerned, was 66-2/3%. It varies between sixty-six and sixty-seven percent all the time. Sometimes it gets as high as seventy, and sometimes below sixty, but I think 66-2/3 is about right.

When you consider the fact that you have a certain number of cranks (you understand that). Negroes are cranks, just like white people are cranks. There are some. But if you take about ten percent off of that, well then you are talking about a corrective action rate that is somewhere around eighty or eighty-five percent, which means that if a person complains the chances are that they are going to get satisfaction. The chances are very, very high that they are going to get satisfaction. This is the record to date. So, you just drop a postcard and set forth the facts.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to ask another question too, for Miss Weber. She is asking also, when you complete your investigation, will you

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make the facts regarding employment known to them? Is that what you wanted to ask?

MISS RUTH WEBER: Yes, can we ever know?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Oh yes, the person, - Now wait, I am not going to make the facts about a plant, in general, known to a private citizen.

MISS RUTH WEBER: No, not a private citizen. I mean if we are working through an organization.

MR.HOBART TAYLOR: Well, that is still a private citizen. A group of private citizens form an organization, it is still a private citizen, they are not a government agency charged with a specific responsibility under law, but if you complain about a specific person being denied something, you understand, when we complete our investigation, you will get a letter, with the findings, and if the person doesn't like the findings, they have a right to appeal to us, and we will review it.

I am assigned those appeal things myself. I must see it. I must look at it and I must sign it, and I have the last say in that connection. So, that is so.

Now, if you were to say, "Look, International Harvester in Chicago isn't doing a good job, well then

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I would schedule International Harvester for compliance investigation. First I would say, bring in the compliance reports on International Harvester. How do they compare with other people? Well, if it were pretty far off, I would say you had better send somebody out there in the next couple of days.

But suppose it looked like it was about right? Then I would say, well, we would schedule International Harvester when somebody is going there, which might be a month. But we would get into it within thirty to sixty days.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I don't want to monopolize the meeting, but I am deeply concerned about this, because the negro is the victim of a lot of pockets that he finds himself in. Number one is, "We don't discriminate because of race, creed or color". We say we shouldn't be discriminated against, period, not because of anything, because he can always find something else that he throws in there. This has been a stumbling block that has been hitting him in the face for a long time.

This is what I am talking about. I am going to go into the specifics. Let's say, for a particular company, they say: "We hire negroes." But there is a certain area about how far he can climb. He

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can only climb up to the labor and semi-skilled classification. That is as far as he can go. Because, and here comes the because, because of this thing, or that thing, or the other thing.

Now, I am of the opinion that he should not see stumbling blocks in his way as long as this company has a government contract. Now, what you explained to here was, if an individual complained, of certain things, you would take it up and go into and such. This is a group situation. It is not only a group because of the particular company that I am talking about has more than one plant, and the contracts only cover negroes in the labor and semi-skilled classifications. Beyond that, he cannot go, and then comes these "becauses" -

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Now, wait. Let's see. I don't mean to interrupt you, but we are working together on this thing.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: That's all right.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Now, our promotion is a very important part of what we are doing. If you have noticed our last report. You didn't happen to bring that, did you? I did. But the last report on the government shows that our major efforts during the last year was in promotion and the rate of promotion of negroes

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in the middle brackets, in Grade 5 up to the top, from $5,000 a year on up to $20,000.00 was twenty percent greater than the year before, and that the effect of this is, because we know that right in government there are people who are working way below their capacity. Now, we are asking industry to do the same thing, and we have placed particular emphasis in out of town sessions on promotion, and getting people out of these lower brackets. I think that if you look around you, and particularly all through the country now, you would begin to see negroes in white collar positions.

I know that General Motors, and Ford, and we had NBC. But they got stenographers, they got lawyers, they got librarians, got accountants. Do you understand? We are moving in all directions in this way, because we understand the seriousness of that problem.

Now, I want to come back to something else you mentioned first, because I think it is important. Suppose you said: "I don't think the Ford Motor Company is doing a good job. I can't come back and give you an answer, because I don't have specific facts. I have an overall chart. But if you tell me that the Ford Motor Company isn't treating Joe Jones right, and I look into the case of Joe Jones, I can come back and

tell you how Joe Jones is being treated as compared to somebody else. But if you just said Ford Motor Company doesn't treat its negroes right, I can't do very much with that, except to find out, if out of so many people, something has happened. It is difficult to prove in a situation of that kind.

But still, I am going to check up the Ford Motor Company, because I know somebody is interested and things are not all that they should be. Now, I might also tell you this. If you will remember what I told you about feeding all this information into computers, and comparing that with census data and things, that is going to be a way to tell, based on the amount of training and education of the community, what kind of job industry is doing, because this computer will flip out the cards of those companies who are not in line with what the community has to offer.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: You mean provided this information, the amount of complaints that you get -?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: This has nothing to do with complaints.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: No.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: If a company - say - Chrysler employs 100,000 people in Detroit. Now, I don't know from this how many engineers Chrysler employs. I won't know - I will know how many chemists Chrysler

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employs. I will know how many advertising people. From the census, I know how many negroes live in Detroit who are engineers. If there is a relationship between the number of negro engineers in Detroit, and the number that Chrysler has hired, or the total number that Detroit industry has hired, and if there are unemployed negro engineers in relation to this thing, I know something is wrong. And this computer will tell me this.

Then, these cards are thrown out, and they go into a separate stack, and they we say: "Now, Mr. Air Force, you send one of your investigators and you go down and talk to whoever is hiring them in Chrysler, and see what this engineering problem is." That is how we go about it, scientifically.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: This is why it is so important to get some engineers in Detroit.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: This is why it is so important. First of all, you have to have your figures, and second, you have to have your trained people. In a lot of these things, you run up against the fact that we haven't got anybody. They would be glad to do it, but we don't have anybody.

MR. JOHNNY WILLIAMS (Chicago Chapter, NALC): Speaking of the comp anies claiming that there are not enough trained negroes for the number of jobs

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that is available, and according to your statement as to what the government is doing on government contracts, I would like to ask you a question. Is there anything that this Committee could do in order to get trained negroes? The reason I asked that question was because of your apprenticeship training among negroes, and I am quite sure you have the figure on that. It is very, very low, in the Chicago area in particular.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: We are trying. This is the reason that we have had to engage in all of these efforts with the labor unions, and this is the reason why on Thursday we are asking all of them to come and sign this Code of Fair Practices, in which they agree to open up apprenticeship, that they agree to end segregated locals, that they agree to end dual seniority, that they agree to permit transfer from one local to another local, and all the other things.

MR. JOHNNY WILLIAMS: And all of that would come under this?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: All of that comes under this. Now, mind you, this is a voluntary agreement, because there is no law. You understand that?

MR. JOHNNY WILLIAMS: Yes sir.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Now what is going on now, what the NAACP is doing in the NLRB might create

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some law for it, but there is no law at the present time. Once we get the International to agree to this thing, the locals are going to be in a very bad way, at least labor as a whole is not going to be in a position to complain about what happens to a local that discriminates, because we have their pledge on paper.

We are going to do what we can, but we don't expect you, Mr. Citizen, to do the things that we are going to try to do, but we do want you, Mr. Citizen, to tell Johnny Jones there in the street to get away from that ice cream parlor and to go stick his head in a book, now and then.

MR. JOHNNY WILLIAMS: Well, this is the one where they have the education, but they won't be taken on as apprentices.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: I understand you. I am not talking about that. We are trying to do something about that. I answered that one, but at the same time, there are a lot of other things here.

MR. JOHNNY WILLIAMS: I understand.

MR. PURYEAR: You are talking about apprenticeship. The average citizen does not understand the role of labor, industry and government as it relates to an apprenticeship program, because people are always asking the government: 'Why cant' negroes get into the

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apprenticeshp program, without knowing that all the government is doing is serving as a standardization agency for the apprenticeship programs. There can't be apprentices unless industry is willing to pay while they are in the program, and industry can't pay them unless the unions open the programs up. Unless unions are willing to accept apprentices into an area, because labor can say: "We don't want any apprentices, because we have too many journeymen unemployed." New York City had that problem when they tried to get a thousand electricians into their apprenticeship program, because they had journeymen electricians who were not employed.

So you see that the real push in the apprenticeship program, in my own thinking, should be directed toward the unions, and toward management, the two play the real part in this. Once the partnership is formed, then the government steps in and decides what is standard, what is acceptable, you see, in terms of what is done in some place else.

These unions require much, and it is the colleges. In Atlanta, Georgia, the same boy that Lockheed wanted for an apprenticeship program in a machine shop, at $1.85 an hour moving toward $4.00, this is the same boy that Morehouse College was trying to get, the same one that M.I.T. is trying to get. But he has a

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daddy and a mother, who sees - who have said to themselves, that my boy will never get his hands dirty. He is going to be a school teacher.

But here is an opportunity for an apprenticeship program, $1.85 an hour. That's not hay, going towards $4.00 in four years, and no apprenticeship has finished the machinist program at Lockheed has been looking for a job. None.

MR. BOYD WILSON: Mr. Taylor has just reminded me that he has to leave. Would you have one good question that we can throw at him before he leaves?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Taylor, here is a problem we find in a lot of jobs, experience. Now, most of the government jobs require a certain amount of experience. We find in the schools, in the senior year, in a certain amount of cases, they take them on the job and let them get some experience, the white children. Now, the negro children do not get the experience, and cannot get the jobs because they have got to have a certain amount of experience.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: This is true.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Well, how can they do it?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Well, if you are talking about a private employer, who isn't subject to

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either program, the only thing I know is that you can get the laws of your state changed, so that he will have an equal chance, or economic pressure, or anything else. You just have to struggle there. Do you understand?

But, if the person is a government employer, he is bound to give everybody the same chance, but then you have to have children apply. But what I am trying to tell you is this. Somewhere down the line of facing these problems, we became discourgaged, and we start to find the same kind of initiative and everything to the solution of our problems that other people apply to the solution of theirs, and it was because of this overall discrimination, but let me tell you, if a fellow is bright and alert, and knows what he is doing. Not if he is stubborn enough and just asking for a chance, but if he is bright and alert, and it looks like he has something to offer that employer, do that if he goes to employer after employer he will get himself a job, and do you know that white children go to more than one employer before they get a job?

I am not saying that discrimination doesn't exist. Understand that. I am saying that the spirit with which we approach that problem can be a big help in changing things, and one of the things that you want

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to emphasize to people is don't be defeated. Go in there and win. Go in there aiming to win. Train all your kids to be winners, not losers, not good losers. Train them to be winners.

When you get into something, you are going to find a way, figure out a way, and you are going to outwit somebody, and you are going to do whatever is necessary, and you are going to win. If those kids do that, they can do a great job, right in this way too. There are a lot of hiring people - maybe there mind is made up, but many a time I walked into a place and the fellow had in mind doing what I had in mind his doing, and I could read it in his eyes. And you have done that too, but you bring a fellow around. Now, you have to train these kids to outthink the other fellow.

I know, but forget the experience. Look, if you show me a bright willing youngster, and he walks up there a nd says I want to be such and such a thing, and he has on a tie, and his shirt is nice, and everything, and he speaks well, and he walks up to that man and says he wants a chance, that man might give him a chance, although his policy is to the contrary. You have to work on these things too.

MISS CARLOTTA HEIGHT (Chicago, Ill.):

I want to backtrack just a little bit

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and address my remarks to Mr. Taylor's comments about the retraining of presently employed and presently unemployed workers, who constitute our unemployment roll, while not underestimating the importance of guaranteeing that our future generations don't come up this way.

I read, if I am not mistaken, that in the State of Connecticut, where they had undertaken a job retraining program, that was just reported on last week as being quite successful. I am uncertain whether this was a state sponsored program, or a federally sponsored program.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Federal.

MISS CARLOTTE HEIGHT: It's federal. But they reported very good results. I imagine they took people from these negroes or other categories, and trained them, or they were able to re-train them to some extent, and they were able to get jobs. Is this true? Is this what you face?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: If I had had twenty minutes this morning, I would have been able to answer your question, because the man who went to Connecticut to check on this was trying to see me this morning, but I was so busy that I said I would see him Tuesday. I cannot truthfully answer your question.

MISS CHARLOTTE HEIGHT: Well, I have a

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reason for asking, you know.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: I have heard that it was good, but I don't know that it was good, because I don't have any facts, and I wouldn't want to make any statement about something that I haven't looked at the facts on.

MISS CHARLOTTE HIGHT? But it was a Federally sponsored program?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: It was that. This much is so, and I know that some effort was made that the people, when they initially went into this thing, that the program was not considered to the extent that it should have been, and that somebody went up to look into it, and that it was supposed to have been worked out, but whether it was in fact worked out, I do not know.

MISS CHARLOTTE HIGHT: So you do not know?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: I don't know, but I could find out very easily.

MISS CHARLOTTE HIGHT: Well, my reason for asking is, if it is working, you know, and if it is federally sponsored, it should be taken advantage of.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Right.

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There are six hundred million dollars.

MISS CHARLOTTE HEIGHT: That's how much?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: All around the country, that program.

MR. PUERTAR: You add the three together to get the six?

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Yes.

MISS CHARLOTTE HEIGHT: My next question then is, would you - or perhaps I am mistaken, but I have been under the impression that we were, our responsibility so far as the Labor Council, was pretty defined, that we did not become too involved in legislative or political activities, but if it became a question of political activity which would result in the, in some real positive action, maybe political activity is a relative question.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Well, to be frank with you, I have an approach to that problem, and I think that we have devised a method under which you can be sure that the money is spent properly. It is going to take about two or three weeks, but I am pretty sure.

MISS CHARLOTTE HEIGHT: That wasn't my point. My point was guaranteeing that the program is taken advantage of.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Oh, you said political

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activity. That threw me off.

MR. PUNYAR: Maybe I can clarify this. Mr. Taylor is referring to several Federal programs. One is under the Area Redevelopment Program, and one is what we refer to as the Manpower Retraining Program.

MISS CHARLOTTE HEIGHT: That is what I meant.

MR. PUNYAR: This act started out, a hundred million, to do a retraining job on one hundred thousand people. This is one hundred thousand out of this five or six million unemployed that we are talking about. They got into this policy she is talking about, and they wacked it from a hundred to fifty million, and then moved it back. You could lose by making it too complicated.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: Better leave it alone. What she meant was something else.

MR. PUNYAR: You are talking about the political part of trying to get involved.

MISS CHARLOTTE HEIGHT: How do you take advantage of that which is available? This involves legislation, or whatever.

MR.HOBART TAYLOR: The legislation is already in existence. It is passed.

MISS CHARLOTTE HEIGHT: It did pass.

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But it involves something.

MR. PUCKETT: Now, get this picture. When you raise the question of the Manpower Retraining Act in operation in Connecticut, you have to know that the Employment Service is responsible for recruiting for screening, for testing, for counselling, and for making certain that there is a job for the person who is retrained.

The Health, Education and Welfare Department, through its office of Education, assumes responsibility for the training. Then, when the person is trained, to Labor. Now in Connecticut, the educational level as far as attainment is concerned, is way upstairs. You come from an area that has been bombarded in recent years with thousands of people who nowhere near come to that.

MR. HOBART TAYLOR: I am just so late. If you want to write me, I will get you some data. Just write me, HOBART TAYLOR, Jr., the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, Washington 25, D.C. Drop me a line and I will get you some data on this.

MR. PUCKETT: In terms of the total number unemployed, it is a pretty small thing in the first place.

MISS CHARLOTTE HEIGHT: Well, maybe something else is needed.

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MR. PURYEAR: Well, it is a combination. Number one, I think, just down, is that much of what is needed is a massive education program. This isn't what we refer to as normal adult education, because adult education in schools throws this adult into a situation in which he isn't comfortable. He is going into a situation where his education is tied to some work experience, and it is where he sees a direct use of what he is getting as he goes alone. Do you follow me?

I have actual made a public statment that I think management and government have a responsibility for this too, and as I say it, I know full well that you can't make a man anything anymore than he has the skills and abilities to do. I am not the happiest person about the Manpower Retraining Act, because another aspect of it is that the training programs are designed to cut the unemployment rolls, and this means that there is no great effort being made to put a guy in training for four years, but for short-term stuff. The course you see are hotel jobs, filling station jobs. These are the jobs that the negro has been fighting for years to get away from.

You come along now and say you are going to do some retraining, we are going to retrain you for a

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filling station job, there is nothing about this to interest a guy, you see. So that when many of these - you see, we could take the group of underemployed in this whole group, and fill up the rolls. Added to that, is the attitude of negro workers about the Employment Service in the first place. They have never looked to the Employment Service as anyplace to go, and get any fair shake. They have never done it.

So, when you say go down to the Employment Service now, to retrain them, they think they are just going to be offered junk. They think they will come home with nothing. So to get these people into these training programs does call for interpretation on your part to mothers and fathers, who are unemployed, about what they could get from a retraining program, and what the government is doing is just one retraining program, because there are adult eduction programs going on all the time, that a person could take, and pass some of these tests. When you have to guarantee a person a place in school, and then guarantee him a job. This is quite a big guarantee, you know.

Chicago and Detroit are in very unhappy positions of having such a terrific unemployment lead and to have so many of these people, and I am not just talking about negroes now, I am talking about white people,

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too. I just looked at a movie, called "Automation, the Awesome Circle." There was a white person interviewed, from Tennessee, who had just his job as the result of automation, and he said there is nothing he can do because he only went to the third grade. But he gave me the impression that he is going to do everything under the sun to see that his two little kids, who were sitting there in front of him, were going to stay in school, were going to learn how to count, how to read and how to write, because this is their salvation, you see.

A machine, if you have never seen a tool of automation, you have to realize that we are not only talking about a machine that can pick up an automobile body and set it in place. We are talking about a machine that is in the closet, where the wife comes in from work, and pushes a button, and the machine comes out and sweeps the floor. This is automation. We are not just talking about machines that you can feed a letter into, and a typewriter type a million copies of the same letter, over and over and over again. We are talking about a machine that in your office, at a specific time, will come out of the wall and pour you a cup of coffee, and all you have to do is bend your arm and drink it, and put it back down, and when it is

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done, away it goes.

I am not worried about the guy who went to the third grade making that machine. Uh-uh. I am worried about the guy who went to college who will think of that machine. What is going to happen to these people that are unemployed? According to the records, there isn't anything you can do with some of them.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: What is going to become of them?

MR. PURYEAR: We are always, brother, I don't care how much they talk about automation, they are some jobs you cannot automate, and we will always need a street sweeper. We are always going to need a janitor.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Will they create enough jobs to absorb the amount of people that is unemployed?

MR. PURYEAR: Do you know there are sections of this country - New York City, right now. Do you know the greatest shortage in New York City? Domestic help. And where are domestic workers? They are in Chicago. They are in Detroit. We have a problem of getting the people where the jobs are. We only have 70,000,000 people working you know. Seventy million, and e very year the number goes up. We have to

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get people where the jobs are.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: They were recruiting domestic help here in Pittsburgh about two weeks ago, and a couple of girls came to New York, $65.00 a week, and keeps.

MR. PURYEAR: Now, these are some of the people who are unemployed and can't be retrained, but who can still find work. But you have to get them where they are, and move them to another place. Weren't you going to get the guys from Newark who worked with Mack Truck, to go -

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I say this coming. This actually happened to us. We were vitally concerned, as I mentioned, or alluded to earlier.

So it was a tremendous job. We took labor's experience with packing house workers in Oklahoma City, and said what will we do with these people. The Urban Leagues, and the State Department of Labor and Industry, and everybody else was concerned about these people. What are we going to do with them?

Now, there were some things involved, and this is why we are concerned about this Manpower Retraining as not being the panacea. First of all, it was a UAW local that was involved. Now, their unemployment, plus SUB said for 39 weeks they were going

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to make $82.00 and they could sit down and not do anything. On the other hand, if he entered into a retraining program, he had to go to school, 40 hours a week, and he would only get $35.00.

Now, what does this impose? Who is going to work for $35.00 and have to go out, when he can get $80.00 in comfort? The end resultis, of course at the end of 39 weeks, everything is about over. The program has some hardship involved, and this is one of the things that we are aware of. How do you tell somebody, accept $35.00 a week? This is what you are faced with.

Well we got to feeling eventually, fortunately we were able to convince some people that this is a short-gap situation, you are only going to be in it for the period of time to train. But then came the question, what were we going to train them for?

He said hotel jobs. Let me tell you some of the type training programs. Salad maker. Elevator operators. All these are the type of jobs that you get involved with when you have the short period of training. Most people, as a result, don't want to go into this sort of thing. So it depends upon the area that you are in, as to whether or not you are willing

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to be trained.

Now in New Jersey, we had a forward looking community of labor and industry, who said, let's first go out and find out what industry can we attract into the state, and then what skills will they need, and then we can train the people, transfer to what skills they already have, so that when this industry relocates, at the time they build and all this other stuff, we will have these people to put into these jobs. It may not be exactly what they are making now, but close to what they are making, and that they can go on and provide for a family.

What does this suggest to people in the labor movement? It means they - I said this before, but I can't emphasize it enough, it says that they must have some obligation to its own membership. You pay the maintainance of membership into a local union, for many years. What in return do you get back from this?

Well, if you sit by and say we aren't going to do anything, this is exactly what they are going to do, but if somebody says we are going to have to do something, some training. This is what it means. Education is for everybody today. It is no longer just for the child, it is for everybody, in

something. If we don't have high school diplomas, this would be one objective. Whatever we don't have that can make us skill-wise in getting and holding a job, then this is what we are going to need.

Now labor has just as much as stake in this, according to me. I say this with a smile, because I almost missed the job in Urban League, when I made this statement. The man who was interviewing me was a labor lawyer, who said, you are crazy, but I have a sincere conviction about this. It is just as much the responsibility of management, and labor, and the individual. The individual has just as much - he is the one that is involved more than anybody else. If he isn't going to do anything for himself, who else is, is the way to look at it. I really, sincerely mean this.

But all I am saying is that you, as an individual must assess, what can I do, and then what is going to happen five years from now in the economic development of this area? What kind of jobs will be available five years from now? Whatever job you are on, you will say I am in. I have five years seniority, and they will let go everybody but me. Don't be complacent. I can't emphasize that enough.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Well, I would

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like to say that in my community they went out (when I say "they" I am talking about the Committee you are talking about). They surveyed the city, and they found out what industry they could train the people in. Now, they found the auto mechanic, a lot of technicians, electronics and so forth, but all of them, they found out, everybody had to have a high school education.

Now, when these people came down to apply for these positions, to be trained, they found that they had to stay there for a year at $31.00 a week. Well, they weren't willing to do it. If you go there and you sign up, you have to stay there that full year, and if you quit, you can't go back anymore.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: What is your recommendation?

SPEAKER FROMTHE FLOOR: My recommendation is that it is the role of a group such as this, to actually convince people who are qualified for the program in the first place - number one, you have to make sure you are dealing with somebody who can go through. I am saying that sometimes you have to convince a person that sometimes it is necessary to back up to get a running start, in order to make a living.

Because if you cannot show him - he thinks it is more profitable to stay andget the $80.00, and if

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at the end of the $80, you are no better off than you were before, if you can't show this, then you are not dealing with the right one. So far the numbers of eligibles are so small, that you are talking about three or four thousand, you know. You are talking about twenty. You are talking about twenty-five. Right. It is a small number, and in order, sometimes, to make your point, it has been an Urban League standard, we have dealt with what we call "pilot placement". We have dealt with that first one, who had to go in and make good in order to pave the way for the next four or or five thousand. Do you see what I mean?

It is worth it, we say, totake time to find the right one,because the negro youngster still needs to see the breathing, living example of change. If you could get one guy in the training program, and committed to the one year. Now, if you are working with a father who has five or six kids, this is awkward for him. You may have to find a younger person, whose wife is employed, where they might just have to tighten their belts in order to make it for the year. Do you see whaat I mean?

Off the top of my head, I would say that there would be some merit in actually working with the existing agencies that can get to these people now. For

example, they were in somebody's church. The church is there, and the church is having meetings. Right now I might be saying that your chances for success with a small group might be better than to fill up some big auditorium, because in a big auditorium you may get a mad rush for people who are interested on the basis of what they say, but you might not come away with what it is you actually need. (Speaker was Mr. Puryear)

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Oh, you mean you would get these people to go to one of these churches?

MR. PURYEAR: Oh, no.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: But just work with the people in the churches.

MR. PURYEAR: The church is an established institution. The major churches in Baltimore, within those major churches, there are groups that are organized now, to which you, or someone fromthe Baltimore Urban League, or even I, if I were in town, could talk with, and within the group of twenty to thirty - I am saying that this is the group that is big enough to get together. Now, you might, in terms of NAACP, and your labor contacts, prepare single page interpretative material on the Manpower Retraining Act. Do you see what I mean? You are appealing to a lot of people. You are talking to a lot of people, who really won't be

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interested in what it is you are trying to do. I am saying that at this point, the numbers are so small that you can afford to limit your efforts and the services, in order to guarantee some measure of success. Maybe tomorrow, after I think about this, I may say, "Okay, tomorrow, we will have a rally out there at Bugle Field." That is the major stadium in Baltimore.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: It seems to me that if you get a large gropp and can inspire them to take these various steps that they would be advised there to take, a lot of people perhaps don't know just what steps to take, and rather than expose what they might consider lack of awareness, just drag along. It is like a whole lot of other things. But if someone can say to five thousand, or five hundred, or fifty, that there are certain very definite steps you take here, and if you lose your way along, go to such and such an agency, and renew your interest, I think that would serve a real purpose. (Speaker was Mr. Boyd Wilson)

Anyone else like to?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I wanted to deal with this unemployment in just a little bit different language. I think that we have come here to discuss problems that we are faced with. We dealt mainly on one aspect of the unemployment problem, and

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one which is important for us.

I think in such a committee as this, we should also deal with the other aspects of this question . Either Mr. Puryear or one of the others stated, correctly, the number of people unemployed, and the recent figures, if we notice them, the government figures, particularly, gave approximately 7% of the un-employed work force today are non-white, of which 95% practically of that are negroes.

That is why I think you should raise one other question. Time has almost run out on us, but what could we do to help implement the AFL-CIO program for a shorter work week. This would be something, in my opinion, which would be of assistance, to some extent, not sufficiently, but it would help to relieve this problem.

MR. PURYEAR: I didn't comment on the shorter work week because I just sat in on a couple of meetings and it seems to me that even among labor itself, as well as in the Federal Government. You know, Goldberg never did agree to a shorter work week.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Kennedy didn't either.

MR. PURYEAR: No, he didn't either. You see, what we are thinking, when Harry Von Arsdale in New

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York, his Electricians Union, was talking about this thirty-hour week, one of the points they made was that by cutting the work week to thirty hours, the extra five hours you were cutting it - every six workers whose load is reduced by five hours, this is another electrician in the work force. So, that if you divide the total number by the six, you could put this many more men to work.

But it didn't work out that way. The same ones who were employed took thirty hours, then five hours overtime.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Did what?

MR. PURYEAR: They worked the thirty hours, then they stayed right there and started making overtime. So that you didn't get more people into the labor force.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: It seems to me you can't switch horses.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: He was the first one that advocated the thirty-hour week.

MR. PURYEAR: When he was a lawyer for the union, but when he changed and became the Secretary of Labor, then he raised the question of whether or not cutting the hours would actually guarantee more people going into the labor market.

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MR. BOYD WILSON: First let me say this. You know we are having a banquet tonight. You might want to spend five or ten minutes peeping in on another workshop, if they are still in operation.

MR. PURYEAR: Boyd, what I am going to do is leave this material with you, with Charles, who is coming back tomorrow morning to work with you on a summary statement. I am going to ask him to take a look at these items on this Guidelines for Action and use these as a basis for summarizing and for turning in the recommendation. This is what Payne and I talked about, these guidelines, some of the things which ought to come out of this convention.

There are six things that the people here can do when they go back home, and these things are important, and I am going to leave this with Charles.

MR. BOYD WILSON: Thank you all for being with us, and we hope you have gotten something out of the workshop.

(The workshop adjourned at 4:45 p.m.)

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The Workshop on Equal Pay for Equal Work for Women of the Negro American Labor Council convened in the Blue Room of the Hotel Roosevelt, in New York City on Friday, November 9th, 1962, Mrs. Lola Bell Holmes acted as coordinator.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Delegates, friends and panelists. I suppose we will start now. We don't have the delegates in attendance as we expected, and, of course, it's getting late and we can't wait any longer. I suppose they did go out to lunch and haven't returned. However, time is of the essence. We have some people here that can't stay with us too long and they're very important people to the cause, so for that I will start. We have here with us Mrs. Julius Manson, District Supervisor, New York-- What is that S for?

MR. JULIUS MANSON: New York State Board of Mediation.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: New York State Board of Mediation who is a panelist, and Mrs. Amie or Anna-- Anna Arnold Hedgeman,--

MRS. ANNA ARNOLD HEDGEMAN: Anna.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: --vice president Committee on Social & Economic Progress, 217 West 125 St.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Mrs.

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MISS HOLMES: Mrs. Armeda Springer, AFL-CIO International Affairs, 815 16th Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

Now, these three people are the panel. Of course, I'm Lolabelle Holmes, national vice president of the Negro American Labor Council, District Group Director, District 7. I will serve as coordinator, and of course, Mrs. Hedgeman will introduce the subject and bring you up to date on points of discussion; of course, after she has finished then you can direct your questions to her.

Following her-- I think I will have to do it this way inasmuch as we've prepared the introductory topic-- prepared her for the introductory topic. Of course, following her will come Mr. Manson and Mrs. Springer.

Mrs. Hedgeman would you like to start now?

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: I don't want to interfere with whatever your plans is, Madam Chairman. I just wondered if-I am not the labor expert in this galaxy and it seems to me that the labor person really ought to set the stage. I'll be glad to fit in anywhere you see fit because all I have done is to go to the Department

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of Labor and get statistics and what not. Mrs. Singer has a long time background in labor and I think might be much more helpful to a beginning group and you might leave me to talk a little bitsbout one of the interests I have which is how we learn to use material we have in our local situations.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Well, to begin with, I suppose I should introduce the subject: Equal Pay and Equal Job Opportunities for Equal Work for Negro Women. As we all know Negro women are at the bottom of the ladder in employment as well as pay. They are, of course, the last to be hired and the first to be left behind, the first to be fired and,of course, they are also the last to be upgraded, no matter how qualified they are. Of course, what we are attempting to do in the Negro American Labor Council is bring the status of the Negro woman up to the status of every woman, because it is our contention that she is equal to any other woman, and any category. It remains that she must be trained as well as any other woman; it also remains that after training she must be given the opportunity to qualify and to prove that she's capable.

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Of course, after she's given the opportunity, she must be helped and understood and worked with as other woman are being done and of course, in ddeing so then she can prove that she is just as desirable as any other woman.

With that I'll introduce Mrs. Springer. Perhaps she can set the pace for us after she says her piece.

I would also like to introduce these ladies. You are--

Now, Mrs. Springer you may proceed.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Thank you. To begin with in order to think about equal pay for equal work, you have to begin with the whole range of the discriminatory practices in our society, and considered in even its larger concept around the world. To my mind the discrimination whether it is against race, tribe or interest, caste or sex, it's fundamentally the same. It is the denial of opportunity, and as such, we must fight it.

Equal pay for equal work. In the history of this country, women had to begin to fight for the rights to be persons, for the right to an opportunity for education, for the right to

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vote. If one goes back to not too many years ago if one particularizes to come to the American Negro woman, in 1910 I would say that the only kinds of jobs available to Negro women were those the most menial, most arduous work with the least pay. There was hardly any consideration in terms of organization for men or women, and women suffered discrimination in addition to sex and wages from the resistance of men because it was thought that a woman did not have the mental capacity, did not have the physical capacity and was only an appendage, and in much of these legal documentations of this country, we will find clearly stated and as such women's wages were considered as pin money.

The bald fact remains that in the United States today, I think it's 4.6 Negro women are heads of families in the United States. A couple of generations ago, the labor force has doubled for men-- for Negro men within the last couple of generations. The women's labor force has quadrupled within that time. There's something like twenty-four and a half million women in the labor force today. This is where we are going to talk about discrimination. I think we have to see it in all of its contexts and in addition

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the special discrimination as they have to do with women because of race.

In this country the most highly industrialized, the most political orient to be organized, considered the most advanced country in the constantly talked about under-development of country's new nations of the world that I must say that in the United States our under development has to do with the under development of the place of women in our society. To emphasize that, in 1945 you had the first piece of legislation this country introduced on equal pay for equal work.

It didn't get very far. In 1950 legislation was again introduced on equal pay for equal work. This year, a bill was introduced and for the first time passed the House and reached the Senate. In the Senate this bill got a rider attached to it on foreign buildings in foreign countries, American buildings in foreign countries, and so the language of the bill became so confused that it had to be reconciled and there the bill rests now.

In addition this year you had a commission set up on the status of women - this is the status of women in the United States - and for

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those of you who perhaps have not seen or read that portion of the bill, it's an instructive document and is one that every woman ought to become familiar with, and I wondered if you would mind if I took the time--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: No, go right ahead.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: --to give you a little bit on the commission for the status of women because one segment of the women of this country can move no faster than all the women of this country move. This goes on to say that prejudices and outmoded customs act as barriers to full realization of women's basic rights which should be respected and fostered as part of our nation's catering to human dignity furthering democracy whereas measures that contribute to family security strengthen the home life will advance the general welfare. It is in the national interest to promote the economy, security and national defense through the most efficient and effective utilization of the skills.

Then it goes down and spells out in additional detail: There is hereby established the President's Commission on the status of women

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refered to herein as the Commission. The Commission shall terminate not later than October 1963. The duties of this Commission to review progress and make recommendations as needed for constructive action in the following areas and join in the policies and practice, including those of wages under federal contract, federal social insurance and tax laws as they affect net earnings, federal and state labor laws dealing with such matters as hours, night work and wages to determine whether they're accomplishing the purposes for which they were established, and whether they should be adapted to the changing technological and economic conditions.

This-- There is a great deal more to this but this gives you in substance that in 1961 this issue is so pertinent in our society that two things should happen. (1) The bill for equal pay for equal work, and (2) a Commission on the status of women.

Now the Commission on the status of women ranges the whole social fabric of our country. It indicates and tells you in one of the commission papers how many college graduates there are, how many of them are in positions commensurate--

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and receive wages commensurate with their skills; how many women are in industry; how many all the way down the line and a rather more general picture, how many Negro women in the labor force, the shift in their industrial and change of occupation. Two world wars have made the dramatic changes in women's opportunities.

Within the labor union most-- Within the labor movement most union contracts-- men's union contracts have a provision which provides for equal pay for equal work. Now this is not altruistic. This is based upon common sense. For those of us who come from some of the soft industry, one of the things that the trade union movement learned early, that an employer was not too firm with the sex of the person, and not even the color, if he was able to get cheaper wages. The history of strike breaking in this country using race and sex to break wages down, is one that all of you who work or have studied the development in the economics of this country know too much and too well for me to belabor the point.

Where you have had a less clear line of demarcation are in the much higher traditions in the professions where you set titles on jobs to

differentiate the exact type of work being done. A lot of industrial studies were done on job evaluation, motivation, and up-grading and training which cut down some of the inequities in jobs on wages for women. Mark you - much has to be done to equalize it because what has happened you have jobs in the lower categories, always less as supposedly women's jobs.

Today we find with all of the kinds of machinery, you cannot call this a man's job and this a man's job-- a woman's job as clearly as they could have been defined 25 years ago.

One classic example that sticks in my mind - during the war there was a shortage of crane operators in a couple of plants out in New Jersey, and they said, of course, that this was a job that no woman could do - pushing a button and lifting a mechanical device. It was found that the women were excellent, their coordination was fine. Then they decided that even if women were doing this job, you ought to do something about it and not pay them the same wages, so you had a really donnybrook until that was adjusted because what would havehappened if the union had permitted this, with the war over, or the pressure over, those jobs

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would then have gone back to men, management would have paid a lower wages on that job because it didn't classify-- because it had been classified on a lower basis. So trade unions have their vested interest in giving emphasis and a drive and a demand for equal pay for equal work.

In my own union, early in our history, this is one of the things that we learned and this was in the Negro trade, so that you had women and men sitting side-by-side and depending on the woman's skill she would be able to earn as much and the men were looking for more.

Let me take you a little further afield because we can't confine ourselves only to the United States. In-- Today we are concerned with world trade, and with conventions in International Labor Organizations, 20 some countries-- 38 countries have just had conventions for equal pay for equal work. I have the list here and I can give them to you if you like after. I wouldn't bother to read themto you now.

In the United States, 22 states have passed equal pay laws, and I think on our local scene perhaps you ought to just let me run down those states for you so that you will have

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them in mind. Alaska, Arkansas, California, Colorado-- I'll give them to you after but I'm just reading them now - Connecticut, Hawaii, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

These are the states that now have equal pay for equal work laws on their books. There are two approaches to this. In a fair percentage of the states we have mandatory regulations for enforcement. In the other states you have voluntary arrangements. This is less practical because we have learned not only about equal pay for equal work but you learn with a lot of your voluntary determinations do not work and you have to apply the stick a little bit sharper if you want to get it in practice. So, those are the twenty-one states in our own country that have passed equal pay laws. You see we still have a long way to go on this, but the federal government is giving initiative to it now since they are one of the largest employers in the state-- in the country. I think the federal government employs something like six and a half

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million people in-- within-- civilians and army employment. A very large number of women are employed in these jobs.

If you think the United States is lagging, some of the countries that are considered the great egatitarians and socialist countries of the world, not even their trade unions, pay their men and women equal pay for equal work. In order to check this, I called one of the delegations and said I thought I read somewhere that the trade union movement in their country had equalized for-- the pay of their male and female workers since during the years I used to work with your trade union organization and didn't.

In 1961 in Great Britain officers of the trade union movement still are not paid equal pay for equal work, and the same thing of course goes for on the job. In many other countries, in Sweden, for example, some years ago the question on equal pay for equal work was one of the burning issues, and some of the old arguments used why women should not be paid equal pay for equal work would shame one who in a country that was so advanced in their social thoughts would still hold this antiquarian idea that women should not be paid equal

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pay for equal work.

This is a kind quick round the globe and then to some back to our own problem of equal pay for equal work; this has to do with equality of opportunity; it has to do with education; it has to do with application. No one of these things are by themselves and is going to do it.

In the final analysis, equal pay for equal work will not be a fact unless the women in this country, the women - black and white - get on the job and keep a fire going about this. This bill is in the Senate now. When it comes up again in January, I would hope that all of us would keep our ears attuned to the procedures on this bill.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Thank you, Mrs. Springer. Now, I wonder if you would like to go into a question period or would you prefer to hear the other speakers and direct your questions-- Oh, Mr. Manson has to leave at 3:30, so if you will hold your questions for Mrs. Springer and I will present to you Mr. Manson and, of course, if you have any questions you wish to ask him, you can ask him and then we can excuse

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him because after all we were late getting started. He has been very patient. Thank you.

MR. MANSON: Oh, well, I wouldn't worry about my patience. I've been working with Mrs. Springer now for - perhaps I shouldn't reveal it in public--

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Oh, sure. Everyone does.

MR. MANSON: Well, I'll be one who doesn't but it goes back a very long time. I do know that she can conduct a discussion as well as anybody in the business, so that it will be quite useful to have her pick up questions as well as any ideas that may require further development.

Those of you who just came in if you would be good enough to pull up your chairs, we can conduct this like a seminar. You may as well take advantage of it.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: You can perhaps take this end of the table. Just come on up here with your chair.

MR. MANSON: I wanted to mention my observations about the problem of equal pay for equal work which may not be immediately apparent but then after you hear them they are really quite

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obvious.

One is that men suffer from the same problem. This isn't a peculiarly female problem. Once we understand that we begin to look for reasons. The reasons that we are mainly concerned with-- at least at this gathering, the reasons of discrimination. My view is that we are going to have this problem for a very, very long time, and there are no shortcuts. That doesn't mean that very effective antipathy should not be sustained and sustained even when it becomes quite painful to continue fighting for what we think is a civilized end - equal pay for equal work, whether it's a man, a woman or people who have superficial differences.

So, there's no argument really about the main problem. The question is how to reach it. Now let's see what some of the difficulties are in the way.

The agency with which I am connected, at least is one of many, this is the one that permits me to maintain a family and pay rent, is the New York State Board of Mediation. The job I hold there is District Supervisor and it gives me a chance to examine the various kinds of cases which

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come into the agency.

There are two types of cases which you should be familiar with because they lead to what I want to say about the problem. One is called mediation, and you can guess at that. The mediator has no power, all he does is try to listen to the good sense that he can extract - really extract - from both sides, and then perhaps be able to make a suggestion about how to work out an intelligent settlement.

The other kind of case is called arbitration. Most people seem to think that the two words mean the same. They don't. Those of you in this room who come from labor organizations know the difference. The basic difference is that the arbitrator has a power to make a final and binding decision. Where does he get that power? He doesn't get it from the law, he gets it from the parties.

Now let's see how this introductory segment relates to our problem of equal pay for equal work. An employee working for some company challenges the amount of pay she is receiving in her pay envelope the end of the week, saying that she didn't get the amount of pay that somebody

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else did doing virtually the same work.

Now that problem is a typical problem, and it arises in two kinds of places; one where there is a union and one where there is not a union. The cases that I've just talked about mediation and arbitration would only occur in those instances where a union is already in existence. Then notice what happens. The employee comes into the mediation board and seeks arbitration. She doesn't do it personally, she doesn't have any standing. There is a contact in existence, the standing therefore is possessed by the two principals. Who are they? The employer on one side, the union on the other.

So that the union comes in as a representative of the employee and takes up the issue, much as an attorney would represent you in court, presenting all of the evidence that could be mustered for the purpose of establishing that there is validity in the claim.

What I've said so far indicates that we have a new kind of instrument, when I say "new" it's something that has become reasonably common in industry - organized industry - only since the second world war. That instrument is

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known as arbitration, and that is used as a means of virtually assuring equal pay forequal work, irrespective of background or sex or whatever.

In the other kind of institution--situation, where there is no union in the picture, what kind of recourse does the employee have, and here we come up against rather sad facts. The only recourse, if one exists, is not to the courts and not to arbitration, because arbitration arises only under contract, we have to look elsewhere. Where do we look? We look to a law.

If the law says equal pay for equal work, and by the way we have a law like that in the State of New York, and several other places that Mrs. Springer has listed for you already, the question will arise: Is that law enforceable? Have we appropriated enough money from the legislature to make sure that the investigators are going to see to it that there is compliance? Or, is this simply a lovely high school composition for the books which gives great publicity to some politician? How are you going to get that kind of a law enforced is a question that has been raised by people like ourselves, who come together, for purposes of setting a problem and see what could

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be done about it. It's quite obvious when you see some of the people who are on our panel here, who know anything at all about their activities, realize that this is a constant fight even with the assistance of legislation, where you have to come and make speeches not simply those that sound rhetorical, no matter how elegant they are, you have to have facts. These facts require a great deal of preliminary preparation. This is the kind of thing that I assume Mrs. Hegeman who is a past expert in this business will probably be talking about, so that we have to have all of this information and most of us are so blessedly busy that we can't go about doing our own independent research.

It's true that Mrs. Springer can refer to some sort of a document which in the first place may seem hard for you to get, although all it really requires is a postage stamp to the State Department, or Labor Department or whatever department put it out, or even your senator or congressman, and then assuming that you were diligent enough to get it, are you going to have time to read it with television and everything else distracting you, not counting bowling lanes and whatnot.

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Then after you've read the stuff, do you understand what you're reading. You see this requires almost highly professional competence in our times. We have to devote our time, therefore, to supporting organizations which are going to use their professionals. I don't think this is enough. My own judgment is that when people - like those in this room - who may not be really prpfessional, in every sense of the word, would nonetheless be able to use their sound intelligence and experience in order to provide the raw materials that these committees would need to see to decide whether indeed these laws are being enforced.

I wish to make another point because it isn't simply a question of law enforcement. I don't believe that the laws are-- have ever brought about fundamental changes which stop. We need an attitude toward this, too. The law is necessary, certainly, in many respects. Court decisions are necessary if the law isn't plain, but unless we get a change in attitude altogether, to the fact that women are being discriminated against, and Negro women because of color, being discriminated against even more significantly that it would be a mistake for us to try to talk in terms of democracy and

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miss the realities of existence.

Now let's see how this shapes up. I didn't spend any time on the union side of the picture simply because I wanted to distinguish between the sort of channel which is available to an employee in the form of arbitration, and the non-union side where I indicated that if a law's available it may be useful to-- but there may be some doubt about it, and if there's no law, then the woman is simply someone who can easily be victimized by an unscrupulous employer.

But if we had a central order where the employers began to see theusefulness of this kind of thing, and if you please - and pardon the reference - if unions really saw the genuine validity of this kind of thing, by and large, then the chances are that we would have a much greater exercise toward really establishing equal pay for equal work. The reason I put it this way, and I suppose that it can be provocative, is that there are too many organizations including labor organizations - in my judgment and let me warn you at this point I now speak as an observer of the scene rather than a representative of the mediation board - sometimes fail in their obligations. I'm

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not mentioning any union particularly, but sometimes fail in their obligations of making certain that there would be proper job descriptions that women will not be discriminated against.

Let me explain that for a moment because it's not immediately obvious. I, as a union man, who recognizes a problem that confronts the employer, that in an industry which is not entirely organized, women by and large receive less pay, want to keep the employer in business, would not allow anything to appear in the contract that would permit lower pay for women for jobs which are handled by men who would be higher pay. But, it might be possible for the women to be doing virtually the same work that the men do, but to arrange somewhat different job descriptions. This is a highly technical point but once you understand it it becomes clear as crystal. This is what makes the figures so difficult.

I was-- In preparation for the panel discussion, we never comment on all of the things any of us reads, of course, but in preparation for it, I ran through some of the figures compiled by a highly respected organization, the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics. I was

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astonished to find many women seem to be getting the same amount of money that men do. I just knew that practically this was not the case. I wondered well how do they make this out.

Well, for example, they'll have a tabulator operator, grade 1; tabulator operator, grade 2; but if the men are tabulator operator grade 1, and the women are grade 2, irrespective of the title, the work may very well be the same. What happens then? There will be a difference in pay. If on the other hand there is a genuine attitude to change this kind of thing, well, this would not be as widespread as I'm sorry to tell you it is. I don't have to tell you, you know it, of course.

But let me show you how the changes are taking place. You might have noticed that Mrs. Springer did refer to some activity on the part of the United Nations, certain conventions. These conventions, by the way, represent not the sort of thing we have in mind of people coming together but ideas upon which different nations agree. As these nations sign agreements, the convention, as it is called, that's this agreement, it is now being subscribed to and it is hoped that

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the philosophy will be applied generally.

In the United States we're gradually beginning to see this thing. I say gradually because all she listed of our 50 states was 22. Of the 22, a few of them are industrials. This is where this counts. Isn't that right? So, that we do have some distance to travel. In other words, we have to have a few of our own kinds of conventions-- these kinds--

MRS. SPRINGER: Most of them are not mandatory.

MR. MANSON: That's is correct. This is appropos of what I said about not enough money being used. Even if money were appropriated if it's not mandatory, it can be ignored. It's called educational. This takes some time to educate some of the employers.

But what I'm indicating is that a very important attitude is gradually beginning to accepted in this matter about equal pay for equal work. The United Nations, the International Labor Organizations, some of the states, certainly in some of the highly industrialized cities this can take place. Even the women themselves are beginning to recognize that they should receive as

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much as the men. If you think I am now being a little bit sarcastic, let me warn you. I remember a little over-- well, a few years ago, when I was connected with the State Minimum Wage Division, this was in the early 1930's, and we were trying as hard as we could to get the minimum wage law established constitutionally because the first minimum wage law in this state was declared unconstitutional when we tried to get women to receive thirty-one cents an hour, for a forty hour week, $12.40. We went up to the court with a case where I, as an investigator, found that some of the women were getting nine cents an hour.

This law we hoped would be declared constitutional and therefore the man who was responsible for this would be found guilty on the theory that the women needed special protection because the men - well, they could break their necks, they didn't need any special protection of the law, which was theory actually accepted in the courts at that time - they were not as it was called "wards of the state". In this instance it was felt that the children and the women would certainly have to be helped in some fashion, so an attempt was made to get the law established constitutionally

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and it was declared unconstitutional. This is what happened at that time. Then the changes took place which ultimately led to its constitionality, but the point that I want to make is this, that there were women at that time who opposed minimum wage laws. They felt, from a purely philosophical point of view, that women shouldn't be tmated as inferior citizens, they should be treated like men are treated, and with the application of the constitution, being equal, and they boxed themselves in, it seems to me, at that time in making it appear that if women are treated as men "Sure, everything will work out fine." Well, I think they're right if we live long enough.

One economist said long ago "In the long run we're all dead." We can't wait that long for these things to work out ultimately so the theory acquires a different point of view. Happily we find that women - professionals as well as those who are not in professional organizations - are generally accepting this point of view even to the step now, where as Mrs. Springer once more pointed out to you, the United States government officially is contemplating the establishment of federal legislation in this field.

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My last point is even if the law reads in a way which makes you sing "Hosanna" from the rooftops, don't depend on the law alone. Even if the union is as strong as you want it to be, don't depend on the union alone.

My view is that for a very long time, unless we keep at it as effectively as we can, we're going to have this problem with us.

Now, would you-- At this moment I've got to get off to the Nurses Association who by the way have a similar problem. They've just embarked on an economic security program for collective bargaining for nurses which is something new under the sun. Are there any questions before I go?

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: I would like you to address your questions to Mr. Manson briefly, because he does have to run but just in case there are some questions that you wish him to explain, you may go ahead and do so!

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: You mentioned about the nurses - the RNs?

MR. MANSON: Yes. The registered nurses as you know are members of the American Nurses Association, used to be treated to all of this

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talk about "be a Florence Nightingale; forget about personal affairs; work long hours at low wages. Remember you are a professional."

Some of the nurses finally discovered that many of these wonderful charity hospitals with-- were tall monuments for low wages.

They believe that they don't undermine their professional standing if they begin to seek better working conditions. Even nurses, mind you, have recognized for reasons of sex and other reasons too, that they simply have not been able to reach the kind of economic status quo that they're entitled, and because people become frightened when nurses go out on strike - they didn't go out on strike. People stopped going to the nursing schools. We have now one of the greatest shortages of nursing talent that this country has ever seen, due to an expanding population.

So, that at the present time, we have-- we don't have enough people being trained to become nurses to meet the ever growing needs. This is how absurd the situation has become. For the nurses in 1946, started on a new kind of program called P&P. For those of you who read about psychology, you might think it means extra sensory

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perception. That's not it. It's Economic Security Program. (Laughter) An economic security program essentially sets forth a valid objective for nurses to consider and that is to seek to improve their economic condition while maintaining high professional standards, but to do it through their collective efforts.

I can tell you when a professional organization reaches that kind of recognition of the importance of collective efforts, we're really making some sort of progress for the status of women in this country.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Is it possible to get copies of cases that come before the Mediation Board?

MR. MANSON: Some of the-- Only where you are personally involved, unless it's printed in the Bureau of National Affairs. There is a whole series called Labor Relations Reports, or Labor Arbitration Reports, which will print cases, not necessarily before our agency but including some before our agency. These reports are printed only where both sides agree that they print them.

The only other way to get an excerpt

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from the case is to be involved. I hope you don't become involved in them. (Laughter)

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Who arbitrates---

MR. MANSON: We have two kinds of arbitrators. We have those who are full time civil service, like myself, and they happen to be designated either by the chairman or myself; and then we have a panel, made up of private individuals who receive pay from both sides for an equal amount. It runs by the way to $100 a day. It's a good job if you can get it. By the way it's possible to get it with some experience.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: You didn't quite answer my question.

MR. MANSON: Oh, no union people and no management people. When they come in they come in as representatives is that what you meant?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: No. Before the established board convenes for arbitration, do they handle all cases that involve union employees who are employed by unions.

MR. MANSON: Oh, I see. Yes, but very rarely. We-- In fact I can recall one in

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which I was the arbitrator, with the Amalgamated, where they had a group of people in the organization dealing with their fund. This is very interesting.

They had an amalgamated insurance fund - a welfare fund - and they set up a local and a part of the amalgamated clothing workers of America, but they are working for the amalgamated.

Then I had another one which involved bricklayers in Westchester County where the employees of the union had their own little independent organization and had a contactwith the bricklayers union who in that instance were the employers. We arbitrated that kind of thing. But these are not typical. These, as you know, are rare.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: That isn't what you mean though.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: No, these two instances that you say were of employees that were of the union and were involved in a local faction, you know, that they were members of. Generally speaking the employees, those people employed as representatives, etc., for the union, members of the union that they represent and are employed by--

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MR. MANSON: I don't know why I should have such difficulty in following this thing (Laughter). Let's see whether I have this right.

Well pick you. You, let's say, were working for Union 100--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: And I'm a member of 100.

MR. MANSON: And you are a member of Union 100, what role are you occupying in Union 100 in that instance? Are you secretary, business agent, business manager, president, or what? What role would you give yourself for our illustration?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Well, you had one for the welfare fund.

MR. MANSON: Well, would you have been working for the welfare fund for the union, or would you be the expert about the welfare fund for the union?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Union employee.

MR. MANSON: All right. You're employed by the union, and the union pays you a check. You are a member of the union. You're the expert on the welfare fund. All right?

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We have such people. We also have people who are experts and work on compensation. Same way. They use their technicians as members of the union.

Now, let's see what happens that comes before-- that leads to a case that comes before the Board. You find that you have a grievance. Can you bring that grievance to arbitration. Only if you are a member of another union because otherwise you are saying, in your question, can we have cases between employees and employers. The answer is "No".

We have to have cases between employers and union who represent employees.

Now, let's change the fact. The-- Suppose the ILGWU was someday to work out a contract with its organizers. This is a case before the National Labor Relations Board. Then if they every committed that to writing, under that document, there might be-- I'm sure there would be, an arbitration clause, so then the organization of organizers could ask the mediation board of the American Arbitration Association to represent the person who has the grievance. It might be a woman because she isn't getting equal pay for equal work.

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Although, in the ILG I don't suppose it exists, generally they get the same kind of work, so you see the point I'm making now.

It has to be-- Well, this is my fault, I'm sorry, it has to be a case where there is a contract in existence between company and union. In fact there was a case the other day that went all the way up to the Court of Appeals in New York where an employee was angry about the way the matter was handled and had lost the case, and insisted on coming in alone. The Court said "No, you have to do it through your union because you have no standing."

Any other questions? Yes.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: This is sort of in relation to what you were citing here.

I work in a union office, and for a long time there was a discussion of whether we should go on to another union or would we ever strike against the union, you know, being union minded anyway being that we were in such a job. In some cases, well, we finally decided that we would want to have an office workers union regardless of where we worked. If you worked in a union office, you could still belong to an office workers union. In

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some cases I found that in some union offices, in order to not have this problem, a problem of a strike of the office workers against them, you would have to be a member of the local union that you work for and not be a member of an office worker—a separate union.

MR. MANSON: This introduces a new kind of problem. I wouldn't want to develop it now. Just comment upon it quickly.

Some such organizations say they simply won't go out on strike. They use some other techniques. The nurses for example; the teachers, who say they won't go out on strike whatever does happen actually. Some other times another matter but I don't want to be placed in the role now of encouraging or discouraging unionism under such circumstances but I could make this comment.

It's entirely likely when women work in a union office as such, especially as secretaries, that some people doing the same work won't be getting the same amount of pay. It depends, of course, on the local situation. This isn't necessarily true in any one instance but there are places where this has happened.

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Now, what is perhaps the most effective way of getting this thing acted upon. You can't do it through individual action, generally speaking, so that if you're going to call upon outsiders who can be trusted by both sides, the only way to reach an outsider for that purpose is through a union contract, as I've indicated. Which means therefore, that where we have problems of unequal pay for equal work, and this is where-- this happens very often, one of the ways of meeting that problem would be precisely along the arbitration route by having a contract between the employing agency and-- in this instance the union, and the employees, in a second instance who could join the union.

Some of them don't like to use the word "union", the prefer the word guild, or chapter or ledge, but we know what they're talking about is collective action, and is collective action strong enough to get a document which would commit to writing the ideas that have been worked out. It's something that's worth a great deal. We fought a long time to get arbitration in this country, and I think it's a powerful weapon in the fight, by the way, for equal pay for equal work.

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SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: How will the law for equal pay for equal work affect those people who are not organized or are not members of a union?

MR. MANSON: My original reaction, and it remains unchanged, is that law by itself cannot do very much. We need considerably more. One reason for taking this position is this. I've had too many experiences in working for the government where people have come to me, telling me that they had been victims of repraisals, and I get as burnt up as they do when they tell me the shabby things that have happened to them in industry.

I never know who is really at fault but I know the employee is at fault. He has or she has no place to go. There is no union in the picture, no law that can help them, even if there is a law there's some kind of a twist that exempts the employer. You wonder what could be done about it-- about such things.

If they catch somebody like myself, perhaps Mrs. Springer, we act like a pair of social workers; we'll make telephone calls. It don't help. This don't always help. Most of the time there's nothing that can help.

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On the other hand, suppose someone is a member of an organization. He has at least some outside agent that he can turn to, and to that extent, we can expect a sensible change of attitude. I might add there are employers associations that seek to establish high ethical standards in an industry, and that sometimes it's possible for an employee to appeal to an association if there's no other kind of an organization like the union available, and some kind of redress is possible.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I think that one thing that you must bear in mind with the legislation on equal pay for equal work is it only begins with an employer with 25 or more employees, and where you have the largest amount of discrimination you will find is where you have the small number of individuals intimidated with no recourse. Usually when you have groups of people, the united strength of the group, whether organized or because the potential of organization offers some security where you have the legislation to act.

MR. MANSON: By the way, that's only one kind of an exemption. There may be certain industries, certain operations, which are

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are exempt like non-profit hospitals or something of the sort. I think we should distinguish between the purposes of the organization and the manner of administration.

I gave a course for Cornell University in grievance procedure a short while ago, and was appalled to find out what was going on in one of our better hospitals in this town where I know that they have an excellent reputation for medical competence, but when it comes to treating personnel they have a lot to learn.

Well now the nurses headquarters is at 59th Street, and I must get there by four o'clock. So, please excuse me, and if there are any open questions, please get the names and addresses and I'll send them along.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Good. Thank you very much, Mr. Manson. We will excuse you reluctantly and we do thank you and appreciate your coming. You have been most informing.

MR. MANSON: Good luck.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Thank you.

Now, if you wish to continue the discussion on Mr. Manson's report further, you may do so. Or, we will move on to the next panelist,

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because the time is running out. We do have to go to our rooms and refresh ourselves and prepare for the grand evening tonight. So, if it's with your consent, I will move on to the next panelist. OK?

I'd like to suggest that if there are questions of Mrs. Springer, that you ought to take advantage of the quality and background that she has. We know each other very well. What I've got to say I can say very quickly. If you have questions for her, why don't we use the next few minutes for them and then I'll go on quite happily. Do you have questions for Mrs. Springer? Yes.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Fire away.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Share the wealth of information--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: She does have and let me tell you it's been very exciting to see her work quietly and consistently for a very long time against men (Laughter) and with men, and against men, to get where she is in the labor movement and I was particularly thrilled to get into Africa and have everybody ask me if I knew two people: Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Springer.

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I think this says a great deal for the quality of service. I wouldn't want you to miss this time. Then, what I want to say, I can do very quickly. I'm not ducking in any sense, but I am not the labor expert here, I just read all the statistics that they get together, and try to keep informed because I am deeply concerned. Now what about questions for her, then I'll tell you what I'm concerned about.

(Correction: Above speaker was Mrs. Anna Hedgeman.)

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Mrs. Springer I have one. I understand-- maybe this is a little off your line but maybe you can answer me. I understand there's a great decline in the women who are pursuing the legal on the American field, and I'd like to know why.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: I can't answer that, the degree to which women are not pursuing the legal and medical fields. I had rather-- the opposite reaction to women going into this-- these fields today.

In the first place, they are-- they have more top quality schools available to them. In the second place, opportunities for their talents

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are much more possible today. It can't happen in 1960 that a woman will apply for graduate work at Yale, with Harvard, with all of the competences and abilities and have a letter written by the president of the United States on behalf of this woman and to get an answer back that the young woman in questionis highly qualified but she happens to have the wrong sex. This is something that happened to someone that Mrs. Hedgeman and I knew, or know.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Yes.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Five years later this cracked. Now in terms of lawers, in terms of medicine, statistically I don't know. I happened not to look at it but I have some figures here that in our country today there are only 324 women in the state legislature; 290 of them in the assembly, 34 of them in the state senate. Seven hold-- Seven women hold positions of state secretaries. In the country there are 6000 women lawyers. Of this group, 590 of them are judges onvarious levels.

I challenge those statistics but women are not going into the legal and medical field. I would have to see them.

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MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: I would have to see them, too. Certainly everything that I know would indicate that women are discovering that for instance with the law, that you don't have to practice the law, to go into it. For a while women were a little discouraged. It wasn't easy to set up a general practice, but nowadays they've learned that it's a good thing-- a good springboard in any kind of a political activity that it's an excellent springboard in various government agencies, in the mediation service, for example.

It means a great deal if you have this quality of background. I know a young woman right now who's just gone into the mediation field. She's having a very exciting time. She does have the legal background which makes it possible for her. I would question this. I think the medical end of it gets a little more complicated.

There are some-- With the emphasis on early marriages, I think we've had some decline at that time-- at that level because it takes such a long time, but I'm not sure that even there--

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Even there--

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: I say, I'm not sure that even there that the statistics would prove

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you to be accurate.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Well, I happen to have been in a bar association meeting, and this came from a noted attorney and they were all women, so that's why I asked the question.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: I say that I don't know. I only know from the observations I have been making in terms of the young people, I know, going into this field. In the first place the whole social climate, it's so changed. This is what we're talking about - equality of opportunity - on this question of equal pay for equal work and the removal of discrimination that a woman does not have to take law today and think that she will only write the brilliant briefs that the men will read.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Or every go before court.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Or that her job will be in only the most limited exercises no matter what her talent. It's still a tough fight.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Any professional field into which you go will be just as tough a battle as any other field into which you go. I think that this is the thing that we have considered

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seriously enough.

The second thing, it seems to me, that we've got to remember that-- again no matter what thefield, wherever we're going in for the first time, well maybe just barely for the second generation of it, that again the movement within it, is a very difficult one.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Let me tell you that it's amusing today, but one of the women who started-- challenged the suffrage movement for the right to vote, and was-- an ordained minister, was a minister, trained as a minister, she was-- it was 50 years later before she got her degree and when she sat on a public platform, her male counterparts introduced her in this manner. Tonite a hen will crow. (Laughter)

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: When you're talking about equal opportunities, or equal pay for equal work, and still at the same time talking about female versus male, and that kind of thing, but we can talk all night along that line because we have a certain kind of philosophy which we will fit into it seems, or a woman, and our role in society and that sort of thing. Every day every woman goes out to work, and I think that the basis of any kind

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of thing that a woman will face when she takes a job that is taken by the male constituents now, she takes a-- with her her background in terms of training and whatnot, and so she seeks the job. I think that since we are here as Negro women, we need to talk about the thing that faces us most, and that is if we walk into a situation where a job isn't advertised, or we walk into a situation for employment to an agency to seek a job for us, and we are sent out, the minute we walk in and show our faces, then the situation changes. Those of these things are the things that we have to fight and be able to cope with, so we're not just talking about enlightening-- we're just not talking about equal pay for equal work because I don't believe that-- nobody here belies, I know it, in a situation where-- Well, let me give you an example.

I was in Europe for ten years as an accountant and there were jobs in the newspapers that were advertised. I felt that I had the educational background. I had had the experience, and I could seek that job but the mere fact that I walked in, and if another woman walked in with me, she could be considered most because it would be considered a question of sex, let us say. They

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may change their minds because somebody comes up who's qualified, then say leave the woman out who is not qualified. So I stand there as a person who is qualified, and will seek the job because I have say the ambition, I have the college, or say I have the fortitude and feel that I can take this job as the job is not necessarily a man's job. So, it gets to be a question of race. It gets to be a question of discrimination. So, the woman who is qualified to move into a situation I feel needs to have some kind of opportunity, at least have something behind her so she can work towards that.

I don't think it's just a matter of male versus female in this. I would like to find some--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Go ahead-- I thought you were-- Continue, go ahead.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to have something where we pass on the matter of discrimination because that's where it is most of all. That's where it is, more so than the matter of male versus female.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: May I attempt to challenge this-- the discussion and the purpose

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of your panel in the proper way and the proper perspective.

Now, we are here to discuss equal jobs, I mean equal pay for equal work for women. And-- Yes, I should have this instead of sitting here and laboring with this,-- without it.

Our primary purpose is to discuss equal pay for equal work for women, specifically for Negro women, upgrading and to break the barriers of discriminatory practices; mainly against Negro women. And, after discussing it, and going into the various phases, and hearing the reports and experiences of the panel, then we will discuss how do we as NALC members and as NALC-- and as an NALC organization go about eliminating the discriminatory practices against Negro women as to equal pay and equal job opportunities.

Ok. This gentleman first since no man has spoken.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I thank you for the non-discriminatory practice. (Laughter)

I have one question that I'd like to direct to Mrs. Springer. I hope you have the figures since you raise the issue of Negro-- I'd like to make it more general. Do you have the figures

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of the national average annual per capita income for, let's say, Negro females as opposed to the average annual income-- per capita income for the average Negro male?

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Negro male?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Yes. Integrated Negro male-- I'll make it more general since it's on really equal basic work for women. I'd like-- Do you have those figures? The annual per capita income for females as opposed to the annual per capita income of males of let's say '61? Do you have those figures?

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: I wonder if I brought them. It's between $1500 to $2000 difference.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: The difference? Male or female?

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: I don't think I'm giving you factually what you're asking for. The difference between the median income for a white woman doing a job, is not-- a negro woman doing the same job, is not quite $2000. It's less than that. The difference, yes.

The difference between a white male and a negro male, doing the same job, is approximately

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$2000.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Women's--

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: I have the figures but I did not bring them so I cannot quote them precisely, but that's an approximation.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: I would be glad to send you the recent summary of those of-- the New York times carried because I had copies or duplicates made of them. I didn't bring them today because I knew that Mrs. Robinson and Mrs. Springer were scheduled to be here, and I knew-- you know-- that between them, they couldn't remember all the things but between them they would have it. But there is a consolation-- compilation and interesting enough, it shows that negro women have actually gone up some 53% in the pay they receive but they were already so far behind that this still leaves them with a deficit-- a differential that Mrs. Springer has just mentioned.

In addition to this, the male and female, both operating below the current wage scale, leave the whole family situation in a very bad state and we have, of course, the current problem which is very real of a number of people on welfare who do not have the experience now that automation

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is coming, and this, too, is going to reflect in the whole relationship.

I should like-- I wonder if we can't in the next few minutes, use the time that I'm concerned with on two points. I'll come to your discrimination question because it is--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Can I say something. While you are at it, will you please talk about the reason for the gap between these two peoples-- groups of people, male and female, or white and black. Also, would you please talk about the education that the negro has to have to fill the gap; and also would you please mention the drop out-- (Laughter)

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: We'll cover all those points if--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Will you clarify for me, is this the discussion of discrimination because of color, discrimination because of job?

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: This is a discussion because of the discriminatory practices again in labor, against negro women--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: As a whole?

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: --as a whole,

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equal pay, equal job opportunities, as a race and also as sex. This we intend to cover as well as, as I said before, how--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: We can't just hold it to the female, we have to talk about the whole thing in terms of social structure, and economic structure, and we also want to know what you're going to do about it, it also will mean the child in the school--

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Right--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: --it means the drop out problem, the mother on relief, the father who doesn't-- you know all those things.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: All of these things-- All right-- Let me pick up right now--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: All these things. Meta in here you interrupt at any point where you have anything you want to stick in, because I have written down here several things as everybody has been talking. I've written down the word facts. You remember this was you. One of the things that I discover as I move around the country, working with local women's groups of all kinds, in trade unions, in church leadership groups, the League of Women Voters, almost any kind of group you can

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mention because the world is my bailiwick, too. I discover that very few times do even union people have the facts. I should like to start with that.

(MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN SPEAKING ABOVE.)

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: This is what we want.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: No. 1, do you really know--how many of you here really are union members? Do you really know the structure of your union? How many do? How many of you work with a local union with a whole group of Negroes who do in your community know, who are in the union, who know the structure of the union? Hands up. One. Now, I point this out because it's significant. Nobody, but nobody, is giving anything away. You have to prepare yourself to take it.

Now that does mean, get the facts. (a) What is the structure of your union? What is it's history? What has it been able to achieve before you got there? What is its foreseeable future? What are you contributing to it? I was getting to that. Are you always at union meetings?

Let me tell you. I was asked to

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take some foreign guests through two organizations when I was in Washington, Meta. I was supposed to show off the democratic process.

Well, I took them first to a meeting of interdenominational ministers because I had been told that here they forty groups of ministers together in one spot and this is going to be the election of officers of this group.

I get there, what happens. A minister meets me at the door and says "So glad you came. Our election is almost over." "Oh" I said "I wanted the people to see it." "Oh, we just put in a ballot of the same officers we've had for the last five years. They've been wonderful. We are continuing." So that was the end of that democracy.

I then took them to the League of Women Voters because I knew that they would be presenting the Democratic and Republican candidates for that year, in some form. So I went there with my foreign group.

The League of Women Voters, ladies, said to me "We had a speaker for the Democrats, we have a speaker for the Republicans," then she whispered "but we've selected the strongest one for

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the Democrats, because most of us are democratic." (Laughter) So that was my next illustration.

Then I took them to the trade union, a trade union meeting, because it was well advertised. It was to meet at 9:00 o'clock in a very lovely meeting room. When I got there, there were exactly nine people present. The poor president said "Well, you know, after 9:30 I think three more came." The president said-- oh, yes, the guests always ask the wrong questions. She said "How many members do you have?" "Fifteen hundred." "Well, do you mean only twelve attend?" "Well, these twelve are really the executive group, and they do the work." So, you see-

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Where are the members?

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Now, where are the members? Now, Negroes stand out and squawk but you know you have to be on hand. You not only have to know what your union's about, but you have to be there to keep track of it. It's like any other organization. It's made up of human beings. Whoever is on hand--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Very fallible human beings. (Laughter)

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MRS. ANNA MEDGEMAN: Very fallible human beings with power and personal objectives, just as you have. And, if you are not there, you cannot know what goes on. That of course means that you also pay your dues, and that you're keeping track of every activity and reading the material.

This is another thing that most union people even do not do. This may mean using time on Saturday and Sunday at home reading that stuff and getting ready to ask all the wrong questions at the right time. This has effect also on what you're talking about which is attitude.

Your continuous activity in your union is going to be rought because what negroes are up against are experienced manipulators of the trade union movement. We might just as well face that fact. Experienced manipulators of the trade union movement, people who have understood its power, who know its structure, and who are on the job.

I was wondering for example, whether anybody was— would ask Mrs. Springer for the number of that bill and how to get it, but nobody did.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: I brought all of that along with me. I even brought records

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records hoping that you would.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Equal pay for equal work. Nobody here said "Where can I get a copy of that bill?"

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: The number of that bill is--

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Now, wait a minute. I didn't ask you yet. Let them get it. I may have to stay after and miss some time getting dressed for the night. Do you see what I'm getting at? I'm not going to give you my time.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Right.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Nobody asked for it.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: I see what you mean.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: The bill, the name of the bill, the number of the bill, and then somebody might have asked how do I get the bills as they're coming up? Are they inmy state anywhere? How do I keep myself informed about legislation which cannot-- which can effect me on my job? Nobody asked you either. She said she'd give you the 22 states. I don't know whether you'll come up and get that or not.

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She had other information obviously here that she's ready to pass on. She's just dying to give it away but don't give it to them unless they ask you for it because unless we get to the place where we get excited about getting information and using it, and not just filing it away-- all the way home on the train, or the bus, or whatever you took, read. Don't talk to somebody about the party you went to or the friends you saw. The devil take it. Read the stuff you've got there so that when you get back you will be thinking to yourself, "How can I get the members of my union on the job?" That's the next problem you've got.

You as individuals may be functioning beautifully, but unless everybody knows that behind you is a background of people who are concerned, you get no place. This is particularly true with this organisation which is currently constructed to help you get on the ball. In fact, it ought to mean that three nights a week, you negroes who are part of the labor council are meeting to study, to think together, to share experiences, to write out strategy, so that as you move out into your other union connections, you go prepared, and not

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go and sit. That's the other thing that happens, you know. People go-- who do go, sit because they're not quite sure how to bring up questions, how to get it really going, how to make it effective. We all need to know robot rules of order, because, oh boy, the way an experienced trade union leader can trick you, is fantastic. He doesn't if he knows that sitting in front of him are some people who know exactly how to get a question off the floor, on the floor, or to do whatever needs to be done to make the thing move.

Some of the resources that we ought to know about, are important here. For example, you're going to find out about the bill, I presume. I think you'd be embarrassed not to do that now, right? Now, when you ask for the bill, you might ask also how you reach your local offidal. Did you all know that you elect people who have responsibility to you? That your Congressman has? That your Congressman probably doesn't see a negro except at election time because nobody is around asking him for legislation which has been introduced? Asking him what he has been doing? Do you watch his vote? This appears in the paper almost every day during the congressional session. You watched

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to see whether he voted for your bill? Do you notify him that he did or did not vote for your bill? These are the kinds of practical one, two, three, four questions that we have to get under our belts. What's happening in your industry. Do you know what is happening in that industry? This becomes important.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Mrs. Hedgeman I would like to go one step further. Here are a group of union members, not confined yourselves to what your congressman or senator is doing, but the kinds of legislation that your union is interested in--

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: What?

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: The kind of legislation that your union is supporting. The kind of legislation that your union is lobbying for.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Defnitely. Excellent.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: This is important.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: This is really what I meant about knowing your whole union. Let's say it another way. Knowing your union program. What are they after? And national legislation,

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what are they after in state legislation? What are they after in city legislation?

These— This kind of information will guide you people in your studies. Then you will know that you are up to date on that because there's so much to know that nobody can get all of it under their belts at a given moment. If you keep up with your union program at all levels, you're on your way, to being an informed person.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Sorry, I thought you were finished.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: No, I never finish. (Laughter) Interrupt because it's your show.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I really want to get back to equal pay for equal work.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Wait because you're not ready yet.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I'm not ready?

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: No. You may be personally—

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: You mean I'm not a woman—

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: No. You're

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not— I don't know yet whether you're a trade unionist, really.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: This I can vouch for.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: I insist upon knowing this first before I'll discuss equal pay, women, men, anything else.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Oh, yes I am.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Good. I don't know, I hope so.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: I guarantee it.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Do you guarantee it?

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Yes, I do.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: All right. Wait a minute. Is your union? Is your union on the ball? I'm not asking you. I'm asking him. Is your union—

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Yes. If we were not on the ball, I would doubt that I would be here.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Oh, that doesn't mean a thing.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Oh, yes it

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is.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Wait a minute. Do you attend— No it doesn't. See, I know my folks.

No. 1, do you attend meetings?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Yes, I do.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Do they?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: They?

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Yes. The other union members in your union.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Yes, from what I've seen so far, yes.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Specifically, negro women.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Yes, they do.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Specifically, negro women?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Yes, yes.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: This is what we are interested in. And men? I'll tell you why. We've got to get them both in. Negro women do they attend?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Yes, but actually I do want some information. I think it would be very helpful.

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MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: That's all right. I want some, too, (Laughter) because I want this whole group to go home and stir this country up. We're in a mess, my friends, and I'm not going to play with it one second and--

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Neither am I.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: If your people are ready, that-- then we will entertain your question.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: We have negro women, and men. This is different, I think, it's race not sex.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: It's both sex and race we're discussing. Take one at a time. Then we can understand.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I want to know why the difference exists because I already know that you find basically in the service industries or marginal industries you find women; while you find your men in construction, heavy industry and receive naturally higher rated pay and women cannot perform that work to make equivalent salaries. My question is this: In what industries do you find this basic problem, mainly the discrimination on--

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MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: The sex differential?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Right. In what industries?

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Practically every industry there is sex differential. I've been studying-- Yes, let me refer you Industry Wage Supply of Hotels and Motels for example.

MRS. LOLA BELLHOLMES: Excuse me for a minute. Someone kept my pencil, would you please - a blue striped pencil. I'm very handicapped without it. Now, go ahead, thank you.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Industry Wage Survey on H tels and Motels United States Department of Labor. Now, I didn't see a soul pick out a pencil and write it down. Maybe you have it already. Did you? One. Thank you very much, stand up and take a bow. Because this is the way you get information that you can use. If you think I'm being tough about this, go back and talk with people and you'll know what I'm talking about.

This is on hotels and motels where we have a great many people working in many capacities. The United States Department of Labor May, 1962, Bulletin 1328, and they have indicated here, for

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example, New York City accumulated more than a fourth of nearly 134,000 workers within the scope of the survey, from 23 areas. Nine-tenths of the workers were employed in establishments which also operated eating and drinking places. So, we got everything from bartenders, waiters, waitresses, chambermaids, etc. Chambermaids the largest occupational category studied separately, accounted for 15 to 20 per cent of the hotel and motel employment for most of the areas.

Men accounted for approximately 3/5ths of-- among the occupations for which data are shown. The wage differentials, women outnumbered men as elevator operators, and as waiters. However, the average hourly wages of non-supervisory personnel for men were about $1.78. Women were $1.62.

Now, you can go on. This is full of the information, you see. You have to get it--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Isn't that the one with $1.70-$1.94, I think.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Yes and then there's one here where a wage was at 94 cents-- $94 a week for men, and $83 for women, and so it goes, same work. This you will want to see on your own because there is no need in my picking out

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occupation after occupation for you. Right?

This is one document I found valuable, and I think that you might very well. There are any number of documents like this. I've been doing my homework and I don't pretend to be up to date, but again you have to study those occupations which are open to women. You need to know them, within your union even. What are the occupations within your union which are open to women and how— and what is it that the union fights for terms of these?

The differential runs, I found waiters and waitresses getting, for example, $1.12 forwomen, and $1.16 for men. So, whatever the category, you will find that there is ordinarily - now this isn't always true, of course - but there is usually a differential based on sex, and we already have noted for us the fact that many of these differentials do get worked out in some occupations by differences in title of the job. You'll be fascinated to know that I worked last year with the bank officials, women in banking in the City of New York, even there women were given special titles in order that they could be paid less for the same job the men were doing in

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banking. The clerical study is the same thing.

Up and down and up the line whatever the category, you can count on it, that there is likely to be a differential, and if you take these studies and work with them you will know exactly where they are for your particular industry. OK?

All right, now—

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: There's a question.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: First I'd like to apologize for being late. I want to say that in your negotiations of your contracts, you also can negotiate for equal pay—

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: A little louder please.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: One of the things I'd like to point out to you girls here, and I think that this should be delegated for participation. Isee that the leadership is entertaining all the activity. Now the reason I say this is so— This is what happens in local union meetings. This is why we do lose a lot of things we could gain. I'm real serious about this because I come from the white collar group. I was the first negro woman that ever dared to run for the

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vice presidency, and I lost by just four votes to a white woman. This was simply because we didn't have enough real membership participation, and I felt that I could have won that seat if I had had a little more support, particularly from the handful of negro women who belonged to it, the white collar workers union.

Now, this is only one of the things that we lose because we do not participate. Another example is this. In May, I ran as a delegate to a national white collar workers-- white collar convention. This one I won by one vote, because in this instance we had enough people who were concerned with the one thing that we do not want to have a lily-white international convention. The real tragedy was that I was in the hospital at the time the convention was held and I couldn't attend, so they did have a lily-white convention, but this was because I could not get out of bed. If I had, I would have gone there on a stretcher.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Now, Miss Jones, I want to correct one thing. If you'd have been here, you'd know that everybody had a chance to ask every question they had, and in any way.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I did apologize--

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MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: I know, but I want you to know that that happened, and that I who was supposed to do a special speech withheld it deliberately so that the experts could be questioned from the floor. We did begin, when I began, by presenting the situation which you just said that we've got to be at meetings, know the constitution and all the rest. We talked about this very definitely.

On the other hand, if anybody wants to interrupt at any moment, that's understood. We don't want to waste a second. Does anybody?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Pardon me, please, but I simply must get this over.

In view of what Sister Jones stated of her running for these offices, twice, I believe, in different organizations-- Same. Now, I wish to point this out, and I do mean it. I do mean that we should take recognition of the fact, it's a foregone conclusion that why we negroes cannot win these offices, we are not supported by negroes. We do not support each other. We don't trust each other. This we must overcome.

These are things that we must study. We must discuss. We must examine the reasons for

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these things and act accordingly, then we will be able to break down many barriers. Many barriers that exist are our fault because we haven't attempted— we haven't moved forward—

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: You had a question?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I have two. I came here with two things in mind and I just wanted to say them. Since I am here and I don't know where exactly it will fit in at this point—

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Surely.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I was thinking about mainly— Mrs. Springer brought up the fact that there's a bill in the Senate at the moment to be acted upon in January. In some states there are hour laws and weight laws, and—

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Right to work laws—

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Right to work laws, night work and all these laws being so that they eliminate women in certain jobs, and at one point we considered ourselves delicate and found out that we couldn't be quite so delicate and we couldn't afford it. In law is there any sort of legislation that would allow women to work

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nights? You know, in order to be home with your children in days to make the income of a home more increased, and we do quite a bit of heavy work, you knowwashing and bringing up kids and stuff like that you get to be quite lift weighters, but-- weight lifters, so I was wondering in the bill if anything was discussed in this manner.

The other thing that I wanted to discuss at this point is the federal minimum law that I understand - I might not be correct on this - I understand it has to do with production, and production that goes interstate and oftentimes women are relegated to work in the Salk industries, not mainly Salk industries, but local industries that do only work that supplies the immediate state or community,-- You know like rag factories, nut factories, paper factories that process paper that perhaps do not ship across the state lines. In any sort of way can we consider legislation that would include these sort of industries because this is where we lack-- so many of us having to work, usually they're small places, closer to home, we get there and back, and you don't get a chance to get into a big factory that has double-- government contracts or industry or interstate

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interstate commerce.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Well, I think I pointed out earlier to you that under the legislation, as it is now set up, it exempts an employer with less than 25 employees. There are a number of other exemptions but one would have to take the bill and go down these exemptions because it covers--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: That's right; that's right.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: --very large groups which has to do with some of the non-profit organizations. It has to do with the federal minimum wage, too. It has one of the largest groups of workers, in the country. You have-- You certainly do not have domestic workers covered to the degree that they should be. Your agricultural workers, non-profit organizations, and where you do have coverage it is so marginal it cannot compare with the coverage that you have for the legislation for the areas that are highly industrialized with the political muscle of the labor movement behind it to press for such legislation; or, in areas where you have congressmen and senators who must be responsive to the industrial

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working community, so that all of this legislation we talked about, never covers all of the categories which they should, or that we feel should be included.

Let me say one thing further on this point in terms of the kinds of occupations that we are in. One of the most important things I think that negroes need to do, and not negro women, but negro women because you are the standard bearer for your family, you need to begin to stretch your fight somewhat higher for your children, but-- for yourselves and for your husbands, because if you don't believe it here, you can't convey it to anyone else.

This goes for educational opportunities, for taking advantage of training. There are a great many areas with all of the disabilities we have where you can apply and get additional training for jobs, and future jobs, and today the social climate, the political climate, the economic climate in this country, is such that a black boy and a black girl can think in terms of international affairs, national affairs, as his due. If you don't begin to think about it, you're never going to prepare for

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it.

As we stand now, we're still-- as an advance, we're big deal, clerical workers. We're still largely in the church work--

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: And, in clerical workers, in the lower guild.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: But, I'm saying, this is a very great advance in a sense, so I am saying to you and perhaps this is not relevant to this panel, but if you do not begin to project your sights in terms of what you are able to do, no matter what your age, you ought to think in terms of improving your qualifications for your job, because it isn't doing us any good to talk about equality - equal pay for equal work - unless you have what goes with it.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: What we've begun calling this in our communities is a standard of excellence for ourselves on whatever assignment we have, as well as interpreting to children, to neighborhood children, - you mentioned the drop out thing. We-- More of our students are dropping out in junior high school and grade school than any other group. At the same time that the market is not going to have many of the

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service jobs that we formerly occupied open to us.

Now, this gets to be serious. This is why I'd like to pull you back to two organisations - your own trade union relationship and your national negro labor group, for essentially it seems to me it is for the purpose of having us (a) know the market, (b) know what our skills are in relationship to it, (c) talking about our relationship to the union, knowing the legislation that's coming up, planning strategy, so that when she moves back in her white collar union she will have already discussed the national labor council's how best to get out in front there. She will have brought in some of those new white-- snooty white collar workers. You will pardon my word but you know what I mean. She will have brought in some of those snooty white collar workers into the labor council where they will begin to hear some inspiration to go back and support her when her name comes up. Then she will be a part of local trade union negro labor history, in her own right. She will go in there prepared.

This is why the emphasis on getting the beginnings of your facts today. If we were,

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all three of us who have been up here, and our chairman Houdini, we couldn't give it to you. We can only hope that we make you determined to return home and become knowledgeable about your union, knowledgeable about the negro situation whatever it is in your community, knowledgeable about women and their wages and occupational availabilities, knowledgeable about legislation, knowledgeable about how you function in a society whose attitudes need to be changed. How do you change them?

All of this we've got to go back to local communities with.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Just a minute please. Now-- There were two sides to his question. One you have answered. One was equal pay for women doing equal work to men. One was equal pay to negro women and that of whites. Is that right? Was that question answered satisfactorily?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: No.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Okay. Did you--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I have another question I'd like to ask her.

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MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Yes, since he's a man and he's interested in our problem, and we think that the men can help us, and he has the same problem (Laughter) go ahead. I'm giving him preference. Go ahead, brother.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I first came in contact with this problem some months ago in Washington, just before you had the hearings, at the White House conference on the problem.

I wasn't convinced at that time that there was a problem, when you were pushing for this legislation. I think you might be creating more problem, actually, than what you solve, when you demand equal pay for equal work. (Laughter) Let me say this. So far the examples that you've pointed out, I haven't been terrible impressed with the wage differential. You pointed out $1.12 to $1.16.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: We said in every field.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: In every field, all right. Let's take for one example, the post office where you are getting exactly-- the women are getting exactly the same pay that the men are getting. Yet the men there, who far outnumber the

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women, are bitterly complaining that they have to do certain heavy work that the supervisors have come and asked them to do that they wouldn't dream of asking the women to do. Now, I think we really have to be fair about this.

If you want equal pay, I think in truth, you must be willing and ready to perform equal work, mainly lifting up heavy bales if necessary--

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Aw, let's be reasonable now.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Then it's not equal work. Let's really be honest with ourselves. It's not equal work.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: I think you'll need to do-- Let Mrs. Springer-- I-- This is one--

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: A family quarrel.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: This is one that's a family quarrel. This is one that the two of us have struggled with for years and we've got the answer to this, so listen.

We want you to be sure to hear these solutions to this one.

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MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: This isn't a solution, you see, because not even after you have the legislation are you going to have the solution because you can always point out the unusual cases, but the whole premise on which this legislation is founded, has-- is developed on the bias against women, setting up categories of employment and paying women lower rates of pay for doing exactly the same work.

Let me take the electrical trade as an example. Let me take the needles trade as an example.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Or hospital workers.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: There's a number-- I'm taking soft trades where somen sit down and push a punch press operation, and can do that exactly as the man does and because she is a woman, you set a wage differential. By the same token, many, many years ago, in the history of the garment workers, this-- you had a differential of wage payment which only forced down the wages of the men. This has been true all over in the textile industry.

You will-- of course, you will find

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examples where you're statement is valid, but we are talking about the labor forces of 24½ million women in the United States. 24½ million women, and what it rehates to in the professional category, in medicine, in law, in teaching, you name it, and in clerical work.

I can remember when in many countries clerical workers, stenographers, and bookkeepers, and typists, were male, and when the shift came and wars changed the status of those jobs, pulled the men out of those jobs, they changed the wage rates of them. When increases where made, you changed the title of the job and called the male typist something else.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Grade A.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: No where in the world can you accommodate yourself to that and it is to remove this kind of inequity, you see.

I am not denying, to you, that you will not find instances to substantiate your argument.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: But, I would like to say--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: It's fundamental to this thesis, that equal pay for

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equal work as a principle and as a practice of determining fair wages for all. This has to do with determining the wages of males.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Now, this is in the majority. Now, there is another problem which women have had. There are some occupations which are by their very nature detrimental and have always been a complex problem. What dangers to the future of a person who is of childbearing age, for example, is heavy lifting. There will be some of these areas which do have to be given special consideration. That's in terms of life and on-going life. It's very important.

But, by and large, this is not what we're talking about. It's not what's indicated in the survey. This is not in most of the 24 million women we're talking about.

Even then, by the way, some things which were thought to be very heavy work, turned out not to be heavy work when women actually investigated them. The excuse was used to keep us out of the labor force.

You've had your hand up a long time, DuPrey.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: On what

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you were saying in your reprimand to us about becoming knowledgeable about the organizations that we're involved with, and that have the power to effect a change, namely the union's-- and NALC, and speaking to of what Mister Randolph said this morning that any organization be it government, or union, or the church, that is completely controlled or run by whites is by nature a discriminatory organization. Speaking of our unions, which we are all involved in and NALC which is involved in a fight to bring about equality of opportunity within their labor movement for negroes, I am brought back to Mrs. Springer-- By the way Mrs. Springer's reputation is not just known all over Africa, Europe and the rest of the world, I found out two months ago when I went in the hospital with a room with three people, including me, that the person next to me telling me about Armeda Springer. She's been her secretary for 14-15 years.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Good. If your secretary loves you, anybody does. (Laughter)

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: --that labor unions are well known for their discrimination both against negroes and against negroes in their hiring

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practices, in the hiring of personnel to represent the unions, that in spite of the many barriers presented to negro women in this situation, Mrs. Springer has been able to surmount them. She has gone forward. She has achieved what had seemed unachievable, and even to us now, you know, in our positions I do not see the way. We can only applaud someone like the young lady who had the nerve and foresight to run for election. I think that too many of us sit back and we do not challenge the established authority in that we do not push ourselves forward, so that we will have some of us represent our people.

I would like to know, from Mrs. Springer, (I'm sure it's not possible here in the next five minutes) for her to tell what are our tools, Mrs. Springer, how can we, as individuals, - you heard my question to the gentleman on mediation - we don't have that outlet, we can't go to a mediation board because we're not paid equally, because we're not given equal opportunity in our union which we are members of. What would you suggest to us as union people, as the best methods for pursuing these roles which we are discussing?

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: If I had

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that formula (Laughter) there would not be the need for a Negro American Labor Council, but as an alternative, since I don't have the formula, let me suggest some of the steps, and if we-- which will mean to many of us a few moments of truth.

I come out of a union which has perhaps 10 per cent of its membership negroes, 10 per cent. I think it's a little bit more now. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Twenty-nine years ago, when a-- when I became a member of that union, the union was traveling around the city, they had just gone into power, asking YWCA and asking various other agencies, to help them to bring negro workers into the industry. I wasn't one of them that did have to ask.

I was in the industry, and when the Price Committee, which had to fix my wages, was elected, I made sure that I eventually learned something about this. I was elected to a Price Committee. I went to all of the dreary meetings. I took my son on Saturday morning, when there was nowhere to keep him, I attended the various court-rooms. I became unpopular in some groups, and

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popular in some groups. This had to do with blacks and whites.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: RIGHT. I can testify.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: So can I.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: So, there is no magic formula. I means work on your part, and an intensity and a devotion to what you are doing. The only thing-- and an improvement in your skill. I'm a factory worker. I'm a dressmaker. I'm not a professional in this industry,-- out of this industry. I have done everything in the garment industry from pinking dresses to a power machine operator.

I did not sit and complain that I was not given an opportunity to learn how to make dresses because the other workers in the industry did not have that opportunity either. They either have a member of their family or went to school, and they got thrown out of shop by shop and were told they were shoemakers, until they learned the skill or someone worked with them; in the industry there was a policy on the part of the union to make some breakthrough. This I can testify to in New York City. I will not swear for what my

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brothers did and are possibly doing now. You can't swear for human beings.

So, it means whether you belong to a black union, or a white union, it means work. It means a deep concern not for the promotion that you will get, but toward the service that you will be able to render, because if you are looking for a promotion for yourself, your scope is going to be so limited that most people will find you out pretty soon and knock you off.

So, this may not answer your question.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: So right. May I add something to that great answer because it says the one thing we've been talking about which is good, hard, work. There is no substitute.

I should like to go back - I hate to admit this publicly - about 35 years, when there were no negroes in the garment trade in New York. When negroes in Harlem organized just as you are doing now and bought power machines, they put in Harlem, and taught the women there, so that the union would accept them. That's how the union happened to go out after negroes for the trades.

So, you were-- We had to work to know. I am a laundry worker, and I'm a laundry

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worker because of an intelligent negro laundery worker.

I was working with a club group. They didn't react properly to study. They didn't think. They didn't want to do anything. One day I said to the president "How is it that you are so undependable?" She looked me dead in the eye and said "Have you ever worked in a laundry?" I said "No." This again was 35 years ago. She told me how to apply. Told me that when I got to the door and the woman asked me if I wanted the job to say "I could shake." I didn't know what it meant but I went. (Laughter)

I was directed to a big vat of clothes and I found out that I was supposed, literally, to shake out the clothes all day long with the selvedge edge of the hems up. The next day she promoted me because she had pull inside and I became a feeder. The next day she promoted me again and I became a catcher. I was spending all day on these horrible claws. My fingers were blistering from the heat of the things that were coming toward me. There was no decent lunchroom. There were no toilet facilities.

Suddenly, I knew that this had to

corrected. I suddenly got vigorous and busy. I went back to the club and said "What have you been doing about it?" They said that they had been complaining but they got fired when they complained, because they had not used their strength in an organized fashion and made—

Armeda can tell you that the laundry industry is a changed thing today because we both began to pull together to plan to work out strategy, to go after information, babble for legislation to be present at meetings, to fight for their rights. It's no easy road.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I think that too many times we don't recognize the rights that we are all entitled to.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: That's the point. Right.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: We have contracts and don't know what's in half of them.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: We don't know what the contract is. We've not bothered to study it.

Last week I spent a whole day with a group of 60 negroes complaining of the New York State, about their state law against discrimination.

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They said it wasn't functioning. I asked how many had read it, and three out of 160 people had even seen it.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: Briefly, since you haven't said anything--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I'd like to ask one question. I know you have a dual problem, the question of the male constitution for your problem, now what I've been hearing it's been neglected completely, which I think personally, the little experience that I have, is very valuable. Socially--

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: May I answer you on that, just quickly.

This goes back to our historical development and part of the kind of conditioning all of us have had. This is a social conditioning. There are two facets to that.

(1) The male-- The negro male first is conditioned that he is inferior to--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: To any male.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Any other male. All women are conditioned that they are inferior to all males.

Now, in order to overcome that, the

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educational job that we must accomplish for ourselves, that you are going to think in terms of respecting human beings for what they have as individuals and that in no society is one born with superior intellect because he's a male or superior intellect because she's a female. This is a part of the conditioning, and the church, the state and industry, have all combined and men have concurred. Now you're caught on the horns of dilemma which are now being resolved.

This has been an old social fabric, which needs to be changed.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: I'd like to suggest just one thing, too. As you begin to have your strong meetings in your community you will be intelligent enough to continually work with and support the men as well as-- because the labor council is men and women. The more the men know of the problem that you're concerned about the more they see you informed, and supporting them on issues which are significant to them, and insisting upon their support on issues significant to you, this will help.

The same thing is true of race attitudes. We do need to confer with each other.

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I think this is one of the most important needs we have at the moment. We need to confer with each other on the little techniques we develop, for getting by the colorbarrier, and I've been talking lately with people about this. There is an awful lot of information in us that we have not sufficiently explored.

The little tricks that you learn that get you by-- over a doorsill, and then when you do this, when you share this kind of information, you will go armed when you go for your interview. It's just plain hard, dogged work, every day of the week, and every hour of the day but the goal is worth it. (Applause)

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: I am sorry but I will-- I am forced to cut the discussion. We could go another three or four hours, and we still would not have exhausted all of the facts.

Now, here are a few things I want to point out to you. Our discussion here will be documented and our conclusions and what we propose to do as a follow up and as an attempt or step forward to eliminate the unequality, and equal pay for equal work, and equal job opportunities for negro women.

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Now, we have certain documents here, and I would like to suggest that these two particular documents: One is women workers in the United States, and the other is a-- You can obtain these documents at the U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Washington, D. C. However, now the figures on the difference between the pay of men and the pay of women for each of the jobs and the difference between negro women and white women, percentage wise, we're going to attempt to get those figures before this convention is over, and document them, as well as-- along with all the other reports that we have here along with the reports and attempt to get them to you, so that you will have this to take back to your respective communities, and giving your report on the panel of the equal pay for equal work women, especially negro women. This is mainly our fight at this moment.

However, we are attempting to eliminate the barrier between all women, but our specific goal is women-- negro women at the moment .

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Madam Chairman, may I add one more thing.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Yes, go

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ahead.

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: I have a document here which is "O" and this is a statistical reference of negro women and their jobs. This was done in 1954. I am told that there is a document in the making now and I would suggest that you write to the Department of Labor and ask if there is a more current document on negro women and their jobs. This one goes back to 1954.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: When you write government agencies, ask them to put you on their mailing list, and you will get many things automatically.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: I would also like to read briefly to you a mass rally that I attended and spoke at in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, last Sunday, at the Negro American Labor Council chapter there. They are launching an all out drive anti-discrimination in A & P's, and of course, I spoke at that rally.

Negro labor leader urges store boycott. Chicago woman also asks for picketing of business which discriminate. The dollar spent by Milwaukee negro women and slums, beautiful homes for whites-- OK? Beautiful homes for white

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businessmen. Speakers at a negro-- at a meeting of the Negro American Labor Council, Milwaukee, chapter, Sunday said, the negro groups which met at Prince Hall-- Prince Masonic Hall in a branch of the national organization formed by A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to fight racial discrimination in employment. Mrs. Lola Bell Holmes, Chicago National vice president of NALC urged her members go mass boycott, picketing to force businessmen who sell goods to negroes to offer jobs to negroes.

If they say this is not the right way, ask them what the right way is. She said "We have waited, knocked on doors and begged. Picketing is the only way. To sit, wait and pray, like our parents did, expected it to come to them, didn't work. The negroes must move in masses." We say "So what." If they say we are hurting them, we say "So what." We have been hurt for centuries, meaning the negro; if they don't want a boycott let them open their doors to negroes.

How can we believe in their talk of brotherly love, where a black face shops. We must see a black face working. We-- This shows us brotherly love.

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Calvin Tischnerod, president of the local chapter said: Picketing by the group would continue at A & P food stores in the negro neighborhoods, Gerard said that officials of the store had not followed through on an agreement they had made to hire additional negro help.

Fred L. Bostwick, an A & P personnel manager, said Monday that the change-- chain stores had a contact with the retail clerk's union which covered all Milwaukee areas. He said Gerard was told that additional negroes would be hired when and if the contract allowed it but that as long as union members at any store were out of work, and were waiting to be re-hired, no new personnel would be given jobs. The retail clerk's union also had complained that NALC picketing was causing additional unemployment.

Gerard complained Sunday, and many negroes-- that many negroes were crossing the picket line. Their continuance, commiting financial suicide on their own communities, he said, "It is disgusting to see black faces going through picket lines set up to get jobs for them."

Now, this is one of the main things I point-- I want to point out to you. I read

this to show you what boycotting and picketing can do to help, plus the fact that I want to point out to you one of our fallacies and errors that we do not support our leaders in whatever they are doing.

Now, here you have a man that's walking in the snow, sacrificing, to put up a picket line to bring negroes in-- trade at a negro community where whites are moving in, with white personnel taking their trade, going back to the white neighborhoods, building beautiful homes and the negroes walk through the picket lines saying "Where else can we go?" They don't want to walk a block. This we have got to discontinue, people.

This is the only way we can gain progress. We sit and ask for it. We must have brotherly love, unity and understanding, and stop fighting each other, and fight and move with each other. This is the only way. Thank you very much.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Madam Chairman, may--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Just a moment please. This is an invitation from Mr.

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Dudly requesting that at the close of this session, you are invited-- all of you are invited to attend 144-- local 144 hospitality center.

Is that going to be here?

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: I don't know.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: It's in the building. It's in this room. They're rushing us out to set it up.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I think that we've had a very well and worthwhile panel and I think we've gotten loads of information. I think it has given many or all of us many useful things to do when we go back to our own chapters. Since we've spent the time to listen to all of this and since we have great feelings about it, I think we should come to some resolution, some recommendation should grow out of this situation today.

So, I think that we should make some kind of statement or some kind of proposal to the national law-- organization, which will give us-- Well, I brought this up so I guess-

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Sister, just one moment please. Since they're rushing us, would you meet with me and a few other women--

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SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: No, I wanted this to come from--

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: She wanted the group to hear it.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Oh, I see. I hope they don't put us out.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: As secretary treasurer of Local 144, we are not rushing you out of here, we want to have you stay with us and participate in our little social activities here at the conclusion of this meeting.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Thank you very much. OK, go ahead then.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I was trying to say that I think we should come to some resolution or proposal which we can present to the national organization--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Surely.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: --which will give us the sanction to go back to our local chapters and work in whatever manner we can which will upgrade the negro woman in whatever profession or capacity of labor she happens to be in which will also upgrade her family, and her also-- and this will also make our upcoming youth fit into

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the economic--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Do you have anything here--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: No, I don't have anything. I'm just asking that something be worked out--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Well, this--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: -- that we present this proposal to the national organization so that it comes out in a strong policy program on a national level.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Well, this we intended to do in-- I was hoping that since you were talking that you had a proposal and that you would--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: No, I justewanted to make sure that it gets done.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Yes, this is in the program. Did you want to say something.

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: I was just wondering whether it might be true that several people in the group might want to sit with you and work out such a proposal so that it would be the kind of a consensus of the group and there would

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be real participation. I would hope very much that it would spell out the responsibility as well as the goals--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: This I would like to have.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I'm trying to say that the local organization has a responsibility, but the national organization also has a responsibility of sanctioning whatever we do in our particular locality.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: True.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I think it would expedite--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Speaker, speak a little louder if possible.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I wholeheartedly agree with her that the group in order to have group participation in this kind of revolution, rather than meet with youlater and do this, that certainly a motion from the floor can come now to support this. We can do this now in the form of a motion and the details can be worked out.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: That's a good point. Will you put the motion?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I would

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move that we concur with Sister--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Ruby Black of Chicago.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Sister Ruby Black of Chicago recommendation to the group.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Have I got a second?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I second it.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: It's been moved and seconded that a committee composed a finding and recommend to the national office certain proposals of action that we can go back to our communities--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: No, I want them to--

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: You put it in your words.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I want them to give sanction to the local organizations to take whatever steps that are necessary to upgrade the negro woman, thereby upgrading her family, to meet whatever the challenge is, to meet in this particular social structure-- economic structure in which we live - however; you want to work it out -

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and that—

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: You got that down?

Do we need a discussion on this? I guess we are all in agreement with this. The motion is carried. This will be carried out and if anyone wants to volunteer to serve on the committee, Sister Black I will ask you and demand that you please do— (Laughter)

MRS. RUBY BLACK: You don't have to demand. I'll be glad to.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: You and anyone else? Fine. Committee of three. Would you give your names to Mrs. Lucas, please. She is acting as secretary.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to ask to see the sisters on the committee?

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Just a minute, please, let me finish this. I would like to ask if possible Mrs. Hedgeman - Are you going to have time to work on this, do you think?

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: If you're going to do it right away, I can.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Well, we can get together and decide when and how. You,

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Mrs. Springer, would you have time?

I would like to ask inasmuch as they are preparing an affair immediately after we have to go to our rooms later and prepare for the affair tonight that we get together and see if we cannot possibly work out some of our time, and of course, if Mrs. Hedgeman can't meet with us, it is regretable, but we'll have to--

MRS. ANNA HEDGEMAN: You'll manage.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: --attempt to go along without her but I can assure you that we would-- I think that we could do this in the morning because tonight's schedule hereafter is so full that we simply cannot give justice to anything. Fine.

They are calling me and I wish to thank all of you for coming and participating in this--

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: Ask if anyone wants this bill.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: In the morning what time and where?

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Would anyone want the summary of the--

MRS. ARMEDA SPRINGER: I have a

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few summaries of the legislation equal pay for equal work.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: Anyone want-- She has it. Oh, I have, too. Golly, I didn't know that I did.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I'm sorry but you'll have to wind this thing up. We want to set this room up for the party.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: That is what I'm trying to do now. They just don't want to let loose.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Well, you make them turn loose.

MRS. LOLA BELL HOLMES: I see I'll have to. OK ladies, thank you very much and you must leave because they are pushing us out. We know women's problems are great but we have to leave now. I'm so glad you could attend but now we must just run.

(The workshop session then adjourned.)

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH SUBJECT FILE Negro American Labor Council / Convention Nov. 1962

(3)

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An Afternoon Session, the Workshop on Discrimination in Government, Industry and Unions, of the Third Annual Negro American Labor Council Convention, convened at 2:00 p.m. on November 9, 1962, in the Green Room, Sheraton Atlantic Hotel, 34th Street and Broadway, New York, New York, Mr. Joseph A. Beavers presiding.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: We are privileged to have some distinguished representatives here to appear instead of the people listed as the members of the panel. We are very happy to have Mr. Jack G. Siphon, who a representative from the New York State Department of Labor. We are also happy to have as one of our panelists, Mr. Harry Fleischmann, from the Institute of Human Relations. You will hear from both of these gentlemen later.

I think that the way we are going to conduct this panel, or this Workshop, is that we are going to have each one of these gentlemen to speak to you in their own way for some five minutes, after which we will have an open discussion of any type of discrimination, or any information, or any enlightenment that you members of the audience may be able to express or shed light on, for the information of all of us here, and the information of the sisters and brothers who

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have come from around the country to participate in this workshop.

I would also like to thank you for taking the time out, because many of the people, the delegates who are attending this convention, have found time, for reasons better known to themselves, to go other places rather than come here. Of course, we do understand this workshop was supposed to have been this morning, because it had to be changed because of so many speakers and what not, and in order to go home and get back for the dinner at seven o'clock, I think that is why we don't have more of the delegates and more of the people here in New York attending these panels.

I would like to make an observation, which is simply that in the past forty years the American economy, and especially in the last five years, as a result of automation, has been in the process of shifting jobs, from industry producing goods to industry providing services. In agriculture, in mining, the railroad industry, manufacturing and construction, today there are fewer employees in these jobs and there are fewer man hours of labor going into this - these jobs than there were forty years ago.

On the other hand, the number of employees in the wholesale and retail trades, in public utilities,

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real estate, banks, insurance companies, hotels and restaurants, the number of workers have multiplied thrice. The figures now show some ten million gainfully employed in these industries, and there is no sign that these two different trends are in the process of changing. The former trend, in the next ten years, there are going to be fewer people employed in these industries, and the latter trend, in the next few years, there are going to be a doubling of the ten million which now are gainfully employed.

The 1961 report of the Commission on Civil Rights notes that despite a dramatic increase in the type of employment available to negroes in the past twenty years, and get this, because the report of the Civil Rights Commission states categorically, that the mass of negro workers are still confined largely to the less skillful jobs. In the North generally, law and public policy, at least encouraged and support equal employment opportunity, but I hasten to add that action in the equal employment opportunity areas are moving at the rate of the Model T Age, if you know what I am referring to, because here, in 1962, we are not living in the Model T Age. The Model T Age is better than the horse and buggy age, and the horse and buggy age is better than the stone age, but we are not living in

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either of these ages, we are living in the atomic age, and we feel keenly that there could be much more and much better equal opportunities afforded the negro worker in the North, and then when we look at the South, of course, we find a different trend there also. Because we find in the South public policy and law, and the laws of the South, are either neutral, or stand in the way of providing equal opportunity for all men, women and workers, irrespective of race, creed and color.

The Southern public opinion is still committed to the preservation of segregation, the status quo. Public opinion is enforced by the police of the state, to maintain the status quo, and keep the tradition of the South, which is, certain jobs for negroes, and certain jobs for white people.

Lest I forget, the greatest deterrent to equal opportunity, irrespective of race, color and creed in the South, is the Southern politician. The Southern politician in the South knows that the easiest and the shortest route to political office is intellectual dishonesty. And he travels that route, and he, the politician, the man in leadership who controls the police powers of the Southern states spend all of their time in running for political office amplifying the groans of a decaying and dying society, which is the status

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quo, which is that there are certain jobs for negroes, certain jobs for whites, and white is white, and black is black, and never shall the twain be integrated.

I think these are part of the problem, and that is why we are here, and we don't feel that the problem is particularly in one section; we find this common problem in industry, in unions, and in government. That's why we are here. We want to discuss them. We want to see if we can work out some solution. That is why the Negro American Labor Council exists, to arouse the consciousness of the working people, as to their responsibility, and that if they are to be free from discrimination in employment, if they are to move forward in the great American economy, then the responsibility, number one, rests upon them, because in the words of Thomas Paine:

"He who will be free must himself cast the first stone."

So that is why we are here. That is why this panel is being got together this afternoon and we will hear from our two other distinguished speakers, and then we are going to throw this floor open, and we don't want you to mince any words. We know that we have a problem, and we are here to discuss it, and we are discussing it in the hope that you may

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give us some kind of direction, because this is your Convention. You are the delegates. We are going to formulate policies. That is the only reasons for the existence of the NALC. Because we are not an organization out herein collective bargaining. We are an organization destined to fight the discriminatory problems within the labor movement, number one. We are, an organization destined to cooperate with other organizations in the civil rights arena, and help them fight the problems, namely, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, CORE, The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the American Jewish Congress - Committee, I mean, and all of the other organizations that are fighting to correct this problem of segregation and discrimination, and equal opportunity for all workers, irrespective of race, creed or color.

On that note, I will end, and I would like to present for remarks, the representative from the New York State Department of Labor, Mr. Jack G. Siphen. (Applause)

MR. JACK G. SIPHEN: I am not used to using a microphone before such a small audience. It is enough for a round table discussion, but we will see what we can do.

Just to make sure that everyone knows

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who I represent, I actually am standing in for the Director of the Minority Groups Services Office of the Division of Employment, New York State Department of Labor. Unfortunately, he was involved in some last-minute activity, dealing with the inquiry of the Powell Committee, and couldn't make it this afternoon.

Now, as far as the subject, the problem of discrimination in industry, labor and government, the Division of Employment, through the operations of the Employment Service, gets a good deal of information about this, because we operate in the entire New York State Labor Market, and we get over a million job orders a year, and we place close to eight hundred thousand people every year. This is a good slice of the New York State Labor market, and a good slice of the total placements that occur.

We, of course, also deal with Unemployment Insurance, but this is the province of another panel, so I am not going to discuss that.

Just to break this volume down in terms of jobs and placements per month by occupation, perhaps this will make our activities a little bit more meaningful. In the professional, technical and managerial occupations, on the basis of our 1961-62 experience, we average about 6,000 jobs and applicants, and make about

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5,000 placements a month. In the clerical and sales field, we have about 5,000 jobs, get about 25,000 applicants, and make about 5,000 placements per month there. As far as skilled workers are concerned, we see about 10,000 applicants and make about 2,000 placements per month. In the semi-skilled field, we see about 50,000 applicants, and make about 10,000 placements a month. In the unskilled field, we also see about 50,000 applicants, and make only 8,000 placements per month. In the service occupation s, there are about 10,000 openings, 40,000 applicants, and 9,000 placements per month.

Adding the household occupations to it, we have a special operation for the household occupations, primarily day workers, we get about 25,000 openings there, see about 12,000 applicants, and make about 20,000 placements per month.

It is unfortunately true that the proportion of negroes or non-whites that are placed, that is the percentage, gets lower and lower as we go down this occupational ladder, except in the professional field, where we have a large number of non-whites placed by our Nurse Registry. This seems to be, in New York City, the main area in which professional non-whites are able to be placed. That is in terms of our volume of

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placements.

So this gives you some idea of our share of the labor market, and on the basis of this activity that we engage in in the labor market, that we receive information about discrimination. Now, we have a procedure by which any discriminatory specification is made by any employer on a job order, this gets special attention, and is evaluated by us, and in cases where the employer does not relax these discriminatory specifications, or cases where we have some doubt about the employer's relaxation, that is the bona fide character of their relaxation, or in cases where the Commission for Human Rights is especially interested, that is industries, of occupations and so on, in which the Commission for Human Rights is interested, we send these on to the Commission for Human Rights, that is these job orders with their discriminatory specifications.

We also publish a quarterly report, based on this information that we receive, as well as general information about the labor market, including placements of minority groups, non-whites, primarily, because this is the way our statistics is set up. You might be interested in hearing a few summaries of the cases that we received recently. This is from one of our Quarterly Reports, and this will give you some idea of what sort

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of material we get.

"A government agency in New York City gave us a job order, in which they specified that the stenographer must be of oriental extraction, since the exhibit where they would work would be designed to attract orientals. Since the final decision on job specifications had to be made in Washington, D.C., the top official of the department was contacted by the Minority Groups Services, and the wording of the job order was changed."

This was from a government agency. Now we have a non-profit organization, which incidentally is not officially covered by the law.

"A large hospital in Troy requested kitchen help, but specified 'no negroes for kitchen help positions in a dietary kitchen, because workers work in close proximity with each other'. Our Senior Interviewer paid them a visit, and talked with the Personnel Interviewer, who said that 'I don't think Sister X would like to hire them'. In the discussion, it developed that the Personnel Interviewer had not consulted the Head Dietician, but had assumed on the basis of one or two disappointing experiences, that members of this minority were not desirable employees. The Senior Interviewer from our Agency pointed out that

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in selecting workers, it is good placement policy to select on the individuals qualities for whatever the job. Relaxation was secured."

"In another case, which involves a sports-wear manufacturing firm in New York City, where we called to verify the referral of a bookkeeping machine operator. The office manager said the girl was not hired because she had no knowledge of stenography. He also said he wanted to place an additional order for a stenographer to sit at the switchboard and act as a receptionist. We shouldn't send a negro, because people from out of town come in. His firm services accounts throughout the country, and customers from the South would not like to be received by a negro. The firm had employed a non-white some years ago in this capacity, and the Southern customers had complained.

Our Senior Interviewer then visited the firm, and spoke to the owner, who said that he had no knowledge of any discriminatory order. He called in the office manager, and in the presence of our Senior, told him off, and relaxed the discriminatory specifications."

Now, this gives you a small sample of the sort of information we receive concerning discrimination, in various kinds of organizations, because we

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got orders from all types of organizations. I think we even, on occasion, get orders from labor unions, not only for people to work for their organization, but also for people to work in areas where they have not been able to fill the job orders of the employer.

So, we have a fairly good coverage of all types of organizations, all kinds of jobs and occupations, and we do have some idea of what are some of the basic stereotypes that are in the minds of many employers who do discriminate, at least verbally, who give indications that they discriminate, and many others who don't indicate verbally that they do discriminate but may do it anyway. And I say, may do it, because the labor market data that we gather would seem to indicate that over the last twenty years, there has been a more rapid improvement in the - or a closing of the educational gap between whites, and non-whites, for example, than there has been a closing of the occupational gap. So that, we would suspect that many of these employers are letting stereotypes, and traditional ideas dating back to a different period, deprive them of qualified workers, because of the group from which they come, and this is the point that we try to make to these employers, and try to convince them that they are just hurting themselves by depriving themselves of

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qualified people, and by and large, are reasonably successful in most cases in getting, I would consider, bona fide relaxation.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: I am sure we were all inspired by Mr. Sipohn from the New York Department of Labor. Our next speaker is a veteran in the field of human rights, and civil rights. It was my extreme good fortune to work with him on a panel in the nation's capital, in the early part of this year, and it is with a great deal of pleasure, that I present to you, Mr. Harry Fleischmann, who is the Director of the National Labor Service. Mr. Harry Fleischmann.

MR. HARRY FLEISCHMANN: Thank you, Joe. You know, this subject of discrimination, in government, industry and unions, is so vast that to try to treat the problem briefly almost staggers the imagination. I am not going to try to cover the whole subject. I will try, instead, to give a little bit of the picture, hoping that your questions and comments will help develop the picture still more.

You know, we have a miserable situation right now, when we look at the picture of discrimination in the country, and yet, if we lookback, only twenty years ago, just to the period before America got into World War II, we find a fantastic difference. If you had

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a Rip Van Winkle who feel asleep at that time, and didn't wake until today, he couldn't believe the changes that have occurred.

Let me give you some illustrations of the kinds of things that were true then. For instance, in 1939, the negro male worker earned an average of $460.00 a year, the white worker, $1,112.00, two and a half times as much. The Federal Government employed very few negroes, and those primarily in menial jobs. The Armed Forces, totally segregated. Twenty-one states, including several outside the South, either required or permitted public school segregation. Less than a hundred thousand negroes in the South were estimated to have voted in the 1940 general election, and in the only election that really counted in the South, the Democratic Party primaries, negroes were barred entirely by white primary rules.

What is the picture today? The gap hasn't been closed, but it is narrowing a bit. Where the negro male worker earned only 41% as much as a white worker in 1939, the proportion jumped to 60% by 1960. This still left the non-white male's median at only $3,075.00 as compared with the white's $5,137.00. But since that time, this seems to be progress, since that time, automation has brought about a situation in which the gap is

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again beginning to widen; as negroes are forced out of jobs by automation, and are put into the ranks of the unemployed, the gap between the income of the average white worker and the average negro worker is widening. So that thereis a great problem that comes there.

The unemployment rate is still two to one. When there is unemployment, the negro worker has a proportion twice as great as the white of unemployment. We do find that in the Federal, State and local governments, the total number of negro workers had jumped from 214,000 in 1940 to over a million this year, a five-fold increase, and that negroes are beginning, this past year, to get into the higher grades of government service, not being kept down to the lowest grade.

As late as 1940, the AFL had 26 International Unions with a color bar written into their constitutions. Today, there is one such union, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and even that one, their General Council voted unanimously to recommend that the next convention eliminate the color bar.

As Bill Randolph mentioned this morning, there are now one and a half million members of the AFL-CIO, who are increasingly awakening both to their rights and their power. Before discrimination was thought

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of largely in terms of unions which would not admit negroes, but now the concern of negro workers is not only admission into unions, not only jobs, not only advancement, but election of negroes to union Executive Boards, appointment to union staff jobs, and upgrading of negro workers to the most highly skilled positions. These are the things about which we are concerned.

The Armed Forces have had Jim Crow virtually evicted. Almost all public schools at Army Posts in the South are now integrated. The Supreme Court decision wiped out the legal basis for school segregation, and negroes are now in some formerly all-white schools, in every state except Alabama and South Carolina. Despite stubborn resistance by the die-hard segregationists, thirty percent of the three thousand bi-racial school districts in the seventeen border and southern states are desegregated. However, it must be added that less than 8% of the negro pupils in those states are attending schools with whites.

But since 1930, negro students in colleges and universities have zoomed from about 13,000 to at least 150,000. By 1955, the enrollment of negroes in institutions of higher learning, in proportion to total negro population in this country, was higher than the university enrollment, relative to total population

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in Canada, Japan, France, Sweden, Western Germany and Great Britain, and many other countries.

When the white primary was abolished by the Federal court in 1944, negroes started making dramatic gains in the use of the ballot. The Southern total, instead of that less than a hundred thousand that I mentioned in 1940, now stands at about a million and a half. In some Southern cities, negroes have been elected to city councils and school boards. In fact, at this last election, a negro was elected to the Georgia State Senate, just a couple of days ago, and in city after city in the South, the existence of a substantial negro electorate has helped smooth the path towards desegregation of schools, libraries, parks, golf courses, lunch counters, jobs and other public and private facilities, and now, the five leading negro and civil rights organizations have launched this major effort to place negro citizens on the South's voting rolls, pressing toward the goal of two million negro voters in the South by 1964.

Now, these gains have not come about solely through reliance on legal action. The courts have battered down many of the legal barriers that kept negroes from enjoyment of the full benefits of democracy, but today's negroes, especially the youth,

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want not only legal right, but full equality, now. So they borrowed the methods of Ghandi to change America quickly. Through direct non-violent actions, sit-ins, freedom rides, collective buying campaigns, picket lines, marches and demonstrations, they have spotlighted injustices, aroused consciences and brought about rapid changes. In one year, 1960, lunchcounters were desegregated in 156 southern cities. In 1961, freedom rides desegregated bus, air and rail terminal facilities in literally hundreds of southern cities.

Now, not all of these changes have come about without struggle and pain. In Little Rock, Albany Georgia, and Oxford, Mississippi, physical violence by segregationists met the struggle for equal rights. I want to point out, that even here, some African diplomats at the United Nations remarked privately that it was perhaps unthinkable elsewhere in the world that an army of 26,000 troops would be marshalled to uphold the rights of one single, private American student.

The late Charles Johnson, great sociologist, and the first negro president of Fisk University, once told Gunnar Mehrdahl, who wrote "The American Dilemma", a classic book on the problem of the negro and America, he told him that tensions were not necessarily bad, but under certain conditions even race riots might have

wholesome effects in the long run. This is the way he put it:

"They stir up people's conscience. People will have to think matters over. They prevent things from becoming settled. If the race situation should ever become fixed, if the negro is really accommodated, then and only then would I despair about a continued great improvement for negroes. As long as there is friction and fighting, there is hope."

Well, I guess we have hope, because friction and fighting are continuing. But the segregationists realize that it is in a losing cause. They realize that the false and derogatory beliefs about negroes which they have used to try to rationalize prejudice, are being expressed now only by those willing to betray their own lack of culture, and as whites and negroes increasingly mingle in work and pleasure, they discover that they are the same sort of people, with the same cultural mooring, the same likes and dislikes, and the same aspirations and ambitions for themselves and for America.

Now, this is all true and good, and how does this help us in terms of the problems of discrimination in government, in industry and in unions? Let me point out that the government has been using its

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executive power recently to attempt to wipe out discrimination. Its Plans for Progress are fine on paper, but there is one piece of paper that hasn't been signed yet, and that one we talk about with the stroke of the pen, you know, housing. The Housing Order against discrimination, and this is one that we all have to push to make sure it gets signed very quickly.

But even with that, we still have a big job to do. Within the unions, ending discrimination is not an easy task. I have told you of a resolution, of the fact that the color bar has been wiped out in union after union, but that doesn't mean that discrimination has been ended. It still exists in many of them, because official resolutions of national and international bodies don't always percolate down to the rank and file, and you find that in the rank and file of the membership, they have the same kinds of prejudices that prevail in the rest of the communities of which they are a part. But you do find prejudice prevailing among the rank and file. I venture to say,(this is on the basis of studies that I have made with local union leaders) that local union leaders throughout the country are more prejudiced than the leaders of the national and international unions, and that their rank and file are more prejudiced than they are.

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This means that we have a big job to do, and even George Meany pointed out that this is not a job that can be done by unions alone, but that they require governmental action, and that is one reason why the AFL-CIO has come out strongly in favor of a fair employment practices law, which would be enforced against unions as well as employers.

Let me point out one thing to you, in regard to this. Where the AFL-CIO and most international unions, and state bodies, and city central bodies have gone on record and put up money and manpower to get the state fair employment practice laws passed, you will not find a single employers'organization that supported FEPC. You will find an occasional company that supported it, but no businessmen's organization, no Chamber of Commerce, no Association of Manufacturers, that ever supported FEPC.

Now, once FEPC comes to one of these communities, then they find that all of their fears about it no longer exist, that their customers do not drop away because they hire negro clerks, sales clerks, and they say, well, it is a pretty good thing. We have the Chairman of Inland Steel Company coming out and praising FEPC in Illinois. And you had the head of Macy's coming out and praising FEPC in New York State.

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But this was not in advance. This was only after FEPC had been gotten. This is the part of the picture that w face. We have got to see to it that we put more pressure on for national FEPC.

Now, let's take a look. About 98% of the negroes in the North and the West are now covered by Fair Employment Practices Law. There are some 20 states which do have FEPC LAWS. In addition, are the companies that are under government contract, where non-discrimination clauses have to be signed. With all of this, does this mean that we have no discrimination? Of course not. We still have plenty of discrimination, in New York State, in every one of these places.

But even if the laws were being enforced fully, that would not provide full equal opportunity, because for equal opportunity, we have to do something to remove the barriers that years of discrimination have already created in education, in vocational guidance. I spoke at a class of vocational guidance counsellors in New York recently, and I was amazed at their attitude. I said to them: "You should take your non-white students and your Spanish-speaking students and tiry to give them the highest aspirations possible. Fix their eyes on the stars. Have them try to get as high as their ability will lead them to go."

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And they said to me: "Of what use is it to do that, to have them motivated to get skilled jobs, and then they will go out and they won't be a No to find them?"

Well, I ask you, is that any better than to be able to make the breakthrough on the skilled jobs and then have no people to fill them with. And this is another part of the problem we face.

So that we have to give the kind of motivation to students. We have to get the kind of on-the-job training. We have got to get the kind of push to bring an end to the discrimination. It means more. One of the things that we have to do now is to do the job of seeing to it that we help recruit people for jobs, that we recruit people for union posts, that we recruit people to be able to get into activity within the union. Not just say, we have a policy against discrimination, a non-discrimination policy, and everybody is welcome to try. No, we have to do more, because there has been discrimation in the past, we have to do a job of recruiting the non-white into these posts, into the training for officers' position, into training for skilled jobs, and this is a big part of what we need to do.

Now, there are many ways in which this can be done. I can't go into all of them, but let me

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just say one of the things that we ought to try to do. It is to get self-starting compliance machinery for labor. Just as the labor movement has campaigned to grant state FEPC bodies powerto investigate discrimination in an industry or union, even where no formal complaint exists, so where discrimination exists in any union, the AFL-CIO should have power to take positive action to bring about full compliance with anti-discrimination policy. We should have cooperation of the unions with all of the intergroup relations agencies, to smooth and speed transition from the segregated to the integrated local.

I,for instance, was up in Buffalo one time, where the president of the negro local of the musicians when taxed with keeping a segregated local, said: "Well, you know, it - this way we are sure of having delegates at the convention. We have our own headquarters, with our bar, pretty nice. It is nicer to be a big fish in a little pond than a little fish in a big pond." Well, maybe if they got into the big pond, there would be difficulty. That is possible, but it is one of the risks that has to be fought, and it seems to me that the Negro American Labor Council ought to have as one of its jobs persuading any negro segregated local that is opposed to ending its existence

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and going into an integrated local, to persuading it to do so. That is one of the jobs that ought to be done.

Another thing that we need is to coordinate - and by the way, let me just add one thing. This does notnecessarily mean that the negro will be shuffled out of the post within the integrated union. In Marietta, Georgia, in the Lockheed Aircraft Plant, there were three locals of machinists; a negro local, a white day-shift local, and a white night-shift local. After the NAACP had brought a suit before the President's Committee, on government contract compliance, the union, the International Association of Machinists ordered its lodges integrated, and the three locals became one local.

Now, an election was held for three business agents. There were 2200 votes cast in that election. Only 200 were cast by negro members; the others were cast by whites. Yet, a negro is one of the three business agents elected, that is elected with the votes of white trade unionists as well as of the negroes. So that this can happen with an integrated local, even in the South, even in Marietta, Georgia.

Another of the things we need is coordination of the presently scattered civil rights activities

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in international union, state and city councils and locals, and the intergroup relations organizations, like the NAACP, CORE, THE American Jewish Committee, the National Urban League, NALC, ALL OF these groups, and with the government group as well, with the state commissions on Human Rights, and all of the government agencies.

We also have to involve union educational directors and editors in conferences and workshops with civil rights specialists, so that within the union there will be a greater emphasis on civil rights all the time, and not just civil rights in the nation, but civil rights in the shop, civil rights in the plant, civil rights in the union. We have to make sure, in short, that civil rights gets a higher place on labor's agenda, that it becomes not a part-time process, but a passion. Only in that way can we solve the job. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Let's give Mr. Fleischmann a hand. (Applause)

We also have in the workshop out there Mr. Wellington Bill. He is the Director of the Compliance Division of the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations. Would you come up please, because we are going to hear from you also?

The next gentleman we are going to hear from is Mr. Henry Spitz. He is the General Counsel for the New York State Commission on Human Rights. Mr. Spitz -

HENRY SPITZ, ESQ.: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. It is my purpose this afternoon to speak briefly about the role of law in this effort to eliminate discrimination because of race and color. As you know, we have in the State of New York a law against discrimination, and we have a State Commission for Human Rights, which administers this law. This law has been in existence now, for - well, almost eighteen years. When it was first enacted, it was a new, a novel and pioneering piece of legislation, but today, as the previous speaker has already apprised you, more than twenty states have enacted similar laws, based upon the New York pattern, and between thirty and forty cities have enacted such laws.

Now, this law which we have in New York State is a strong law. It is an effective weapon in the struggle to eliminate discrimination. I say it is a strong law, because those who violate that law can be punished by fines, and imprisonment, and by contempt of court. I say it is a strong law because we have a well trained and large staff of investigators, of lawyers,

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of researchers, to help in the enforcement of the provisions of that law. It is a strong law because it has a commission of seven people, who have the specific responsibility of seeing that it s provisions are carried out.

But there is one limitation in this statute, and it is this point, and single point, which I wish to make this afternoon. In order for the Commission to invoke its enforcement powers, in order for the Commission to do something effective in the effort to eliminate discrimination, it is necessary for those who suffer discrimination to come to the Commission and file a complaint with it. And it is on the basis of these complaints, filed by individuals who suffer discrimination, that the Commission moves forward. It is not necessary to have a lawyer. The Commission's lawyer, myself, my staff, will serve as your lawyer, without fee, without any charges whatsoever.

It is not necessary to have much evidence to support this feeling of discrimination. If you have some evidence to support the feeling of discrimination, the Commission's investigative staff will go into the matter and try to dig up the facts to determine whether there is substance to the complaint which you have filed. But without complaints, the Commission can't invoke its

enforcement jurisdiction.

Now, in the eighteen years that the Commission has been in existence, we have had approximately ten thousand complaints, sworn complaints, that have been filed with the Commission. About seven hundred of these complaints have been directed against labor unions. About four hundred have been directed against various government agencies, over whom we have jurisdiction too. And the bulk of the complaints have been directed against employers.

The Commission has the power to act, not only when there is a discriminatory refusal to hire, but also when there is discrimination in promotional opportunities, when there is discrimination in the terms, conditions or privileges of employment, or when there is a discriminatory discharge. With respect to labor unions, the Commission has the power to act when there is a discriminatory refusal of membership, or when there is a discriminatory expulsion, or when there is discrimination practiced in any other way against those who are members of labor unions, or those who seek to become members of labor unions.

We have the power, if there is a finding of discrimination, after a public hearing, to issue an order, which will compel the employer to hire the

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employer who has been discriminated against, to award him back pay, monies that he has lost, as a result of the discriminatory act, and in various other ways, to see to it that not only is justice done to this particular individual who filed the complaint, to give him the job, let us say, which he was denied, but also to bring that employer or labor union into compliance with the law, sothat a similar discriminatory practice will not be suffered by other individuals.

Now, I don't want to go beyond that point, except to say that to bring this Commission's power into focus, this Commission which is supported with your tax dollars, and with the tax dollars of other citizens, it is necessary in the first instance for those who suffer discrimination to come to the Commission and to seek its aid and assistance, and then, and only then, can we bring the full measure of our power into play.

(Applause)

MR. JOSEPH BEAVERS: Thank you very much. Our next and last speaker is going to be Mr. Wellington Beale, and the mere fact that he serves as Director of the Compliance Division of the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations, I am sure you are going to be eager and have waited to hear from him.

Mr. Beale -

MR. WELLINGTON BEALE: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. I am here from the New York City Commission on Human Rights, which is a commission comparable to the State Commission on Human Rights, but without much of the State Commission's final powers. However, what I want to talk to you about now pertains to an area of what I might call neglect, where civil rights law is concerned.

It has been a common practice, and I guess now it extends to the whole twenty states having a Fair Employment Law, on the books, for organizations such as yours to get into the forefront of movements to create the laws, and to create the agencies that enforce those laws. It so happens that once the law is passed, once the agency is created, the civic agencies that were responsible for the creation of the civil rights agency falls out of the picture.

Now, law is one thing. I don't know that much about law. I am not a lawyer. But law is one thing, and administration of the law is another thing. The rules and regulations governing the civil rights agencies are drawn up based upon the law, and often, the administration of the law at the inception of the civil rights agencies, takes into consideration the newness, the sensitivities involved, and are in-

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clined, for too long a period, to adopt a go-easy policy, or other administrative policy, that do not give the full force - do not protect the citizen with the full force that the law permits.

And I am hopeful, that maybe as of this meeting, we have had several meetings, that the civic agencies will in the future take a greater role or take a greater interest, rather, in the administration of these laws, so that the weaknesses, or the tendency to extend a "go-easy" period, by making concessions, or by making agreements that in one way or another elude the fact that a discriminatory act has been performed, and that the respondent, or the company, is actually in violation of the law, regardless of what it says in the future it will do to amend the deal, I feel that definitely once an allegation or a complaint has been made against a company, a company has to be proved guilty or not guilty, and no other agreement be made that will get around the question of its guilt or not guilt, and end up in what we term as a satisfactory adjustment.

Now, these agencies are public agencies, and in many instances they are restrained from doing many things that the staff might want to do because of the dominating, well frankly speaking, political influences involved. It is only when the civic groups become active,

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or become alarmed, about the areas that are due for improvement in the administration of these agencies, will these agencies ever reach the height of enforcement that the staff would like to reach.

Now, the question of jobs that come to the agencies every day in the week involves, as has been said here this evening, a question of education and reeducation. You as labor people have the responsibility to evaluate the labor market in terms of its future needs, and to see to it that the emerging people, the people who have heretofore been excluded from a great segment of the market, are now prepared for what we term as a new labor market, which could very well play a highly significant role. That means re-education all the way down the line. You ought to fight for an improvement of the academic status of the schools in the community. I am not so much interested in integration per se, as I am interested, as far as education is concerned, as I am interested in the improvement of the academic status of the schools that are already existing in the neighborhood, and whatever it takes, in the line of money, and the line of teachers, this is the area that organizations such as yours can play an important role in seeing to it that the people that run the Board of Education, that run the city, are cognizant of

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your demands for a better academic status in the schools in the low income area, because I feel that so much has been put upon school placement and school integration, that the fact that the majority of the peoplewill still remain where they are, and if those schools are neglected, the labor market could open up wide tomorrow, and there would be but very little difference in this question of employment, because there will be very little difference in the preparation and the readiness of the peoples to fill the jobs.

And that is something that this organisation can do. That is something that I hope this organisation will do. All of the onus of responsibility for the discriminatory practices, or the continuance of the discriminatory practices is not on the employer. The employer moves in direct ratio to the forces that are set up to move him, and these forces move in direct ratio to your demands and your unified action, and they move no faster.

So that if you fight for civil rights laws, the passage of the law doesn't mean a blooming thing unless you keep behind the administration. Let the administrator of the law know that they you are behind them, and therefore fortify whatever work that they want to do, and even strengthening the laws. These laws

are passed, like in New York State, for instance, the law that established the State Commission I think was in 1945. Of course that was a little tightrope walking period. But it is no longer a tightrope walking period. It is a period where now the agency can walk with a firmer step, but there are many aspects of the law itself that perhaps need revision, are brought up to date to meet the demands of the time, that are now hamstringing the administrators of the law from doing many things that they want to do.

Without any question, and I have reference to - I am not picking on your agency, Mr. Smith, but I have reference to the law where there has risen many questions with reference to the State Commission instituting its own complaints in many areas, and they have done a marvelous job, on their own, and like the Queens College, have raised the question again. Questions like that should not be permitted by law. If the law is so confusing, that it is up to you to see that the law is changed. The people on the Commission can't do too much about it, and the same thing goes for the City agencies.

Now, as far again, back to a neglected area, there - with which I am concerned. In 1942, the State of New York passed a law prohibiting any contrac-

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tor, or anyone holding a contract with the state, from discriminating on the basis of race or religion. Now that was in 1942. That law has never been enforced. And that law is applicable to every city within the state.

Recently, our Commission has designed a program to enforce the law. It - the program will hopefully be fully in force by the first of January. That was the only attempt of any city to enforce the law. We have laws on the books, many civil rights laws, that need the force of the people who were responsible for the passage of these laws, to get these laws into effect, and create a better administration of them. As I said before, the laws themselves mean nothing, and the agencies themselves can do no more or no less than your demands; what demands you put upon them enable them to do.

So I am hoping, in conferences such as this, where we get together and go over the discrimination field, I am - I very seldom come out with a responsibility that carries over after the conference to help create a better climate and to help create a better enforcement of these laws already on the books. This is where you come in, and I know that every man and woman who is responsible for the administration of these

laws, feel the same way. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Well, ladies and gentlemen, you have finished hearing the authorities. We are going to turn this program over to you, because I am sure that there must be many questions on your minds, because even if it was not before you came into this workshop, I am sure these distinguished people have motivated questions.

So, we are going to turn the floor over to first come, first served, and you raise your question, and I will try to direct it to the panel member which I think is qualified to answer the question. If you feel you know the gentleman, you might rise and say, Mr. Fleisher, or Spitz, or Beale, or whoever you may direct your question to. Otherwise, you direct your question, and I will get one of these experts to try to answer it.

I am sure between the four of them and myself, we will answer it. So who is going to be first? The gentleman there. I recognize you, sir.

MR. HERB WRIGHT (Chicago Chapter, NALC):

I would like to recommend the Chicago Chapter of the NALC as an action organization. We feel that a mass of action organizations can do some of the things we have previously discussed here, and in working

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in the railroad industry, where I work,we have explored several possibilities of breaking down discrimination.

One of the previous speakers mentioned the fact of merging the Jim Crow unions in with the main stream of the main local on a given property. We had the experience where there was one Polish local, one negro local, and one so-called white local, of the Brotherhood of Railway Carpentof America. We were instrumental in having two of these locals merge, the negro local, and the so-called "lily white" local, which resulted in additional job security for the negro members, and some upgrading.

We had another experience, with not too much success, of the Oilers and Firemen. In the railroad industry, this is the catch-all union. They catch all the negroes that they don't want in the other brotherhoods, and they confine them into the lowest classification of jobs and the lowest pay. For instance, on one given property, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks covered most of the employees working in a certain department, but they wouldn't let negroes join, and they never became members of that seniority roster and they never did progress. They were in he oilers and firemen, who caught everybody's refuse, and remained in low paid jobs. They were eventually

one of the first railway employees to be eliminated because of automation.

We had another experience with Chicago's Union Station. It is covered also by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. Chicago Union Station employed a number of negroes in some departments. In the department of mail and express handlers, they do not employ any negroes. Last year, they hired their first American Indian. We have sent any number of workers there, negro workers, to take up jobs in this department, when we knew (because we knew some of the white workers), when we knew they were hiring them, but they would not hire negroes. Of course, we sent a couple of whites there, and they were hired. It is a case that we expect to take to the Illinois FEPC Commission.

But all of the discriminatory practices are not done by the employers, nor the union. We tried a new experience. We called on a railroad president and discussed the problem of negroes losing their benefits in the railroad industry. We all know that a number of years ago, negroes were thirty percent of the railway employees. Now they are less than four percent.

Now this president was very understanding. We discussed all the problems of segregation, discrimination, participation in the unions by the hiring of

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executive directors of personnel and etc., and he agreed that some thing should be done about this. As a starter, he offered us twenty jobs a year for negroes with simple seniority, that could no longer be employed in the dining car departments and other departments where they employ negroes, which we thought was quite a thing. Lo and behold, we could not get the cooperation of the union heads that these negroes belonged to. A guy was out of work, or he was about to be furloughed, and he was thrown out, we asked him to send this guy and we asked him to find a job for him, and then we ran into this problem. We didn't get any cooperation whatsoever, and I might refer to the Chairman, Richard Smith, whom I know he is very familiar with, is head of the Railroad Department, the Joint Council of Dining Car Employees, a member of the AFL-CIO, and part of the Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders International Union. We could not get the necessary cooperation to upgrade and maintain these negroes in the railroad industry, and I dso hate to say this, in spite of some of the problems we faced in our own union, we find that the three unions that are dominated by negroes primarily in the railroad industry, the Redcaps, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the Dining Car Workers, are continuously raiding each other, and not creating a unity that is necessary at a

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time like this, when the negro's welfare in the railroad industry is at stake. And these are some of things that we are concerned about. Now,how would we solve these problems?

The Chicago Chapter of the NALC believes that with some mass action we could solve some of these problems, get some jobs, we could break down some discrimination,which we have done already, by just some effort, but we want the panel here to tell us how to solve some of these specific problems that I pointed out. How do we have a union that knows that they are losing membership work and upgrade an employee to go into another department?

We had the same thing with the Oilers and Firemen. The General Chairman of the Oilers and Firemen said these negroes don't belong in my union. Put them in the Railway Clerks. But the Railway Clerks wouldn't accept them, so they could get promotion, so they could maintain. At one time, we had 36 negroes in that category in a given shop, and now we are down to 4. They are eliminated because the jobs they had are the jobs that they eliminated. They had no opportunity to move up on the seniority roster, or to build seniority where they actually belonged.

So these are some of the problems. I

admit that we have closed the gap in some instances, but I admit that we must project some additional struggle, some additional will to break down these practices, and win negroes their rights, and especially in the railroad industry.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: I don't think we ought to get into that question. I would just like to make this comment. I think that the answer to that problem lies within these three international unions that you refer to, and I think until the presidents of these three international unions sit down, and work out these problems, and stop this raiding, especially of the Brotherhood, and the Dining Car Employees. One charges this one, and one charges that one, and I am not getting into it, but I think until they get together and work out the salvation to their problem, the railroad industry, the employers, are going to use this. This is one of the greatest weapons of the employer, divide and conquer, and it is, I know of no industry where it is more exemplified than in the railroad industry, and I am quite familiar with that particular industry. I don't know if the panel members can answer that-we would like to get some direct questions that don't involve a union raiding another union, and all. But this is a veteran here.

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MR. FLEISCHNER: Now, I would like to discuss this from the angle of the other question that you raised, namely the one in terms of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and the Firemen and Oilers, that kind of situation. Now, in that situation, was the issue ever brought, number one, officially to the head of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Harrison.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Let me just answer that one point, the reason why it hasn't was because at that particular time he wasn't able to settle some Jim Crow locals he had himself.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Precisely, and this is the reason why I am raising the question. If it had been brought up to him, and there had not been action at that step, then the very next step to have been taken, it seems to me, would be bring it to the attention of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, which exists precisely for the purpose of dealing with problems like that. I am not saying that they can always solve the problem. Some problems just can't be solved, and one of the biggest parts of the headache that you brought out is the fact that the railroad industry is an industry with a declining roll of employees. The number of people employed on the railroads is getting lower and lower each year, so what you are talking about

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is who gets less out of a declining pie. Who isn't squeezed out, rather than who can get advanced there, And this raises what is easily the most important problem. Let me say this.

If we have an economy that is a declining economy, an economy that fails to expand, you can have the most beautiful anti-discrimination laws in the world, and they cannot possibly work, because unions for good reasons have built up seniority, as an important factor, and if you have unions with seniority, and no new people going in the work force, being taken on, any new people who want to get jobs won't get them. This isn't a question of discrimination. This is a question of sheer survival of the guys who already have the jobs.

After thirty-six hours, you are a full time employee of that union, and you, if the work becomes short, if there isn't enough work to keep everybody busy a full week, what they do is divide the work among all their workers in that shop, in that craft. So that, a worker who has been there thirty-six hours has as much seniority, as much equality of job rights, as one who has been there thirty-six years, but this is because of the nature of that industry, which is very different from all of the other industries

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in the country. I don't want to go into that. The point is, that for the negro, for the minorities generally, the only hope is to push for a full employment economy, and that is a political decision. That means that every person in the minority group must insist that the government play a much more active role in seeing that the economy keeps moving more than it has been doing today. Otherwise, there just ain't any solution to the problem that you raise. (Speaker was Mr. Fleischner)

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: And I would like to get your name again for the record. I know you, I have seen you in Chicago. Your name is?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Herb Wright.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Herb Wright. Right. I know you are from the Chicago Chapter.

The lady in the rear.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I just heard the gentleman. I don't know your name, but I know in the ILGWU that it is supposed to be true, wherein some shops they do follow it through, but if anything, it doesn't go that way. It is supposed to be, but the employers do not follow it.

I worked in a shop where I was the last one to come in, and I was really the first one to go. Another time I worked in another shop where I was the

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first one to come in, and I was about one of the first ones to go, after working thirtysix hours. It wasn't shared as it was supposed to be. Even though it has been reported many times, the employer will give some excuses, and this will go on.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: That's the reason why I didn't want Mr. Fleischner. He may be a veteran but he is really on the outside of this labor business.

MR. FLEISCHNER: The question I raise then is, did you bring that up then to the union?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: The unions have had it, and the employers have faced this, and even though they are new workers, they will be entitled to stay there and remain. The worker who has been older, she will be let go. This is true in many, many instances.

MR. FLEISCHNER: And the union just let's this go on, when you bring it up as a grievance?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Yes. The employer in many cases is completely whitewashed. Yes sir.

MR. FLEISCHNER: Well, I would like to get the details of that, because I would like to follow that through. Well -

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Well, there have

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certainly been many complaints about this.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Certainly we don't want to get into that kind of controversy. I am sure that Mr. Fleischer is quite familiar with that problem. And certainly, I know the record of the International Garment Workers Union is great, but it appears now that the most controversial of all the unions, which are some bad unions, is the ILGWU. Now, I don't want to get into that. I don't think this is the proper form for it, but I have a great deal of respect for Mr. Dubinsky, and any progress that they have made in that organization. It is still a fact that today they are under the attack, more so, than the railroad unions, which he referred to actually, in 1962, still do not have an anti-discrimination clause. But I am not arguing the merits of it one way or the other, because I don't know the facts, and decisions generally follow where the facts lead, not where our emotions lead, or where our sympathies lead

Next question? Yes Sir?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: My name is Ralph Benner. I am from Chicago also, and a member of NALC, and I don't know whether I have a question that I could direct to the panel, because the previous speaker, Mr. Beale pretty much answered the question

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that I wanted to raise. In fact, I was flusterated to see the speakers who spoke before him, with the problem that these various agencies seem to have, and yet at the same time, be able to read of some of the findings of hearings that came out a few days ago, not only against the International Ladies Garment Workers, but I think that here we have an opportunity, and this gets it off of dead center as to where you were talking about it. What I have reference to is the testimony that came out in the hearings of the Labor and Education Committee against the Bartenders International Union, the Laundry Workers Union, and others.

And having been a member of the Bartenders International Union for about thirty years, and knowing some of the problems that you face, and which the previous speakers touched, just a few years ago, and taking into consideration that we have a negro vice president of this International Union, who more or less, as I see it, refuses to touch on this problem, that, at the convention of this particular union a few years ago, they too set up an anti-discrimination committee, and we see these problems going on.

Now, I don't think it is necessary for me to repeat some of the testimony that was brought out, but I do feel that NALC, which was set up to fight the

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discriminatory practices, in my opinion, in the trade unions themselves. It has been my experience, in thirty-four years working on the job, that there is more discrimination in the trade union movement, of these we have reference to, than there is in the State of Mississippi.

The employers, at least the ones I have been in contact with, have a better record. They see the problem, they see the larger problem. To begin with, we have been to the Railroad Retirement Board, and took this question up with them, and we have people who have worked, have twenty-five and thirty years seniority, being put out on the street, and the railroad companies are hiring new people.

Now, they put it this way, that the fund that we have, the Railroad Retirement Fund, is not going to last too long, because it is ridiculous for us to pay a person $61.00 a week not to work, since this is what is happening, when they are bringing in new people on this particular job, and we wouldn't have to pay them. Now, I hope that the NALC will go on record to publicise the facts of the Education and Labor Committee on the discriminatory practices in the Bartenders International Union levels.

Also, it has been my experience, that

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the average white worker on the job is honest, and it is not him who has this discriminatory feeling against minority workers. I have found out from resolutions that have been coming up in unions for years and years, it is the leadership of these unions who keep it down. They go even further than that.

To me, in the trade union movement, it means solidarity, and no trade union leader is giving true leadership when he keeps the workers stripped, regardless of their color or their race, and I have reference to what the brothers spoke about here before, because I know about them. In one one union, on one job, you have three groups - a group for the negroes, a group for the Polish people, and a group for the whites. How can you have unity there, how can you have an effective union? You can't do it, and to do away with this, is a job of the leadership of the union, and as an experience of that, and I think that this comes up before your Committee, on the Railroads - we had a negro - To begin with, my union, my group, over a period of years has used FEPC in advancing negro workers up to better jobs.

On the Milwaukee Road, when I worked under FEPC, by using that law, they hired, or upgraded, seven negroes in one day. But it was the union, argu-

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ing together with the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen who came up with the gimmick that if the man took the job, as far as upgrading is concerned, why he would have to give up his seniority. This is the role of the trade union leadership in this country, and I think convention, although this is not a part of the convention that is to go on the record, what I am asking, and I am asking you, Brother Beavers, to help us see that the Findings of the Labor and Educational Committee - the findings, not what they say is, but the true findings, what comes out of it, what is true, will be publicized, so that people throughout this country will know just what is going on.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Well, good. I just want to make one comment. I am glad to see a person out of Chicago being vocal on this subject, and I just want you to know that in the last International Convention, and I have two men who are sitting here, who might know more. I led a fight on this, in our last international convention, and I didn't get the kind of support that I expected, and some of the people in which you refer to here did not see fit, for reasons butter known to themselves, to support the position.

I am proud of the position I take, and there are people here too, whom I am looking at, who

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were in that International Convention too, and who are familiar with the fight I led and lost, because of many of my fellow brothers, and I am talking about my fellow colored brothers who could not support my position. But, we don't want to get into that, and we will, we will, see to it, the findings - I will do my best that the findings are made a part of the Convention, because I believe that is the only way we are going to get to this deep core of this deep-seated segregation and discrimination. As I said before, decisions generally follow where the facts leave, but until you arose the consciousness of these members of the local union, to their responsibility in this fight, we are not going to win the fight as fast as we should win it.

I recognize Mr. Doswell.

MR. MORRIS DOSWELL (Organizer of District #65, AFL-CIO, and Vice President of Negro American Labor Council of New York): There is one thing that I am concerned about in discussing discrimination and existing labor movements. One part of that is the question of jobs. No doubt about it, and that is being handled in some of the other panels that are being held here.

But there is one thing that I think that

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the National NALC eventually has to come to grips with, and that is, and I speak as a person who has been in the labor movement, on the staff, of District #65 for twenty years, that is there are a lot of unions, in New York City, and throughout the country, locals who employ, as much as 70, 75, 80 and 85% of their workers are negro and Puerto Rican, but yet when it comes to the employment on to the staff, of officers and positions of organizers, or vice presidents, and top officers of the union, you always have the problem that is thrown at us, as is thrown at the House Labor and Education Committee by Mr. Dubinsky, which I attended. He said: "We would be willing to put the people on, providing they are qualified".

Now, I have been in the labor movement a hell of a long time, and I have seen some white organizer s and labor union officials that couldn't write a leaflet or write a report if their life depended upon it, and yet they were on salary of the union, drawing big salaries, and representing us, black and Puerto Rican people. No question of qualification comes up as long as a person's skin is white, I have found, in the labor movement. But when it comes out demanding, that a negro, or negroes, or Puerto Ricans be, not appointed (and that is another thing I want to get into, because that happens

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to be one of the biggest problems in the labor movement, that a lot of these local unions that we have, where you do see a black face, or a Puerto Rican face on the staff, they are appointed, and not elected by the rank and file.) As a result, the officials of these unions have this person lock, stock and barrel in his pocket. It is no accident that when many of us wanted to talk in terms of fighting against the discrimation in the AFL-CIO, (we went to Miami Beach last December 4), it is no accident how few people we were able to rouse up of all of the negroes in the United States who are on the staffs of these unions. We had twenty of them, of which I was one, and my union sent around six of these twenty.

And the reason for that is, is because these people are in appointed jobs, and they were even afraid to be seen, in some cases, talking to us in the hallways of the Americana Hotel. And we raised hell with some of them that we saw, after we came out with George Meany, and after everything was a tremendous success. I think that meeting December 4th was the result of the so-called 87 International Unions and National Unions that are now about to sign-to sign a code of ethics, or whatever it is, to guarantee that there is no discrimination. We will have to look into that to makesure . We will have to have a watchdog

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committee on that too, as far as the NALC is concerned.

But I do want to bring out that we have to be concerned, not only about finding jobs, but also to guarantee that negro people are on the staffs of these unions, not only in appointed jobs, but elected jobs, and frankly, you couldn't give me an appointive job in the labor movement. You couldn't give it to me. I am elected in my union. Because an appointive job in the labor movement means that are the "yes" man to the man up top. That is about what it boils down to, and I think we have to face these problems, and I think also that we have to read between the lines, and look at some of the records of what some of the people will be saying over this weekend, at this convention. I am very happy to see to many white faces our convention this year. It is apparently a result of Mr. Meany's agreeing to come to our convention and now everybody is jumping in line to see the banquet tonight. You will see local unions. Tables upon tables they are buying them. I am happy to see them come forward, but I want them to know that we, in the New York Chapter, intend to keep an eye on the situation. We are not going to be blinded by their appearance at this convention and at our dinner tonight. We are going to keep an eye on the situation. I think

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that this NALC convention should take note of the fact that not only are we fighting for jobs for negroes and Puerto Ricans but we want that negroes and Puerto Ricans be integrated into the staff, and in the top level, sothat these people will be able to bring into the ranks of labor, contribute to bringing into the ranks of labor their people.

I tell you, you do not know in the labor movement the resentment that is amongst negroes and Puerto Ricans when they see a membership meeting go on and sixty-five or seventy percent black faces there md Puerto Rican faces, and nothing but whites conducting the meeting, and taking home the bacon each and every week, as far as salaries and everything else is concerned. I think we have to be concerned about it, because, very frankly, it may be one of the reasons why in recent years - I know that at one time, when you went into a shop and it was almost all negro, you could say almost automatically that that shop was going to join the union. Today, it isn't that flip. It much harder today to organize negro people, even though they may be the majority in a given shop, and the reason for it is because they want to be convinced that the organization they are joining is an organization that is going to represent them, and have their own people

there representing them. (Applause)

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Well, I am - you know, we are a little over time. But we are going to cut this off. We are going to have more questions. Vice President Bodwell,he hit the nail right on the head again. I was in Miami. I was one of the famous twenty, and I was not one of the people who stood in the halls, and gave the famous twenty of us hell for being there. (Applause)

Again, Mr. Fleischer, do you want to make a comment?

MR. FLEISCHMANN: Please, it's Fleischmann, not Fleischer. I once got arrested because they called me Fleischer. There used to be a purple gangster named Fleischer, and I was arrested for him when I was an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. I was very much interested in what Brother Bodswell had to say, because I had an experience that touches on that.

I was at the United Auto Workers Convention, two conventions ago, when Horace Sheffield, who by the way, is an appointed representative of the UAW, an International rep, but at the same time is nobody's bought person. Horace Sheffield got up and spoke at that convention, and raised the question about negroes being given a top post within the union.

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He raised this at the convention, speaking on the convention floor, when he nominated Willoughby Abner for a Vice President of the International. And he did a terrific job in expressing the need and the point of view. Even though he was just an appointed guy on the staff of the International. After he spoke, Willoughby Abner got up, and in a nice, very eloquent speech, declined the nomination.

But one interesting thing that occurred during that period is the number of guys who came up to me and said: "What do you think, Harry? Do you think we ought to elect a negro just because he is a negro?" I said: "No, of course not. I think you should always elect people on the basis of merit. But tell me one thing, is everybody who is now on the International Executive Board a guy who was elected on the basis of merit?" And they looked around, sort of sheepishly, and said: "Well, you've got a point there."

And, at the last convention, of the UAW, held this May, in Atlantic City, I was there again, and this time, a negro was elected to the International Executive Board of the United Auto Workers. They had realized what they had been doing, and what had to be done, and let me tell you this, it would not have happened, if there had not been pressure from the negro membership

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within the UAW, and you are not going to get it unless there is pressure. Even the guys who are good hearted about it aren't going to do it, because they have other pressures too, unless pressure comes from the membership, from the rank and file, and therefore what you say is something that has to be done not only by NALC from outside, but by the negro members from within each of the international unions. That has to be done all the time, if you want to keep that thing moving.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Now, we are going to have five one minute questions, and we are going to end this panel.

The gentleman right here.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: My name is Leon Bergway, of the Packinghouse Workers Union. We don't have the problem that Mr. Boswell mentioned, the integration of our Executive Board, and our top staff. We took care of that years ago. But I wanted to ask a question, and try to draw some comments. I don't know whether I understand this right or not.

The question I want to ask, and then I want to make a statement on it.I would like to know why hasn't the union used the Government Committee on Contracts?

I will go back a few years. In 1955,

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our union undertook the campaign to break down discrim-- ination in the office, the general office. The way that we did this was:

1. We picked out a target. I think this is one of the things you ought to do, to do a job. I think you ought to give leadership notice, to make certain industries, certain projects, and make that the target. That is what we did.

Now, I don't know whether you knew this or not, but what we did, we got two of our young ladies from our International office, white stenographers. We looked in Urban League, and put an ad in the paper, in the negro areas, asking some of the educated negroes who were comptometer operators, secretaries, to come in. We promised to find them employment, but we didn't tell them where. When they came in, we interviewed them and asked them would they be willing to carry through the fight. Out of about 150, about ten of them went through with us.

Now, here is what happened. We selected the top group of these women. The Urban League, by the way, has done a terrific job. They put them through thorough tests to make sure that that wouldn't be the problem. They went in about eight o'clock and made applications for the job, and they were sent around.

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They were told: "We are not hiring anybody. Go into the production department and see the man over there and you might get a job." That is the way it was put.

About an hour later, these two young white stenographers from our office went in, and they were hired immediately. Come right on in. They said: "Well, we want to give you a couple of days so you can have us checked up a little bit." "Oh no, you are all right. Come on in." So they went in and worked and they came back and reported to us, and we processed the case. We went to Washington - I think Wilson was on the Board at that time. Mitchell, Mabrick, from Howard University, and they aided us, and sent out the investigators. To make a long story short, U have here the records.

Now, I thought, and I guess I am somewhat conceited in this. We got into the Armour General Office at that time. Now I think that in setting the example, that thousands of international and local unions would follow and do the job, and the question I want to ask is, I can't see why we have this tool that has been granted by our government and it is not being used. I am sure that if you ever worked in a shop, workers aren't going to move on that, you have to give them leadership. Somebody has to go down and rally these people. Why is that not being done by our

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unions?

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Does anyone of the authorities want to answer why the unions are not using the contract compliance committee?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Some do.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Some are doing it and some don't. That is true. They are not using it because - Doswell, Vice President Doswell, hit the key, I think, to that question, when he talks about many negroes who are in positions, administrative positions, don't have the courage of their convictions. I suspect that that is one of the things. I think the other answer is that we must arouse the negro trade unionists out of the apathy. I mean, there is not a single negro trade unionist that doesn't know in his local trade union that he is being discrimimated against, but he doesn't have the courgage of his convictions, to get up and make a stand, because we have to understand one other thing. You don't make but so many stands, because these boys will get you. You have to have that granite foundation. If they destroy you, that is the sacrifice you have to pay. Number one, the trade unionist, and the trade union leader have to be endowed with that kind of sacrifice if he is going to make a contribution. Of course, if you want to get your paycheck and go home,

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then you really can't make a contribution.

Yes, I see, may I see the fellow farthest away from me. He has his hand up.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I am from the International Hod Carriers.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: And what's your name?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Prentice Woods. We have often wondered about our local, about our union. We have eighteen union locals, which covers about twenty thousand men, roughly about twelve to fourteen thousand negroes. That is from Chicago. No negro has ever been able to hold a position, or an office in that union. We have been fighting for a period of five years, trying to correct this condition. We went to various newspapers throughout Chicago, which refused to give us any type of coverage on this. We went to Washington, D.C.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: And picketed the AFL-CIO Building. Go ahead. (Laughter)

MR. PRENTICE WOODS: You can't tell a drowning man that it is wrong to do a thing, when you are starving his family every day. We have been blackballed for a period of five years. Now everybody makes promises and says they want to do this, and in-

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vestigate. This condition has been going on for five years. For five years we have been going everyplace in the world, trying to remedy this condition. We have been to the Department of Labor. We have been to the National Labor Relations Board about this problem. We have been to the AFL-CIO, our International. We are still being blackballed. These conditions still exist. Our union has led the fight. No negro has been in office in any local, eighteen locals, and not a negro nowhere, and when we asked these questions, it is always this: "The International does not discriminate any negroes".

But the International does not take any action against the locals who do discriminate against these negroes, and we come here as a fraternal delegation, to bring our problems up in front of the National Board, to see would they take a stand with us against our International and its eighteen affiliated locals. Now the Middlewest has no negro representatives from the Hodcarriers whatsoever, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois from round the southern borders of Missouri, Kansas, and from that point on, we have no negro representatives whatsoever, and the President of District Council, Mavis Davis once said that as far as he was concerned, that is the way it is, and that is the way he intended to

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keep it.

So we are here to ask our fellow members of the Negro American Labor Council to join us in our fight to eliminate discrimination in Chicago against the Hodcarriers.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Right. Well, let me just make this comment. I certainly can't answer that question, but I want to give you just a ray of hope. You remember, in your neighboring city of Detroit, that situation went on for a long time, and you were able in Detroit, but you haven't broken the barriers in Chicago, but you were able to do it in Detroit, and it is going to take that same of persistence, it is going to take that same kind of courage, that bulldog tenacity, that stick-to-itness, that those boys displayed in the City of Debroit, to accomplish what you want to accomplish in Chicago. I can also say this to you, that I am sure if you bring that problem before the Board, the Board will give you serious consideration. The only purpose, as I see it, as the Board sees it, as Joe Beavers sees it, for the existence of NALC.

Now, I am going to recognize the lady here, because she had her hand up, and we don't generally ignore these beautiful ladies.

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SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Thank you. I am Sadie King. I am a member of the ILGW U and I heard the gentleman speak before about the members, that the upsurge had to come from within. But I know the shop that I was in, I had five or six girls in the union with me, and I was the Chairlady. This is one reason why I wanted to speak, because I took the initiative to make my complaint when I made it, and I was speaking to one of the girls the other day, and I said: "Well, maybe, there isn't any discrimination. Maybe I should reply to the Committee."

And the girls said: "No, we have found it, and if we come out and say it, then we won't have a job, whereas you don't have that problem, you don't have a family. Any repercussion that is taken on you, you can stand it more than I."

I found that where many of these people would speak out, I don't know how it is done, but anyway you find these people eventually out of a job, and when they are out of jobs, they can't find any. And this is why a person thinks a second time before they go to the Commission, or they go to the unions and complain, and in many instances when they will stand up and make a complaint, they will push them down, and gradually, they beat them down one at a time, and therefore in the

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ILGWU, you find many of these people who would be militant, who aren't militant because of the fact that they know they have families, and they know that they can't afford to lose out, because many of the jobs are low wages. I was working in one shop this summer. I think I made $150.00 in that shop. They didn't even pay me the minimum. One week, three and a half days, I made $16.59. Four weeks ago, I worked in a shop, and they didn't even pay me the minimum. For those four days I made $24.00. So here in New York City, among the low wage earners, this militancy in the ILGW, I don't think you are going to find it, because these people have to work. So I have these statements here to show that I am not lying.

MR.JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: I believe that the General Counsel for the New York State Commission on Human Rights might have a comment here. Mr. Spitz?

MR. SPITZ: I stated in my opening remarks that in order for the State Commission for Human Rights to invoke its enforcement powers, to correct any discriminatory situation, it is necessary for an individual to come to the Commission and to file a sworn complaint, with it, describing his experiences.

Now, the situation that you have described with respect to many people who are reluctant, for per-

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sonal reasons, to file a sworn complaint, is one which we are quite familiar with, and what we do in those cases is this.

If the individual will come to us, and tell us the situation and the facts that they have experiences, and then even if they are not willing to file a sworn complaint, we will, if the situation seems to warrant it, initiate an investigation on our own, in order to try to determine what the facts are there and what we can do to correct it, short of using the punitive powers of the commission, which we do not have thepower to do when we don't have a sworn complaint. But those situations should not be permitted to go unnoticed, and as I say, the Commission, on its own, will initiate and investigation, and we have initiated over a thousand investigations during the years that we have been in existence, where people have been similarly situated, and where they have been reluctant to file a complaint which would cause them to stick their neck out, so to speak. If they say that anonymity is essential, we will grant them anonymity, and try to discover the facts, if they will point the way to the places that have to be investigated.

I wish you would carry that message back to these girls. They may not be these particular girls,

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but I am sure you will run into this situation wherever you go.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Ladies and gentlemen. We are a half hour overtime. I really hate to close this workshop, but we all have to be to the dinner at seven o'clock. It is five o'clock now, and on behalf of the Negro American Labor Council I would like to express our thanks to Mr. Spitz, the General Counsel of the New York State Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Harry Fleischmann. I don't want to gethis name wrong. Mr. Harry Fleischmann - of course you know he is the Director of the National Labor Service, and really a veteran, and a man who knows what is going on in the Labor Movement, for the last, I won't say how many years, but look at his head.

We want to thank Mr. Wellington Beale, the Director of the Compliance Division of the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations, and last, but not least, thank again, Mr. Jack G. Siphen, of the New York State Department of Labor. And you, the audience, your comments and questions have been quite provacative, and I am sure all of us have benefitted from your points of view, and we just want you to direct any further questions in the Convention, and we will try to get some interpretation from those

gentlemen here, not today, but we can always contact them by phone or letter. Thank you very much.

There is one announcement.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: My name is John Kelly, from Local #144, Hotel and Allied Services Union, New York City. We have a Hospitality Room on this floor, the Blue Room, and we invite all of you now to come over, and say hello to us. There will be a refreshment stand.

MR. JOSEPH A. BEAVERS: Thank you very much.

(The workshop session adjourned at 5:00 p.m.)

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The Workshop Session of the Negro American Labor Council convened at 3:00 p.m. on Friday, November 9th, 1962, in the Sheraton Atlantic Hotel in New York City.

MR. RICHARD PARRISH: We ran somewhat over during the convention, and I'm sure that most of us had to go to eat even though I didn't, and this has delayed us somewhat. I know that there are more panelists involved, Probably they are just taking a little longer to eat.

I would like to have the two panelists who are here to please identify themselves and introduce themselves to you, starting with Manny.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I'm Manny Morabchek, national field director of the Jewish Labor Committee.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I'm Mr. O. Stevens. I'm a lawyer and I'm working with Mr. Randolph in the organization of the work of the Emergency Committee on Unity in Harlem.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Sir, would you please speak in the mike.

MR. O. STEVENS: I was asked to

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participate in the workshop today with a view to sharing in the thoughts of the delegates interested in the part that the Council must play in the community will develop so that some focus in respect to the community influence that the Council must have can be developed.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Thank you and, of course, he's at least given us some ground for this discussion. The program suggests that in line with what he said the NALC program in the community, locally and nationally, and it would be my feeling that the real purpose of this panel is to not only assess what we have done, insofar as what the local community, and the national community, but what we can do. This is one of the reasons we're having these experts in, and I think possibly we want to start off by hearing from Mr. Stevens because apparently he has some well formulated views on the subject, and I'm sure that it will be most provocative. By that time, Manny Moranchek will join right in. I'll turn it over to you.

MR. O. STEVENS: Thank you, Mr. Coordinator. I don't know if I need that thing, do I?

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MR. COORDINATOR: They're teasing us. This is different.

MR. O. STEVENS: Well, Mr. Coordinator, fellow panelists, ladies and gentlemen. The Council, the Negro American Labor Council now in convention, would be, in my view, failing in its major - its major purpose and function, if it did not explore in this panel the relationship between the leadership that emerges from the Afro-American membership in the trade union movement of our country.

The function of that leadership in relation to the conditions that exist and develop in the communities in which those leaders reside. Trade unionists are people who are capable of speaking in utter frankness, and I begin by suggesting to you that we recognise that in 1962 one hundred years after emancipation, one hundred years after-- or about one hundred years after our country was torn fratricidal civil war, on the issue of race, whether one race in our country should be relegated to the classification of chattels merely because of their racial identity of its members, and the other race, the white race, ascribed to be possessive of superior human qualities. One

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hundred years after this historical event, we are faced with the question of determining where freedom is going to apply, where the so-called wanted democratic system is going to achieve fruition, and what we all - white or black - are going to do about it.

It's rather painful for us - those of us who are black - to have to look around and contemplate that our country, having achieved a position of leadership in the world, continues to be divided and weakened and plagued by the deliberate effective action of a minority of segregationists, racialist minded people, who succeed effectively in influencing the life of America because the large majority of white Americans of good will are too intellectually and socially lazy to speak up, stand up and to act. In this context, we do not have majority rule in America in respect to this particular issue, we have minority rule because the large majority is so afraid of the vocal minority that in the communities stretching across our land, - north to south, east to west - this majority sits and acts and conforms to patterns of behaviors laid down by the segregationists, racialists, minority.

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As trade unionists we do not have to go into the details, we know this. We meet these conditions and these attitudes at work, at play and in the residential areas where our families live. We have to fight for the right of our children to go to school.

This great shame smearing our country, retarding its entire progress interfering with its external influence, is something with which we the victims of it - the primary victims of it - are immediately and positively concerned. The membership of the Negro American Labor Council is deemed to be drawn from the intelligent, aware enlightened, membership of the trade union movement. It is therefore deemed to be able to understand without too much discussion the implications of race in the way that racialism affects the communities in which we live. Because as we come home on our workday, as we come home from our trade union meetings, we come back in the main to communities that we have inherited as segregated, separate and apart.

Now, it is true that in cities like New York, where we have Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, the Prospect-Forest neighborhood areas in the Bronx,

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and so on, the Jamaicas in Queens. It is true that in these areas we are no longer forced, compelled to live in the segregated communities. At least, not by law. Custom has yielded to the point where if we are prepared to fight and to resist patterns laid down by social history, we can live wherever we want to live, assuming our economic ability to buy living space.

But in spite of the fact that this is technically true, we here elect to continue to live in the main in the areas in which we have been born, we have brought up, we have our friends, and it is to these areas that I wish to address a sharp comment this afternoon, and our interest in these areas.

Our politicians are doing all that they can to make it possible for the so-called black votes to be concentrated in the areas that we have inherited as segregated areas, even though no longer legally segregated. Our politicans feel that if we continue to concentrate our votes and our numbers in these areas that our political strength can be more easily identified and we can be more effective. There is considerable question as to whether this is a valid future approach,

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to take to this whole question of race, a living space.

However, this is the case today.

In other areas of our country, in other urban areas, where segregation is still enforced by law and by custom-- or by custom, why the politicans must of necessity organise their point of view to suit the existing situation. But, where the trade unionist is concerned, the man and the woman who has emerged in trade union leadership, comes back to the segregated community and we find in the main - and this is the criticism that I as a person who is not active in the trade union movement now, can make, on the basis of my own observations - in the main the trade unionists returns to his segregated community too busy with trade union thinking to devote overly much attention to what is happening around in the areas in which he lives, the areas in which his children grow up. It is around this fact that I feel that we should attempt to concentrate our thinking this afternoon.

Leadership is hard to come by. Effective leadership requires training. We have

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no training schools for leadership. Such training as we as black Americans have achieved has been achieved on the basis of rugged experience and necessity, particularly training in struggle, political struggle, and social action struggle.

It is because this is true that the trade unionists have a dual responsibility. The responsibility to the organized labor movement and the fight against discrimination based on race in that movement, and the responsibility to the community in which he or she lives, to see that overt and covert discrimination is eliminated in the systems of education, in the pattern of housing, in the application of the law, in the defense, in the defense of the rights of the people in the community, in the upholding of law enforcement and in the general cultural and social uplift of the area.

Three of the great abuses that stem naturally from segregated living in New York, in Richmond, in Washington, in Los Angeles, in Atlanta segregated living gives rise to segregated schooling. Segregated living under the pattern that exists in our national culture gives rise to constant slum development, the down-grading of living space wherever

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it is occupied by persons of African descent. Segregated living makes it possible for crime and vice to flourish because of the constant down-grading of communities and of the people who live within it.

Our children today are perhaps the most ready victims of the narcotics traffic. Now, some of us may not have been touched by this. We may not have friends who teenagers have fallen victim to the narcotics traffic but let's have in mind for a minute the ramifications of the narcotics traffic.

The narcotics traffic is conducted by syndicates, furnished with vast sums of money, millions of dollars on a national scale. This organization of wealth is necessary to enable them to confront the agents of our national government; to enable them to bypass with success the agents of our national government who are deemed to be charged with the obligation of keeping narcotics from coming into the country. But, the narcotics come in.

After they get in they have to be distributed, and there are echelons of distribution until they reach the community. I make bold to

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say that the narcotics traffic in heroin, in marajuana, and in the other vicious drugs could not exist in New York City for five minutes were it not protected by powerful politicans, were it not connived at by the Police Department of the City of New York.

Now it takes a lot of boldness for a member of the Bar to make a statement of this kind because it can't be proven. It cannot be proven but any analysis of the way in which dope filters down to the children in our schools, these reasonable and rational persons to understand that without police protection, without police connivance, neither dope nor numbers could flourish in any community. Because police protection of the most meager kind is given to the segregated community, the opportunities for these vendors and passors to ply their trade in the segregated community is much wider. These opportunities are much wider than they would be in other areas.

Slums are occupied by people living at the lowest level in our culture. In these segregated communities it has been necessary - constructively necessary - for our municipal govera-ment to tear down the worst slums and replace that

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space-- that living space by new low-cost housing. This low-cost housing tends to be occupied again on a segregated basis by persons at the lowest economic level, and in our culture those at the lowest economic level are also at the lowest cultural level, so that we have new slums of a different character in which the housing structures themselves are modern, but the occupants are the slum dwellers who occupied the filthy slums of the period before.

Now, what are the inferences that eradicate slums? Schools. Careful training of the youth, development of recreational opportunities that will enlarge the imagination of our children so that they do not turn to their bodies for amusement because you mothers and fathers must realize that whole haven of this business of juvenile delinquency, a term that is loosely used, and little understood, the whole <u>payer</u> of it is what? The discovery by the child at the age of nine, ten, twelve or fourteen, the discovery by the child of the implications of sex, between-- the difference between male and female.

The discovery by the child of the loose way in which the sex organs are brought into

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social life of the teenagers in the upper age echelons. The discovery and understanding of those teenagers of the loose way in which sex is used by the adults, the parents, their mothers, their fathers, their split families, the boy-friend and girlfriend situation among the adults with infants around.

All of this bringing us back to the understanding that it is the discovery of sex and the way in which sex can be used and abused with all of the misinformation which is spread around by word of mouth and otherwise, this discovery brings us to the core and heart of the evil of juvenile delinquency.

When you add to that the activity of the dopster who begins to sell to the teenager boy or girl of fourteen the understanding of the illusion that they can experience while under the influence of dope, and the fact that after one or two experiences with dope injections or marajuana smoking, - after one or two experiences - they become hooked and enslaved, habituated to the use, and that in order to secure it after that (because you see the narcotic addict is of no value to the seller of narcotics until he's hooked) when he or

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she is hooked and can no longer do without it, then the trade begins, because it then requires between three to six to ten to twenty to fifty dollars per day to supply the victim with the needed dosage of narcotics. In the search for this money, in the underprivileged family the child, the teenager, the youth, steals from the parents, steals from the home, steals from the neighbor, steals everywhere and under the urgency of the need for dope commits any crime. Any crime in order to get money with which to buy narcotics.

Now, it is in the sense of this broad contact-- context without going into the varied ramifications of the way in which the council member having achieved leadership in his union owes the obligation to return to the community and give some time, and exercise some leadership there, it is in this context that I throw out to you today the challenge that if your leadership in your unions is not going to bring you to an immediate and broad understanding that your leadership at home in the community in which you live is even more important that your training in the union should be nothing but an education

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for service in the community so that you may influence the social, cultural and political life of the community, so that you can give leadership in the organization of community forces to exercise the pressures without which the community cannot be effected. If your leadership in the trade union does not bring you to an understanding of this role then I would suggest to you that your lives are being partially wasted; that your egos are what you are trying to satisfy; that your understanding of the relationship of the social man and woman to the community from which he springs is deficient and short and that you should move to correct it. (Applause)

MR. COORDINATOR: Mr. Stevens, sir, you gave us an excellent presentation and one which I'm sure will give us considerable food for thought and discussion. Now Mr. Moranchek, undoubtedly, I certainly don't want to set a guidepost for his presentation, but in terms of his background and his involvement in all phases of community activity, I would imagine that at sometime at some point during the presentation he will speak of the question of the idiocies, attention, and interest in other facets of the community other

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than the negro community and the meaningful relationship and the meaningful contribution they can make in the cultural area. Thank you.

Mr. Morancheck: (Applause)

MR. MORANCHEK: Thank you, Mr. Sheffield.

I'm afraid that whatever I'm going to say is going to be in a lot less interesting area than that which Mr. Stevens has spoken in. If it were another occasion only because I think it's not too relevant we might even have a fascinating debate on the subject of sex, (Laughter) which I believe that he and I would have quite a different point of view of its role in relation to the coming up of children but not as to the conclusion of the problems that the children face. Not from the sex but from the problems that we are primarily here concerned about.

I thought really, I was trying to think through what would be useful to a group of fellow trade unionists, I assume that substantially all of you are trade unionists, or at least here to look at the questions, primarily the civil rights questions, from the point of view of trade unions; and from the point of view of Negro trade

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unions. What did I know, or what questions, or what could I throw out that might be helpful to you in playing this role, in playing the role of the American-- Negro American Labor Council in the community? If Horace, who is a very liberal soul, he's always been very liberal with me when introducing me, will permit me, I'm going to take the affrontry to make some suggestions about the role that I think it might have in the Negro community and then in the role - the question that he's posed as to what it might have in relation to the white, or what we call the white which really we should regard as the total community.

I think I have a little bit of a right not to advise Negro trade unionists as to their role in Negro life, but to throw out some suggestions because it bears a parallel to one aspect of the work that I've been involved in in the last fifteen years. I've been involved in the work of a Jewish trade union body, partly in relation to the Jewish community, and I think that there may be a parallel there and maybe while I'm sure the situations are not identical, I think that they are close enough so that some of the things that we think that we have learned, or have worked

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out, may be applicable to your situation.

The first point which Mr. Stevens has emphasized and I agree with him entirely, is the role of the trade unionist in relation to the total community. Some of us who were in the early trade-- early days of trade union organization had-- tended to have a isolated view of our role. This was true in Jewish life. My memory of the Negro trade union activists which goes back quite far. It goes back to about 1931, in Harlem. I think it would apply there. It was certainly true in the general American community. That is to say the trade unionists felt themselves so much a set upon attacked, minority in a different sense, segment of American life against which the main forces of American life, the press the pulpits, the law was arrayed that even when we achieved some stature and power, we did not go into the general community to play a role as part of the general community, but we pushed away the general community, and regarded it as still the enemy that it was in the days when we tried to organize unions and had to go through years and years of bitter, bitter struggle to achieve decent working conditions.

This has changed. It's changed in

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the general community; it's changed in the Negro community; it's changed in the Jewish community. That is to say that unionists for whatever reason now feel themselves secure enough, and accepted enough, in the total community, that we don't isolate ourselves. We say we must play a role.

Now comes the question: What kind of a role? Do we play simply the role of another part of the community, that is to say, there is a committee set up - it could be in Harlem, it could be in Pittsburgh, it could be in detroit, it could be anyplace - within the Negro community to deal with overall problems or specific problems. We go into this committee. Is our role in this community identical with the role of the St. Ebenezer Church, with the businessmen's association from the Negro neighborhood, with the-- What's the Negro medical organization called? The National Medical Association, etc. Are we simply with the Elks, with the-- whatever other groups represent the community. We have said in our community, in the Jewish community "No, our role is not the same. We want to be in our community structure as vigorously, as actively as we know how but we do have two things that are distinctive. We have

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a distinctive contribution that we can make to the total community effort because we are trade unionists in touch with thetrade union movement, which is a force - an independent force - in community life, and we have within the community a distinctive point of view, not identical with the point of view of all other sectors of the community, and one that it is our reponsibility to express in that community. Sometimes even to fight for in that community."

Now the first part is clear enough, and not hard to explain whatsoever. I know how it operates in the Jewish community. It can operate exactly the same way, if it hasn't already, in the Negro community in relation to NALC. There is a communitywide push for objective X; objective X may be a new housing bill in the-- or stake. It may be-- Well, here we had one in New York State, I suspect a majority of you in New York-- we had one on the ballot in New York State that had some concern to us who are concerned about minority problems, the proposition about the subsidization of low income units within middle income government sponsored housing.

This is a problem that the entire

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community should be concerned about. We as a labor sector are in the position to be the link between our community - in your case it would be the Negro community, in the case of my organization the Jewish community, and the trade labor movement, where while the ministers association presumably is out lining out-- up the Protestant Council, as we call it in New York City or the Council of Churches as it might be called in another community, while the businessmen's association is out raising the funds to conduct the campaign, our job as trade unionists to-- is to be the one that goes to the Central Labor Party and to the individual union that we know can be influenced to take a position - line them up in support of this community effort, whatever it might be.

This is a distinctive function. I think one that clearly lies within the responsibility of NALC.

Let me take up the other function. The function of the expression of a distinct point of view. I think we all here, all who are trade unionists, I mean informed trade unionists, recognize that there are differences within our community even on matters that relate to the total

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group interests, differences between our point of view as labor people, and the point of view of certain others, in the community.

I don't want to take specific cases partially-- partly because I don't have a list of them, but let me take hypothetical cases. We have situations in which on the question of unionization we find Negro businessmen who become very militant in criticism of unions because they do not wish their businesses unionized, but they do not raise the argument against the unions on the ground that they don't want their businesses organized. They argument because this would be a fruitless argument for them to raise, instead therefore they must find an argument that appeals to their employees, and so they raise an argument that the union concerned is a union that is opposed to equal rights.

Now, it may be true in a given case, in which case there is an entirely justifiable expression about a problem that you, I think, more than any other institution have to play a role in meetings. It is very often not true. It is very often merely a gimmick utilized by an employer and that employer may happen to be an important figure in community life. He may even be a generous

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contributor to the cause of civil rights, in general; he may even be the owner of a newspaper that expresses the sense of injury and militancy of the community but his role, his purpose, in raising these issues is to resist unionization for precisely the same reason that white employers resist unionization, mainly that it costs them money.

Now, there you have a distinctive role. A distinctive role to play. Now there is a second area which crosses my mind, and I take it from my experience, as I did this first, we-- By the way in this first area, I'll tell you exactly where the rise-- there is many times in the work of my organization. Jewish community institutions, non-profit institutions, that refuse to deal with unions of their employees.

We had a notable case-- several notable cases in New York City in the last two years, that everyone is aware of, relation to the hospital. We felt, our role as a trade union organization, and accepted part of the structure of Jewish community life, was to fight and when it became a public open fight to fight in the public press against these very institutions for their

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anti-labor positions. This is our responsibility as a labor party. I think a parallel role would be your responsibility, as a labor party within Negro community life.

Now there are also things that get a little more abstract. Here we may have difference of view.

The organization that I represent, the Jewish Labor Committee, started out with a broad equalitarian philosophy. You don't have to have an equalitarian philosophy to fight for the equal rights for your own group if your own group is a deprived minority. You don't have to believe in the principle of equality in the abstract to fight that you should-- you yourself should have as much rights as anyone else. This is true in every community. It is true in the Jewish community. It is true in the Negro community. It is true in the Puerto Rican community.

Let me take a-- for this gathering an impartial example and say that I have had the experience in relation to certain Puerto Rican community leaders to attend meetings, presumably on the problems of civil rights, or at least on the problems of equal rights for Puerto Ricans,

in which it is perfectly clear from the expression—from the speeches given by the leaders that their concern was not equal rights for the Negro, was no concern at all naturally about the Jew whom they no doubt tend to look on as part of the equal group that is participating in oppressing them, but only about how do they achieve equal rights for Puerto Ricans.

Now, as I've named no individuals and I hope no one will carry this away because I want to assure you that there are members and leaders in every group who say the same sort of thing. I heard certain of these meetings individuals say very clearly that they want it clearly understood that Puerto Ricans are not colored. What did that mean? Exactly the point I was making.

They were saying the Negro group is an oppressed group in the society. They come into the society find themselves deprived of their rights. They are not dedicating their fight to the principle of equality. They're dedicating their fight, and they might fight just as hard or harder for it, to the equality for Puerto Ricans.

Now, we have had, and have, precisely this same ideology present in sections of Jewish community life. You have had, and have, and will

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have, precisely this same point of view present in sections of Negro community life. That is inevitable that there will-- shall be leaders who are concerned only about themselves or their group, is inevitable.

The role that we, the organization that I came from, believed that it had to espouse as a matter of principle, as a matter of philosophy, twenty years ago, twenty-five years ago, was that equality is indivisible. We cannot achieve equality for some. As long as it's not everyone it's not equality. It's only privilege, and therefore we felt that as a labor group who had a principle dedication to the concepts of the trade labor movement, namely that all people are equal and must have equal rights, whether you put it in the form of all workers regardless of so and so and so and so, belong to the union; or whether you put it in the form of equal pay, equal work, or any kind of objective standard, whether it be division of work or seniority system, all of which have no-- give no recognition to the color, nationality, or religion. The principle that we believe as a labor group we must adhere to was equality.

Therefore, we went within Jewish

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community life to fight for this principle, and forced, and to some extent still fight, with others to establish this as a principle.

I think we were quite fortunate, at least at the official level, this is now accepted within-- has been already for decade or more, as the official position of all the national Jewish organizations. I think the same will happen within Negro life, but it will only happen after the fight has been carried on.

I think it is a role of a labor group to present its labor philosophy which is a philosophy really of equality, not just-- Was it Mark Twain who said "I'm as equal as the next man, and maybe a little more so" or something of the sort? Not a little more so, but just as equal. Thenext man is just as equal as I am.

It seems to me that these are distinctive roles.

Now a word about the question that Horace raised. My view of the image that NALC has built for itself in the general community, and any comments that I have on it.

Here, you will have to forgive me, it is not my right to tell another group - a group

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of which I don't even hold nominal membership - what it should or should not do. But if Horace went so far as to ask the question, I suppose I am permitted to go so far as to give my answer.

I think that there has developed the impression in most sections of the white trade union activists and leadership circles-- at least those that I hear, and I think I hear directly and indirectly a great variety of them, that NALC is an organization which while it might express a need of the Negro trade unionists, has expressed it in ways that are-- that create considerable antagonism and conflict.

Now, I want to say here that I regarded as inevident that any organisation that will conduct a militant fight for equal rights will be looked on by some people as being a creator of antagonism and conflict. If you were to say that you were going to accomplish your goals of full equality, without antagonizing any labor leader, or any considerable numbers of active rank and file members, I would say that at best your program was a program, planned in terms of achieving your goals within 500 years.

I think that you want to achieve not--

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to achieve your goals not within 500 years, you want to achieve them within five minutes, but you want to plan to achieve them, let us say, within five years. So there is no question that you must create antagonism and an image of conflict.

But, I want to say, that part of the image that has been created - and I keep using the word image because I don't want to assert that the image is a true statement of what is actually transpiring. It's the picture the people have and if I will be told afterwards that the picture is wrong, it's not that the criticisms are wrong,-- The criticisms would be right if the picture were right but the picture is all wrong. Well, and good, then you need a better public relations to change the picture. The picture includes some element that I think if true, are mistaken to-- directions or activity.

Let me pick this up. I deliberately pick up the problem areas because I don't see any point in picking up obvious positive areas. By that I simply repeat what you are doing and everyone knows they should do. Everyone who is concerned about civil rights and make you feel good and me feel good but I don't think I will have

accomplished a thing.

One image that's there is right around the last point I made on principle. There is an image that the NALC is not interested in equality but is interested in Negroes. Now, do I have to elaborate to make clear again the distinction that I see very sharply.

Let me put it this way. Let me take an illustration. We all know - those of us who-- I guess all awake Negroes and all whites who have been in civil rights movement - know that we can find Negroes who do not actively fight for civil rights just as we can find lots of whites who don't actively fight for civil rights. We can find Negroes who play a role, and we could even find them in the trade union movement, play a role of essentially being the official-- Well, I don't want to even describe the role. Uncle Tom or Hander-- I don't want to even describe the role. (Laughter) I want to simply say that he is the official face that sits there on-- at the appropriate meetings to show that there is a Negro face sitting.

I mean, we all know that there are people who play that role. I'm not critical of

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of the people as people. I'm not concerned with that. Just say that they play that role. Now, let us take a man X who we know is not a man who in fact understands the Negro fight, or is capable of doing anything for the struggle for equality, or is going to do anything if he happens to be elected to office. But, he happens to have one unique characteristic, he happens to be a Negro.

Now, it is the image in the trade union movement that the NALC groups adherents are given spots or places, would take the position, or have taken the position, that they want that Negro in spot X, wherever that spot may be, because he is a Negro. I don't know if this is correct or not correct. I simply say that there is this image in the trade union. This is a problem. You have to address yourself to it. It's not an easy problem, by the way. Not an easy problem at all.

On the surface it looks like a very easy problem. Obviously you say we want the man there who is going to do the very best job for our rights and our principles and our cause. We don't want him there because of the color of his skin. But, there are situations, and this I understand

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very well, when a different position may be taken. When are those situations? When there has been an exclusion or an absence of Negroes sitting on boards, committees, offices, etc. and the presence of one there for the-- becomes a step forward even if the individuals doesn't really contribute anything to the job. No question about that. Where there's been exclusion, or virtual exclusion, the presence of the individual becomes a sign of forward movement even though the individual himself doesn't contribute anything to the forward movement except by the color of his skin.

But barring a situation like this there is the image abroad that the NALC is uprating as a race caucus, not a civil rights caucus, a race caucus. If this is true, I would say it's something that I think is bad. I think it's bad because I disagree with it on principle. Others may quite honestly hold the opposite position, but then they aren't in the same camp that I'm in. They're not in the civil rights camp. They're just in the camp of their own minority.

In other words, if their minority happens to be the majority they wouldn't be

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interested in civil rights at all for the other minority. A very important distinction. You have to make up your mind sooner or later where you stand on this question.

Now, there is a second thing, and that is the image of the NL-- NALC as an organization that at least once in a while goes out to the press to fight about a problem that hasn't been fought about within the trade union; a trade union problem, that hasn't been fought about within the trade union.

This again-- There are various-- This is not again the simplest question, there are times when the only way you get something done is by going to the press. There is no question. There are times when not the only way, but the way that will short circuit that-- a process that might take three years might be resolved in three months by going to the press, that can be solved.

Here I would throw out a strategy question. This is not a principle question. This is a strategy question, for me. I can see a possibility of harm as well as good by going to the press about an inter-trade union question when you haven't exhausted normal reasonable trade union

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channels. But I want to observe as a matter of strategy that if not a trade union organization that is dedicated to working within the trade union movement but an outside figure or other organization does go to the press about this problem, it obviously isn't the fault of the trade union organization. Nonetheless, it can reap the benefit of it.

But, let me take a real illustration, that took place just four weeks ago, in Philadelphia-- no, it's less than that. The-- It was the-- Yes, it was in the papers the very night that Kennedy made his speech announcing the blockade. That's only maybe three weeks ago. It was a Monday night. It was in Monday Philadelphia papers.

Here's what happened. About ten months ago the civil rights committee of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO Central Labor Party under the chairmanship of Jimmy Jones of the steelworkers had approached the building trade about the opening up of apprenticeship and membership to Negro members, the Negro workers. A long process had gone on in which the letter had never been received. It had been sent to the wrong person. Second letter.

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They had to consult and they consulted. They said we don't really have the authority, so on and so on and so on. A hundred different variations of getting noplace on the problem.

Jimmy Jones is a known old time labor leader who goes only by channels. So he proceeded along his way to try again the next step of the channels, but somehow or other, and I don't mean to implicate Jimmy Jones. I haven't the vaguest idea how it happened to tell you the truth, somehow or other a reporter for the Philadelphia Enquirer heard something about the story and pursued each of the individuals concerned, including Jimmy Jones, and asked them questions which they were after all in a position where they had to answer.

So, on this particular day, ten months after the start of the process, on the front page of the newspaper, was an article about the fact that here in Philadelphia, which has had a city FEB Ordnance for I don't know how many years, a state FEBC law for about nine years if my memory is correct, and the human rights commission and a civil rights commission. So on and so forth in a community in which, I believe,

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something like 26% of the total population is Negro, that nothing had happened.

Now I don't know what has transpired in the last three weeks since then, but I venture to say that that casehas moved much faster in the last three weeks than it did in the three months prior to that. So that there's no question that the publicity given by the general press to the issue was helpful in bringing closer a-- or more stably, a change in the discriminatory practice. But the trade union forces had gone through channels and they werethen able to step in and be the forces that handled the negotiations around how do we change this practice and so on and so forth, instead of being on the outside and having some third force, irrelevant or uninterested or just not well informed play the role of the intermediary that really shapes the conclusion rather than the force that really represented the interests of the Negro workers which are identical with the interests of the total-- of the cause of equal rights, within the trade union movement.

I would say this. NALC does not in my opinion, has not had a problem of its image in the general community. It has-- It isn't

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widely known in the general community the way that any new organisation is not widely known in the general community. Well, I have not run across negative images of the NALC in the general community - as a matter of fact whenever I have run across references to it they're on the positive side, at least in the liberal circles in which I move - but within the trade union movement there has been a combination of fear and antagonism. Part of it inevitable but part of it I am under the impression not inevitable but determined in part by the ways of proceedings to assail the problems that you have to address yourselves to.

Now, I've taken a lot more time than I should and I've deliberately talked in generalities, not taking names and cases because it's a little dangerous if one takes specific cases, individuals, names unions by name, etc., etc., and I wouldn't. I think it would be rather pointless to be-- It would really be a waste of time if we got into a debate about "Is it true about local so and so, that, this and this and did so and so really support a motion to the effect that--" and so on. I think that would be a waste of time.

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I think it is possible to apply the principle to you as a trade union Negro organization, can represent the most effective force in the future, the most effective force pressing for full equality within the trade union movement and yet not destroy those relations with the other forces in the trade union movement that are fundamentally in accord with you and that you have and will find in the long run - here I agree with Mr. Stevens - in the long run your most important contribution will come in your total impact on the community where you will be able to present a more liberal, more libertarian, more equalitarian approach to the solution to your problems in such a way that it contributes at the same time to the solution of the problems faced by all segments of the community. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Thank you, Manny. It seems to me that we now have the basis for not only some spirited discussion on the question of the role of the NALC in the local, state and national community. Mr. Stevens I think touched probably all facets of it. He dealt with political-- the question of political action, the delinquency problem in our communities; and I think, basically he said that we as trade union leaders must become

just as concerned about the needs of our community as we are about our role-- leadership roles in the trade union movement.

So at this time, I think maybe there are some questions you might have that would enable one of them to expand on some particular issue that he raised and your not clear upon, or you may have some individual comments yourself to make.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Moderator, I was particularly interested in the outline made by Mr. Stevens. Certainly a brief analysis of what is needed. I'd like to raise this question.

It is my opinion that the majority of the members of NALC are not Negro trade union leaders. The Negro trade unionists-- and it seems to me that at least my concept of NALC was to give an opportunity to Negro trade unionists to develop into community leaders and leaders within their labor organization, where because they have been denied the opportunity to develop into leadership in their respective communities in most part.

Now how we do this is the question. I raise this particularly in view of some experiences we've had in Chicago. We feel, we view this community influence on the part of the

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membership of NALC as a very broad and complicated matter. We feel that this convention ought to at least help to clarify the kind of structural approach that ought to be permissible in chapters of NALC so that we can develop the kind of influence and impact in the community in the very status of that community that Mr. Stevens referred to.

I think it is important. I think that it would be a mistake to think only in terms of the Negro trade unionist operating as the Jewish Labor Committee has been able to operate because it must be recognized, in my opinion, that while there are two similar situations insofar as problems as minorities, it is not true that the same degree of prohibition against the development into leadership among the Jewish people applies to the Negro people.

I think we have to realistically examine this, and we may have to realize that the Negro American Labor Council might have to take a little different approach than the Jewish Labor Committee has been successful in taking. Precisely because of this distinction, even though we have similarities insofar as minority problems are concerned.

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Now, I think that we could spend a lot of time attempting to re-evaluate something which we've discussed quite frequently in this organization as to whether or not we are a psuedo-Negro organization or whether we are interested in reality in the principle of equality, for everyone, but I think that if we were to do that here today, we will have lost the opportunity to come out of this convention and be able to go back to our respective cities and chapters with a clearer understanding of the kind of latitude and organizational structure that would be advisable to attempt to develop so that we will be able to develop the leadership among the Negro trade unionists who are part of our organization, who would be capable of going into the community life and begin to influence, mingle with, consult with and help to develop the kind of overall community program that will solve some of the many ills that Mr. Stevens referred to that are particularly prevelant in the Negro community much more so than in any other minority group community in this country.

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: It seems to me then that Mr. Stevens has made a real contribution.

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He certainly has pointed out the area in which we must function if we're to be an effective organization. Then, therefore, it becomes the responsibility of the delegates to the convention here, if at all possible, to so structure the organization on a local basis so that we can do these things. Do either one of you want to talk to the questions he raised?

MR. O. STEVENS: Mr. Chairman the question is close to the heart of the whole subject matter that this panel has been asked to consider.

I would suggest that we be very careful in-- I would suggest that we be very careful in-- in attaching ourselves to dogmatic definitions. Something can be the same statement, the same reference to fact, can be positive when made within one context; negative when made within another. To carry the point that you raised a little further, Mr. Moranchek pointed out to us certain of the negative features in the image that our organization bears in the thinking and minds of others who observe it, read of it and think they understand it.

Now, let us remember he is attempting to present to us pictures as a photographer would

present his prints. In the old days when one king sent a message - an insulting message - to another king about what he intended to do in regard to his territory and so on, quite frequently the messenger who brought the message would have his head cut off because he brought the message and his head would be sent back to the insulting king. Don't let's do that to Mr. Moranchek. He has brought us an outline of the image that others have in different sections of the trade union movement, in respect to the council. Let us bear that in mind.

Now, I'm going to address myself to this image because I think it bears rightly-- it comes right down to the point here.

In regard to the possibility that the role of the council provokes antagonism and resistance and intolerance in other sections of the trade union movement, you know even in our own ranks, some of us are gradulists, why hurry so fast; why pressure the man so firmly; why insist on struggle today when a little careful planning, perhaps tomorrow we might attain and so on? Gradualism is a theory that we in this organisation have rejected, and anyone who comes

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to us and says "Well, now look, there's a different way to do this and you'll arrive at the same results, perhaps by going around and so on."

However kindly these suggestions may be, since we have rejected gradualism because we feel that 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation only Uncle Tom can say we are willing to be patient a little longer. Since we have rejected gradualism then our position is, I think, and has to be that we demand now the equality that as Americans we are deemed to have had under the law all along, so that we postpone nothing, and any kindhearted person who suggests to us that we postpone struggle or soften it is aligning himself with the segregationists and racialists who oppose our enjoyment or achievement, of full equal rights. This is the position we take and from this position, I donththink any member of the NALC can deviate but-- particularly a leader. So that in respect to method, yes, certainly, there are constructive methods and destructive methods. There are violent methods and peaceful methods. But pressure is the great instrument that we have learned to use from the majority of American organizations. Pressure and certainly the Jewish

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people have gone through all of the oppression that the black Americans have been exposed to.

The Puerto Ricans have come here and they have been subjected to a deprivation of equal rights but the great distinction that exists in our struggle in relation to the struggles of other minorities is that the Jewish people have been able, in a way, to merge themselves in the majority and become part of the mass of the majority.

The Puerto Rican people claiming that they're not colored, as Mr. Moranchek said, and they do, they hope to merge themselves in the majority and develop all of the rights and privileges that the majority now enjoys.

The great distinction that makes our struggle different, and your responsibility different, is that nature has ordained that you carry the quality of blackness in your skin, that makes you identifiable in a way that no other minority in America is identifiable, and it is because of this identification that you are the ready easy victims of segregation and discrimination. A racialist doesn't have to ask "What is your religion", as he asks— as he has to ask about a Jew.

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He's got to ask "What religion is that fellow?" "Oh, he's Jewish." "Oh, then he's no gentleman's agreement." See, as soon as the racialist determines on the basis of asking and inquiring in respect to a Puerto Rican he again has to say "That fellows English has a little accent. Is he Spanish?" "Oh, yes, he's from Puerto Rico." Then he-- his racialism comes into being.

But when the good brother looks at any of you, he doesn't have to ask (Laughter) what religion you are. You can be a Black Moslem; you can be a Roman Catholic; you can be a Black Protestant; Baptist; anything else he is not interested in religion, nor language. He's interested in blackness - color, you see.

It is because of this that your struggle is different. Therefore, having in mind that time is not going to erase this color and that the segregationists will always be able to identify you, and attack you, having in mind also that as these other minorities merge into the mass, they-- that they by and large automatically take on the attitudes, habits and methods of persecution of the mass; some of them adopt these methods of persecution most quickly against you so as to show

that they're fully identified with the mass.

Now, having in mind all of these things, you have to have this kill of the serpent. You have to have all of the training that the trade union movement can give you whether you be a trade union officer or just a member. You're deemed to be a leader by reason of the difference-- discipline that you develop in the trade union movement. This discipline is what must enable you to go back to the community and turn the chapter into an instrument of action.

At the present time, the image of NALC in the black communities is not as good as it should be. Why? Because up to now it is assumed that the women and the men in the NALC are concerned primarily with trade union problems, which is true. But they have got to be an extension of social action, political action and other forms of action in the community.

For this reason you will have to recruit the largest possible membership; you will have to relate those memberships to the community, through meeting in the community, and extending your influence through your membership in the community.

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Now, your relation to the broad community is that of any other citizen. You've got to fight to participate in every right that everybody else enjoys but in addition to that your community itself must begin to feel the weight of your influence and your collective action because this is where you live; this is where your children are going to school; this is where your wives come home from subways having to meet bums andpimps and dope peddlers on the streets. This is where your daughters are going to be insulted and harmed and-- in these communities.

Your direct action has got to be felt, in a way, I think, more directly than would be the case if you were just a member at large without identification. (Applause)

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Okay. Go ahead.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I would just like to comment--

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Speaker, speak a little louder.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I am very happy to hear and to see the tone in which this workshop is being carried on. We have

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attempted in some ways - and I won't discuss it - I have the report here about the Chicago chapter that I didn't pass out before, so I wouldn't disturb the meeting. The people can get them here. The main thing that I am interested in is the question of making our organization, organizationally possible to carry out what we are discussing here today.

I think, as our report states, some of the troubles that have been community actions, citywide actions, and so forth, there has been some negligences in our man in what the national organization feels towards this. I think if we are going along in the spirit of this discussion so far, the spirit of NALC, must push out into the community, take trade unionists - both leaders and its membership, trade union members - into the community, build community actionorganization, that we must think, particularly think in terms of local organizations of NALC where they can try to solve their local problems.

I think the main thing-- my main point is that I agree very fully - I may disagree with images and so forth and-- that's just a question of semantics - but at a convention I think we should

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not only look at our program of community action, but make our organization organizationally geared to carrying that program out in the community. And, the only--

I'll close by just saying that I think from Chicago we have done a number of things and we have not been able to do a number of things. I think that we should look very closely in any of the other areas, look at the organization itself, in terms of building this into a large mass organization and also in terms of doing exactly what has been discussed by the two panelists here and by the chairman of really getting into community action, political action and making the weight of the negro community felt.

I'll just say this thing. At this point, from the last speakers remarks and the previous speaker's, we have got to-- not only equal rights but when we talk about the Negro organization, I think that if we can get that Negro organization fighting for Negro to the point that it gets equal, then we can start talking about this nebulous concept of the equality of man.

Let's make equality first among men.

MR. O. STEVENS: I want to get the

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speaker's opinion about the situation in Milwaukee chapter, in discussing the coming of Negroes within the retail fitters union.

We were told by the secretary-treasurer of that union that the union was not concerned with Negro company employees, they were only concerned with protecting the seniority of their members. He also stated that there was no discrimination of 4000 members - they have 75 negroes. So we started picketing their stores.

The retail merchants union they filed a complaint with the Human Relations Committee in the Milwaukee Chapter in the city of Milwaukee complaining that the picketing was hurting their members. Our picketing hurt-- a decrease in business. So they filed a complaint and we went down to the hearing and he said at the hearing the union was not concerned with the members whether they were white or black. They were concerned with the-- that the seniority members was working.

Our statement to him was that if the A & P public policy which you say do not concern-- is having effect on your seniority members on this basis-- members of your union to have priority, well this is the time to go to the A & P and enforce

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your non-discriminatory progress and profits. This was our statement to the union. I would like to have your opinion on this.

(Correction: Above was a Speaker from the Floor.)

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Well, let me say, I think this has relevancy to this Committee which is concerned with the NALC program in the city, state and national community insofar as the project that you took on to secure this employment. I think it would be more relevant to the panel on discrimination in government industry unions. That's what why-- This is what these experts are. I mean the other experts on this question are in the other panel but I think it does have some reference in that this is a specific project that your council took on.

The chairman would thought like to say at this point I think what Mr. Morancheck meant, and I think we all hold the same view, and-- including the brother who just made the statement before you did that the struggle for freedom is indivisible, that Negroes can have freedom and Jews not have it, and vice-versa. The whole quality of the fight, it seems to me, is enhanced when we have this as a

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kind-- basic motivation.

We recognize that Negroes unquestionably are the most discriminated against. At the same time, I think that shering in our philosophy, in our belief as we mount this fight of the knowledge that it is indivisible, it seems to me that it has a quality that's needed and will help us galvanise not only our own forces but other kindred souls in the fight.

Yes, sir.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Chairman, I've enjoyed everything and each statement that's been said but since this-- but it seems to me that on the basis of making some recommendation to the NALC, I do have some points I would like to recommend along with whatever else has been said by the gentlemen.

First I would like to say my name is T. W. Haines and I'm from St. Louis. I'm a member of Local 16 and 10.

My first recommendation is the need to create a special committee to study and make recommendations on organizations and national operation procedures. I think we have experienced something like this today. As you see, I think

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we have a little shortage in this field today and-- at the beginning of our convention. I think we ought to give this some thought and see if we can't make some recommendations to the national office so it can be corrected in the future.

Second, the national office should make monthly reports on new members and forms should be issued to quo vadis to make such monthly reports.

Third, charters should be issued to all branches.

Fourth, in the absence of original organization as outlined in the constitution, local branches should only pay $2.00 on each member until such time as the functional regional organization is created, at which time, the local would pay the additional fifty cents.

Five, all duties should be-- all dues should be paid to local branches directly and not national office. Local branches have responsibilities submitting per capita tax. Again we experienced this in St. Louis. I don't know what the other groups did but we got letters direct from the national office requiring us to send our monthly dues to the national office.

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We have a local chapter. We feel that this local chapter should collect dues and we should pay our per capita taxes to the national office, and not the national office send letters to our members telling them to send their dues direct to them. This is the reason why we raised that particular question.

Six, set up a program of systems communicating between branches and the national office. Again, I repeat, we get no communications from our national office; we don't know what's going on behind-- from time to time and we think that this is very important, that we at least hear from the national office at least once a month if not more as to what's happening and what they can suggest that we and the national office can do.

Seventh, and last, if national office is going to issue membership cards, it should be not filled out detailed information such as date of membership. This conflicts with theory of membership in local branches. Cards should be sent to local secretaries for him to fill in this information based on his records.

For an example, one man may join the organization in July, and another may join the

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organization in January. We feel that the national office should not date this but leave this to the local secretary to date the card as when the man's-- the membership of the man started and when it might end in that particular year.

We feel that these things will certainly help the national office to move on in a direction that you gentlemen spoke about this evening and we should give it much consideration to see what can be done about it.

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Well, there is general concensus to your proposal. I will take them and provide the proper authority with them. You want to give me a copy of them, I didn't write it down, and suggest that this was the genenm feeling. They felt that this would help implement-ate the-- implement rather the forward advance of the organization.

This gentlemen over here had his hand up for quite some time.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Chairman. I'm Tom Wolfe from Local 144. I'm very, very happy to hear Mr. Stevens blast again. I can assure this body that he's just not talking. I've known him for many years and he's put into practice

what he's talking about today. I knew him in Harlem many years ago in the Harlem Unitarian Church which not only tried to serve God, but to serve man also.

The question interested me when they talked about identification. Of course, my mind had to run to the late Walter Whycheck, to the present Adam Clayton Powell and to myself, we're all Negroes. It's kind of difficult to identify but I want to tell you that all of us in our past are proud to be Negroes.

It's very, very peculiar to me and I'm glad that they speak up - the Jewish committee spoke about the Puerto Ricans. It happened in our union. We're very sympathetic toward them but if Walter White, and Adam Clayton Powell and Tom Moore can admit that they're Negroes, why can't the Puerto Ricans. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD. Very good. I have to give everybody---

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Chairman, I'll have to address this statement to Mr. Stevens on this whole question of the impact of the Negro in his own community.

I have had the experience of being

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involved in more than just the movement through the church. I belong to the Lutheran Church, and had the opportunity to be a member of a workshop such as this on the question of the role that the Lutheran Church is going to play in the community. Now this touches on this whole question of housing to this extent.

In the city of St. Louis, we are involved in a crash movement of displaced people into different communities. The large segments of whites have been moved into the rural-- into the suburban areas, and the Negro is the hard core of the center of the city. This means that large investments, as far as money is concerned, into plans our churches are being left empty for the simple reason the Lutherans - a great majority-- to a great majority in this particular area are Germans, and this whole question of civil rights has not really sunk into the extent that they're accepting Negro Lutherans as such, and there is the school system and its churches they found that they have-- they're losing money. This gets to taste of economics. They're fleeing cities, leaving the plants worth two and three hundred thousand dollars because they are not willing to

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serve the immediate community.

Now a part as the part that trade unions can play into this picture, I had an opportunity to appear in a session at a workshop with the-- supposed to be intelligencia and bourgois, the intellectuals in shaping the minds of our people in our community. These are the professors and the ministers and the young fellows going through the ministry to be trained and the whole idea here was: What position will the church take as far as the worker is concerned?

This is where we can play a part as trade unionists. That-- They admit that they had been too long too hardheaded to accept the common worker, and they have not infiltrated the factories to the extent of preaching the word of God to this extent. So they, in turn, are segregating not only the Negro trade unionists because you don't belong on this particular level that we as Lutherans are supposed to be on a certain intellectual level and we're a closed circle in the sense that you have to be on a certain economic level to have sense enough to accept this version of equality, that you're supposed to be so intelligent and you don't have

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the cultural background to accept this thing.

So this can be very-- This proved to be very embarrassing to the people that are supposed to be shaping demands and the thinking of the total community in saying that for so many years they have not accepted this particular group. Now this doesn't mean that this is-- particular Negro but I just happen to be a trade unionist and I just happen to be a Negro, so this was embarrassing to the extent that here are men, professors, that are preaching doctrines and philosophies, shaping the flocks demands of the young ministers to send them out to preach the world and they are not accepting a segment of the total community.

So what this meant that these people take a new hard look at the whole situation and we as trade unionists have to involve ourselves in these particular areas. Whether you're supposed to be respectable or not, and these people have certain attitudes about trade unionists that you're radicals.

This is passed down from ancient history that as trade unionists you're radicals and you're against certain philosphies and certain things that as far as government, and teaching and

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the spiritual things are concerned, so I feel that if we will involve ourselves in our total communities by community work, in our civic organizations, in our political organizations, then actually we can help to shape the thinking of these people that are-- that project themselves in the positions of shaping and making of the masses.

I can give you an experience of my own in my own city of Detroit where the Board Members of the NAACP, who think that Negro trade unions are radical. These are Negro board members and this just bears on what Manny had to say. This brother here.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters. I would like to make a parallel here this afternoon.

We have a policy-- not a policy, but there's an old saying "Charity begins at home." I'd like to make this a parallel as far as our organization is concerned. There was a lot of hullabaloo about us sending foreign aid abroad before we took care of starving children, and the people here who needed it.

I think our organization was born

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for one purpose and one purpose alone - for the Negro American Labor Council, namely for the Negro population, Negro unions-- not the Negro unions but Negro trade unions and the Negro communities here and nationally.

I don't think that we should loose sight of this. I feel that we should take care of our own business first and then branch out to the other minorities, but if we can't start with charity at home, then we're not going to be a success. We have to build this organization, help break down the barriers and trades-- in the trade unions that are created and then I think we'll have done some good in this organization.

I think we need to be militant and strong in this aspect. I'm from 1199-- a staff member from 1199, and we took the forefront in the hospitals drive and 85 per cent of the hospital workers, as Mr. Randolph said earlier, are Negro and Puerto Rican, but basically they are Negroes, and I think charity begins there. Then after we fill our organization and make our point there then we can branch out and see to the other minorities and help all the other people.

First, let us help our own. (Applause)

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MR. MORANCHEK: I want to comment on a few things, especially on the last speaker who made more sharply the remarks than a couple of others, they had made before.

First of all, I want to plead misunderstanding on the subject of Puerto Ricans. I didn't say anything about what Puerto Ricans say, any more than someone who says what Negroes say or what Jews say or what whites say or what southerners say, could be telling the truth.

I said that I heard in meetings individual persons who are playing leading roles make this remark, and I deliberately used the Puerto Rican example when I said so, so as to-- so as not to use the Jewish example or the Negro example. I could quote you the Jewish example if I wished. I couldn't probably quote you the Negro example because I wasn't present at the meeting where it was said. That's why it was said and that's why I wasn't present.

So, let's make that very clear. My function here is to contribute to the cause of equality and of brotherhood among men not to contribute to the creation of antagonism between Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Wipe that out. I was using

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it as an abstract example. I supposed I should have used just a theoretical example of non-existent ethnic group and then solved the whole problem.

No. 2, on the subject of gradualism. I thought I made clear but maybe my language wasn't clear enough. It's my fault. That for myself I have no truck with gradualism and I have no concern about any negative reaction that you create in people because you want your rights now. Rights by definition, that's what we mean. They are rights. They are things that you are entitled to now.

I am concerned about how we get the things we want simply because some methods are more effective than other methods. One of the methods that it is easiest to use when you have a problem and that contributes least toward accomplishing something abot the problem, while giving the people with the problem the most satisfaction, not results but emotional satisfaction is if you get stirred up to a terrific slogan of some action but the action itself has no positive conclusions. The stirring up is terrific.

As a matter of fact I could use an illustration which I myself was a victim and got

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so excited, I remember a meeting in one of the big churches in Harlem at the time of the Till murder. A certain well-known reverend, whose name I won't mention - it happened to cross my mind at the moment - made a terrifically stirring address in which he called on the audience which had packed this auditorium to the doors. By the way it was a meeting which Phil Randolph had called, I just remembered that. Called on the audience to march to Mississippi and brought down the house. And then-- He was such a terrific orator that I found myself applauding wildly together with everybody else. And then, a couple of speakers later, Roy Wilkins said "Now as for marching to Mississippi, I know that before we get to the South Ferry half of you will have dropped out of the march." (Laughter)

Now, let us not confuse gradualism versus insistence on immediate change with the question of tactics or strategy or techniques. This is the only question I'm raising not the question of how soft spoken you have to be. Don't be soft spoken; be loud spoken but be well spoken so that you may really accomplish what you're seeking.

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Now, I want to come to the key question and this is not a question for tomorrow, and that's why I come back to it.

It interests me very much that this brother, or gentlemen, I don't know which you prefer to use. I always think brother has more to it than gentleman because I was in the armed forces and I was an enlisted man. Gentlemen were only officers. It doesn't have a very favorable ring in my mind, but brother has because the trade-- it is a trade unions term and one that I've been raised on.

This brother comes from Local 1199 and uses the same illustration I use. It interested me his point vis-a-vis my point. I made the point that it's the function of a trade unionist to fight for the concept of equality, to fight now for the concept of equality in practical terms and I used as an illustration the fact that in the hospital strike against Jewish community institutions the Jewish labor committee stood not by the Jewish community institutions but by the strikers. If we had pursued the principle you advocate, we would have taken the opposite position. That's what you don't understand.

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Just think about it. If we had said "Our job is to solve the problems of our group first. When we solve all the problems of our group then we will worry about the problems of other groups." We must face this as a real functional question today, not five years from now, because we will do very different things and we will end up with a very different type of society if we puruse our selfish interests and regard them as the things that must be solved first, and then we will worry about the interests of all.

The fact is that if this doctrine were to pervail, no minority group would ever win a strike because if the majority grouppursues its selfish interests defined in the terms as you defined them, then it will bite you and it is the majority and you are the minority. It is only because an increasing proportion of the total population, not of the broad mass of the hundreds of millions of people, no - the broad mass, the 80 per cent of the population that plays no role in public life, organizational life, community life, political life, etc., really has nothing to do with it. It has to do with

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whatever it is, the 20 per cent activists sections of American life, or of union life, or of Negro life, or Jewish life, or whatever section you take.

If these groups will each pursue a policy, we are united to fight for us, then everybody else we can forget about, then you will lose, we will lose and the society will lose.

What we must understand is that it is not simply a matter of strategy though, it is not simply a matter of strategy. It is a fact that at least we believe in I am the organization that I represent at least in its official policy, that we cannot have our victory alone. There is not only the strategy reasons but for principle reasons. It will not be a victory. We will not have precisely the thing we are seeking if we seek it alone.

Now this is not an abstract, theoretical question. It has arisen in Harlem right now in relation to a couple of questions in the last two years. It has arisen as a practical question: Do you believe that what is wrong with the stores on 125th Street is that they have in fact been racists, that is they have been

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substantially all lily-white, and Negroes have been excluded, in which case you take a position that the stores must be open to everyone. I mean ownership of the stores, you understand that's what I'm referring to. Or, do you believe that the stores should be owned by Negroes? Quite a different doctrine. You take quite a different position on the picketing that took place on 125th Street back about six weeks ago depending on which side you are on that doctine.

I'll give you a different example. Take hospital work. You are properly-- quite properly helping to organize these wrokers into a union; the vast majority of these workers are Negro and Puerto Rican. It would be quite possible for you or for someone else, or for a group, of Negroes and Puerto Ricans to go to the hospitals and organise a Negro and Puerto Rican union, and either let in the other 20% or not let in the other 20%, but in any case to dominate the representation in the hospitals. You entirely, principally, have met them. You have gone to a union who at least in its origin the overwhelming majority of its members were white. You have said that this is the union (and for whatever reasons) is the most

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appropriate one for organizing the workers in the hospitals. Therefore, you - I'm sure not for the money but for the principle and belief - have gone to work to organize Negroes and Puerto Ricans and take them then into this union, not a Negro and Puerto Rican Union, not a white union, a union based on the principle of equality.

It is true that in relation to 75% of the civil rights issues in American life today the person who is fighting for the Negro because he is a Negro, and he's concerned about himself for his group alone, finds himself in an identical position, 75% of the time, with the person who's fighting for the principle of equality, who's fighting for civil rights.

This is because at this moment, the Negro happens to be the oppressed and largest oppressed group in American life. Therefore the overlapping of these things is so overwhelming. I trust you will live to see another moment. I don't want you to have to fight this fight through Negroes and Puerto Ricans alone without others. I don't want the others at the other moment to have to fight this fight through without you.

This is not an abstract question.

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It is possible to have the opposite position. I don't mean that it's untenable; at least in philosophy I understand the Black Moslems have an opposite position. They are fighting for the Negro, and not for the white - against the white. That's a-- Philosophically one can have thatposition, but it's a position that I'm against. In my opinion it's the same position - though not for the same reason - as the position of the white citizens councils.

The causes are different. I can find moreexcuse morally, if you wish, or historically, for the development of the Black Moslems movement than I can for the development of the White Citizen's Council. But in the philosophy, that is our-- represents and is articulate. It's just the other side of the same coin. Precisely, instead of white supremacy, black supremacy. Precisely the other side of the same coin.

I am against, and I hope that NALC is against white supremacy, black supremacy, brown supremacy, yellow supremacy, and is an organization that believes unequivocably in equality for all people, and will lay out its policies along these lines. This does not necessarily mean that the organization cannot also be an organization, that

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in its constituency primarily appeals to Negroes. My organization in its constituency primarily appeals to Jews, but when it appeals to them it makes clear that if you come with us you are fighting for the rights of your group through fighting for the rights of everyone, not by fighting for the rights of your group now and everybody else at another time.

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: I just want to raise a couple of questions here, if you'll bear with me. You know-- I think it would be desirable if we could come to some conclusions. The brother here from Chicago talked to the point. I think all this has been good. We've been given a tremendous amount of information here and suggestions as to projects, and interests-- areas of interest in which we should work.

It seems to me that we have not talked enough about the important questions: Whether we are geared to do these things? This question was raised here, just a moment ago, and I thought someone would pick it up, but no one has spoken to it so far. I would think that in the remaining 20 minutes, since we've been given so much information, that we ought to at least talk

to this point. I'm sure that some of these questions will come up before the convention is over.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: May I just clarify the point I was really trying to raise.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Yes, I mean, in terms of structure are we geared to do the things they talk about?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: May I? The reason I raised the question I did, is that prior to a year ago, our organization in Chicago had a particular structure which was designed to do a certain job which has been outlined here as a necessity by Mr. Stevens.

We had a structure which we felt would enable us to ideologically prepare members of our organization to deal with specifics in the community. What I mean by that was that we attempted to set up our chapter in terms of divisions, departments, and so forth, so that we would not have all of our membership listening to all of the problems that a chapter in a large industrial area like Chicago obviously has to deal with. We felt it absolutely impossible and impractical to-- for any organization to effectively deal with us in

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terms of that kind of loose organizational structure.

Now, I want to raise this question. Since we were criticized about having had this kind of structure because the constitution did not specifically provide for it, nor did it specifically deny us to have it, does this discussion today convince us now that it is necessary to at least leave leeway for chapters in various areas to have a certain amount of autonomy to determine to what extent they need to organize themselves to deal specifically with the problems they're organized to deal with, and have this weight felt in the community?

Now, I'm asking this question within the context of having a clear understanding that any sub-division of any chapter must operate within the confines of the constitution of this national organization, and certainly be subject to the jurisdiction and final authority of the Executive Board and local membership of that local chapter. Not to cross grains with, but to help to implement more effectively by having this organization sub-division, or whatever other methods that each group in each locality might find necessary or most expedient.

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MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Attorney Stevens has a couple of suggestions that he wants to make.

MR. O. STEVENS: Gentlemen, you seem to be very much interested now with the question of how to translate into action through the organization the various areas of intemst to which you have alluded in the discussion. May I make two suggestions from which you can move if you think they have merit.

Mr. Coordinator, I would advance for the approval of the panel— the panel, the workshop, (1) that the workshop recommend to the convention the adoption of the proposition that the role of the council and its chapters in the community be accepted as being no less important or significant than the role of the council in the trade union movement itself, period. That's one; (2) that in order to make the role of the council effective in the community that emphasis be placed on the extension of membership of each local chapter, with a view to involving every possible trade union member in the local chapter and at community organization and extension of community influence, too.

Those two proposals that I would like.

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MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: I'll joggle down-- These would be faster if you write them down. OK, go ahead.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to address myself to Mr. Stevens who proposed-- two proposals because I believe in itself it goes to the heart of-- on the problems that I wanted to raise with this panel.

First of all I find myself in agreement with the recommendations if I in all humility interpret them properly. I would also like to refer to something that Mr. Moranchek said and I therefore want to leave that for the last, but in addressing my talk to the two recommendations, let me say that I interpret, Mr. Stevens, your recommendation, as to the role of the chapter and the council is no-- in the council is no less important than that of the role of the NALC council in itself within the area-- framework of the AFL-CIO.

If the chapter is a local chapter, are to fully understand, in my opinion, what that entails, it is necessary for all of us in the local chapters to be absolutely clear as to exactly what is provided for by the council-- by the constitution of the NALC and what are the basic aims and objects

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of the NALC.

I believe that most of our fears and problems as expressed by some of the speakers today, coming from all over the country, stems from the fact that there is a unfortunate misinterpretation and misapplication of the recommendations-- of the basic aims and objects as is identified and indicated by the constitution of the NALC. If we are to fully do the job and do not come in conflict, find ourself where we are at odds with national council, we must start from-- on the right premise.

Therefore, I would say that the NALC as such as is identified by our national president and by the constitution does not set us up as an instrument of-- outside the AFL-CIO in competition and direct opposition to the AFL-CIO. For that reason if we non-NALC and non-AFL-CIO, and if the local chapter understands that, I'm quite sure that it makes the job applying or working fruitfully within our community much easier. It is not the problem that we do not have our economy under the constitution in our chapters that makes our job difficult, it is the fact that we have not attempted, as indicated by Mr. Stevens, truly to create the image or build an image of NALC as a

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rank and file grassroot movement in our community. I say we're able to do that by mass organization in our working people in our communities, and there are millions of them all over the country - and I refer to Negroes in particular - we will not be able to deal with this question.

Secondly, on the question-- on the question that is raised by some of us there is problems within the locals because once we start on the wrongpremise, we begin to try to use the local as an organization that is going to deal with every single gripe that a member of a union has against the leaders of his union, be they what they may. That was not the intent I know as identified. Basically for example we are not in competition, not thinking of destroying local unions and of destroying AFL-CIO. This will show you some of-- the problems as is evidenced in Chicago, as evidenced in other places, in Buffalo and elsewhere, would not have arisen in the first place and this must be clearly understood.

I would like to also say that the national movement as such, nationals officers, expect a chapter to function within the framework of the constitution and to adopt it, and are finding

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reservations, and deviations from-- working without-- outside of the constitution must not-- cannot be in the best interests of the NALC. Therefore-- I would therefore at this moment like to address myself to some of the things that Mr. Moranchek said.

I am in disagreement with you, sir, in saying the following. I believe that if the NALC is to have the type of appeal that would make it a grassroots rank and file movement, based on part whether it is Negroes that have been exploited, Negroes are being denied their rights, it must by necessity in building up either to directly-- either directly to Negroes as such but there is room and it's provided for by the constitution, for anybody that would like to work with the NALC to find a place and an instrument through the NALC to work.

I have no apologies for anybody who says that as such the NALC, for example, is a Negro organisation, should be led by Negroes and should appeal to Negroes as such, because we need, if we are going to make any progress whatsoever, if we are going to shake from the low abyss of complacency and lethargy, Negro workers the country over, we need them in the movement to identify their problems with

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them, and to move them, for example, to do the very things that you are saying for example if we do this alone at the outset, will bring us in disrepute in the community. I do not believe it is so, if I as a New Yorker for example there are particular problems--

MR HORACE SHEFFIELD: We have a couple more people who want to-- We only have about five more minutes. OK?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: There is much room for people of the Jewish faith, and the other way around, to find-- to give a helping hand to the NALC. I believe it will be a disaster for us if we have to stop to think, and if we identify ourselves as we rightly show - the Negro organization fighting for the rights at this moment for Negroes because we have not reached that plane yet where we have equality with the whites, and believe that this would be a mistake. I believe it is right for us to do it that way.

I'd like to address myself for just one second to the Puerto Rican problem. It is people, for example, who do not understand the NALC who are deliberately--

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Pardon me,

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brother, we've only got about five minutes. Could you wrap it up in about 30 seconds?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: ---deliberately creating this confusion with Puerto Rican workers and Negro workers as such. There is no place for that.

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Thank you very much. We only have about five or six more minutes, folks. I want to try to get everybody who wanted to speak. Peter has his hand-- No, he had his hand up first.

We probably will have to cut it a little shorter than we have.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Mine is very brief.

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Okay.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Chairman, I want to ask Mr. Stevenson-- Mr. Stevens, pardon me, did you imply in your remarks in regards to what you said about the recommendations that you would make to the council that the latitude that was expressed, or the desire of the latitude that was expressed by the brother from the Chicago chapter, that the branches or the chapters would be given this right to accept the divisions and departments back in motion as the

need may be. Did you imply that as such? I want to know if you--

MR. O. STEVENS: My implication was that if the panel-- if the workshop makes a recommendation to the convention, it will be a recommendation designed to establish policy for all of the chapters of the organization, if the convention--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Based only on this particular theory?

MR. O. STEVENS: On this concept--

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: He wasn't speaking to the specific thing he rose. He was-- His remarks were geared to whatever--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I'm asking the question was--

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Really, I don't think that the panel-- I think that this is a question that ought to go to the constitution committee and we ought to raise that. He was dealing in a general sense with what the problems we may have in implementing some of these projects that he suggested.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Very quickly. I didn't know, sir, that we were an arm

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of the AFL-CIO, and glad to have this information.

Now, in relationship, I'm from Chicago-- In relationship to the problem that's been expressed, it seems to me in a democracy that in a battle that's long run, the people have a right to make adetermination about what is best for them where they are. In some states we have bicamerol legislation, in others we have unicamerol legislature. In some states the method of voting is different. We ought to reach within the framework of the constitution of the United States, and we try to, to make various interpretations as we move along.

Now, I don't believe that any group associating itself with NALC, would deliberately bypass the constitution of the-- as such. It would operate within the framework but modify its own structure and activities to meet the needs. New York cannot tell us in Chicago what areneeds are accurately. They cannot tell us how we can best follow through the Negroes needs. Only men in Chicago who live with the problem by the day can do this. Now, I would recommend very highly, and would seek the approval of this body that within the limits of the constitution - and I'm very familiar

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with that document although it has changed sometimes without (Laughter) due process - I keep up with it as it keeps changing, when there's a limit to the constitution adopted by the committee that each chapter be given sufficient economy to be able to operate functionally and organizationally on his problems as long as it did not violate the spirit as well as the letter of the constitution. (Applause)

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Mr. Chairman, Warren Cevell, president of the Cleveland Chapter, first of all I'll make it real short. I'd like to ask in behalf of the membership of NALC the question that they continue to bring up, not be placed as to be presented by this body unless this body will be able to discuss this question.

Let me inform the Chicago chapter that Ohio is here too, and several other states. If the question is going to be brought up, all of us should be able to discuss it, and then present it.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Correct.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR (Mr. Cevell): However, what I want to-- let me say as president of the Negro American Labor Council, Cleveland

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Chapter, it has been our policy to attempt to implement the program of the NALC as it is given by the national body.

I would like-- I bring to you as a suggestion, that it be added to the recommendations, that the NALC would implement itself through the air as much as possible; that is, TV and radio to implement our program. When we say that in Cleveland we have been fortunate enough to secure radio time, and we are on the air every Sunday, on Station WADQ, 4 to 4:30. We've been on the air for one yearnow, and have been-- we have become so successful with it-- with our program, that now several other stations want the NALC on it - on their programs.

Let me say to all of you, regardless of our individual problems and our individual communities, we're all leaders. I greatly appreciate Mr. Moranchek term of speech, and Attorney Stevens, we have some great authorities here bringing to us the fact that leaders are few, and the few of us that are we have to expose ourselves, and we have to be-- let ourselves be felt in the community.

I believe that we all think that

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we're all good speakers amongst ourselves, but how can we implement our program to our people. Our people in the various communities in which we live are in the majority by and large people who just know the English in the plain way, so that we just have to lay it on the line, in the simplest manner.

Let me say that on the air in Station WADQ, we're going to mention some of these things that were brought to our attention, as to narcotics. We've brought up the apprenticeship trade program. We've brought up many other projects, that people would never know of, the NALC, and who possibly even then become members of the NALC, will back our program.

Let me say that the superintendent of the Cleveland public school system, competitions for the sick, on all of them have sought us out since these programs, and I think it would be a good thing-- method of implementing some of the work.

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Thank you very much. Give you about 30 seconds, right?

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: There is nothing that is outlined by Brother Randolph in his speech this morning in regards to our constitution

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that prevents any local chapter from growing. There's nothing in that constitution that would prevent our local chapters from getting up off their fannies, organizing in their own areas and building their councils. There is nothing in the constitution as it stands now that would prevent us as a body fighting within the labor movement to eradicate those injustices that they apply to the black people in those organizations; nothing at all that can prevent us from doing that at the present time.

These people who get up and call for changes, speaking about certain rights, speaking about certain modifications, remind me of something of the state's rights advocates. They're talking about state's rights, and at the same time they have a constitution which applies to the entire council. They want to set up certain rights, of course, within their own domain which would reflect upon the national organization by going around doing what they choose to do, even though what they do might result in injury to the national council.

I apply to somethings that specifically happened during the past month. Some of our local chapters who align themselves with their congressional committees for the purposes of destroying such a trade

union movement. You know as well as I do that these congressional committees, no matter how pure they may be, or their motives might be, when permitted to go on their own way, they're objective and final analysis is to destroy the whole trade union movement. You and the rest of us, all of us together, so we cannot permit these individual councils - or separate councils - to set up separate charters, or separate law, or separate rules and regulations, whereby it may result in disaster for the entire council movement. Permitting them to do that might also result in certain groups or factions setting up their own movement in our council.

The national constitutions as it appears today is a charter by which we must follow the charter which we must adhere to and the only charter which actually we can draw on. (Applause)

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Thank you. It seems to me-- (Applause) Whoa, wait a minute. We want to have to bring this to a close and I'd just like to make a couple of observations.

We've got a cocktail party that Local 144 has invited us to. But look, first of all, on the-- on behalf of the workshop, I want to

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express my sincere appreciation for Attorny Stevens and to Manny Moranchek, who I feel have brought the real food for thought.

Now, as we knew at the outset this is not a legislative body, but I certainly try to conduct this workshop in such a way as would permit the free play of opinions. I happen to be a member of the National Executive Board, and I happen to think that in many areas there could be a little more latitude, so that it would provide the local units with a greater opportunity to become a mass organization. It seems to the chairman, the moderator, and in his humble opinion, that the best measure of the success of the-- effectiveness of the constitution certainly should be reflected in the growth of the organization.

I think that there have been many good things said here that I will at least try to distillate in my own mind and present to the board when we next meet. But, I think Mr. Stevens here has certainly outlined a number of projects that would lend itself to building a dynamic local chapter that it would be answering the needs of the community in which it has its existence. I certainly think that Mr. Moranchek did a spendid-- did an effective

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job in presenting to us the image, not that he agreed with it, that he found in some segments of the non-Negro communities.

I certainly want to subscribe to the view and I think that he made it perfectly explicit that what he said was - so that we don't leave the room with any misunderstandings - was that obviously the primary impetus in the NALC must be placed upon the Negro worker because it was out of this that it had its organization. But he held, and I subscribe to it, that the quality of the struggle, the letting of itself to really galvanizing this community, as well as every community, it seems to me and it seems to him, would best be enhanced by the knowledge that we cannot win our freedom alone. This freedom is indivisible. I think he made this point several times, and I don't think any of us really are in disagreement with what some of us might have possibly misunderstood. I want to make sure that that point was cleared up.

I've been asked to invite you to Local 144's hospitality dinner, start at four and will end at seven, and here's what they say.

"Won't you join us, come in and

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relax. Step by and meet your friends. Talk a little, drink a little, engage in conversations, small talk, even profundities, etc."

I was asked to especially invite you. I think you've been--

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: When?

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Today. Now. On the first mezzanine, in the Blue Room.

I think you've been an especially responsive workshop, and I think you talked on one of the subjects that it seems to me is most important to the organization because unless the NALC can relate itself especially to the local, to the state and to the national community we will have scarcely served-- fail rather to serve the present need.

MR. O. STEVENS: Mr. Chairman, I hate to intervene but I see that you're pressed for time, the brothers are anxious to go to their cocktail party, but no voice of any people trade unionists has been raised on this floor this afternoon (Laughter). This young lady has been asking for the floor. I ask the indulgence that she be heard before you bedden down the gallows. (Applause)

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MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Look, I want to say this though. I've certainly been democratic. (Laughter) She just raised her hand up after we got off the track. But look I just want to let you know that this is the most pleasant indulgence I've had since I've been here. (Laughter)

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: I want to thank Mr. Stevens for that remark because I was thinking that we was just about ready to have another Detroit. (Laughter)

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: Okay.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: What I want to say is with regard to what the brother behind me said. I don't want anybody in this room with the impression that Chicago is saying that they want to set up a self-- a chapter or have a separate charter, so forth like this. All we're talking about is as far as divisions and so forth is concerned, is that railroads have railroad problems; steelworkers have steelworkers problems; so forth on down the line, that this is the group that we're talking about. This is how we were doing before we were shut off, and it is true that we were, shut off from operating that-a-way.

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We would meet in different-- If you belong to the then hotel workers, if you belong to whatever you belong to, that's what you was in, but we all belonged to NALC. Every month we all came together and we met at our regular meetings.

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: No action could take place without the approval of the Executive Board.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: Go fight Chicago Chapter. I don't want (Laughter) this gentleman here to leave the impression in this meeting that we are setting up something different, and setting up a whole new organization because this is not what we were doing.

SPEAKER FROM THE FLOOR: --just became a larger chapter-- (Laughter)

MR. HORACE SHEFFIELD: I hope that everyone understood this. It was merely a matter of just what we were talking to. This is what the discussion was all about. How the local chapter can best relate itself to the peculiar situations in its community, and become a potent, dynamic, aggressive, progressive, force in the community.

Thank you very much. It's been a real and a sincere pleasure. (Applause)

(The workshop then adjourned.)

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The Banquet Session, Third Annual Negro American Labor Council Convention, convened on November 9, 1962, in the Georgian Room, Americana Hotel, Seventh Ave. and 52nd St, New York, New York, at 7:00 P.M., Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President, presiding.

MR. JOSEPH OVERTON: We are about to begin our program for the evening. Tonight marks a new page in history, not only for NALC, but for the labor movement as well, and we in the Negro American Labor Council would like to thank each of you for coming out tonight and joining in the fuss in this our Third Annual Convention Banquet.

Those of you who have followed and made tremendous contributions to the struggle for which we have been involved, we will always remain eternally grateful. To the number of people throughout the nation we have condemned the actions and thoughts which we have possessed, on the ways and means for accomplishing first-class citizenship for those involved in the labor movement, we welcome you aboard at this time, or any time in the future, when you feel as though the things that we are doing is not just for the benefit of a few, but for all. (Applause)

With these few remarks, I would like to take a few minutes of your time to introduce you, to you

those who are sitting here with us tonight. At my extreme left, Vice President of our International, Brother Thomas Fonterall. Will you please stand and take a bow. (Applause) Brother Fonterall is with the International Longshoreman's.

Sitting next to him, on his right, is Vice President Crouter, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. (Applause) Out of Chicago.

On his right, Vice President Agnes Willis, of IUE. (Applause)

To her right, whom you have had the pleasure of listening to bring us the invocation, the Reverend Richard Hildebrand. (Applause)

Sitting on his right, the well-known Peter Benton. (Applause)

To his right, is the man who has just been successfully elected to head the AFL-CIO State Body, Ray Corbett. (Applause)

On his right, a man who needs no introduction, John O'Rourke. (Applause)

To his right, another Vice President of the NALC, Brother Frank Evans, out of Cleveland. (Applause)

To his right, Vice President of NALC, Staff Member of the Field Workers, Brother Boyd Wilson.

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(Applause) From Pittsburgh.

To his right, another friend of the HALC, Jerry Worth. (Applause)

About the next man, I - many of you will hear from tomorrow, at our Annual Convention Session, who has replaced a member who had standing, and has now retired, in the same office, the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights of the State of New York, George Fowl. (Applause)

A new man, and starting out and doing a very good job, in the Federation of Mediation Consulting Service, of the National Body, Brother Pew. Is he here? (Applause) His first name is Douglas, by the way.

Sitting next to him, on his right, old time labor man who has been around New York for quite some time, and we all love him, Mike Mann. (Applause)

To his right, a man who started out with a movement such as we are now trying to build quite a few years ago. To him, and others like him, we were able to build and organized and worked together with many people to create what we have now as the Laundry Workers Joint Board, and organizer of the Laundry Workers, Commissioner Noah Walters. (Applause)

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Sitting next to him, is a man that you will hear from in a few minutes, who has replaced a good old friend of ours, by the name of Lester Granger, I want you to meet, Whitney Young, Executive Director, National Urban League. (Applause)

And next to him on his right, one of the greatest teachers the labor movement has ever known. I don't know whether he likes his students or not. But I happen to be one of them. President of our Local, Vice President of International, Brother Julius Somer. (Applause)

On his right, a guy that I don't know how to introduce. Max has been a part of the International Union, RWDSU, since it was originally organized a few years ago, at 152 West 42nd St. In those days, I believe Max had the idea and inspiration to become its President, and he has finally made it. MaxGreenberg. (Applause)

On his right, our Vice President from Chicago, who is also a member of the ILGW, Sister Laura Belle Holmes. (Applause)

The next man, sitting to her right, I don't know whether to say that he is responsible for the food that most of us may be eating, but everytime we run in the red, we always have to turn to the

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Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to pick up the bill. If We are looking for something in the lines of civil rights, the first people we go to for the handout is the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. So the man that has paid and signed the checks for most of the civil rights movements which Brother Randolph has sponsored and worked in so diligently for all these years, my friend, Brother Ashley Totten, the Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. (Applause)

I don't know how to handle this card. It says L. Joseph Overton. (Laughter)

To my right, Vice President of the NALC, Vice President of RWDSU, Chairman of your NALC Convention in New York for this year, and there are many other things which could be said, which he is in the forefront of, my friend, and co-worker, Brother Cleveland Robinson. (Agiause.)

Sitting next to him, on his right, is a very good friend of the community, who has the nerve to come out on the side of labor, fight with some of the things that we have been trying to achieve in the community, fight anytime that he thinks that he is right, and including Joe Overton. There is a strange story about it. He happens to represent an employer. After seventeen days of strike at 170 Lenox Avenue, with

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nineteen pickets locked up in 1936, the employer got smart enough to hire men who understood that the labor movement was here to stay and as long as we were fighting for the things that we thought were right, we would not quit, and said to the employer, "Give Joe Overton a contract", atterney Hoke Stevens. (Applause)

The next man, on his right, to try and say everything that could be said about him would take the rest of the evening, and we want to hear some of the other speakers. This man has accepted the challenge, for which so many of our local unions throughout the City of New York and throughout the nation should congratulate him for. He has embarked upon the program which has been talked about so much for so many years, in the halls of labbr, in and out, and that is the program for which for which our convention was adopted, and that is to learn - earn while you learn. In other words, we feel as though that an individual does not have to be confronted with the problem of saying, that - the idea anyway, that you have to first go and receive certain diplomas inorder to be able to earn a living. Brother Harry Van Arsdale has instituted, and gone into deeply the program of apprenticeship - the apprenticeship program, and Harry we are very pleased to know that in this program you were considerate enough to include the

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people who need this training most. Tonight, thanks Harry. Harry Van Arsdale, President of the New York Central Labor Trades Council. (Applause)

On his right, a free handed guy with the pen, from NALC, which and I will probably be spending the rest of the week trying to straighten out. He is treasurer of the NALC. Brother Richard Tyrus. He is treasurer of our organization.

Sitting next to him, the man who has had the problems of trying to keep together one of the most dynamic units of the CIO in the old days, and that was the New York Council of the CIO, and buddy we had some fighting days there, and Moe sat through all of them, and is now sitting in the same capacity, with the newly merged organization, Central Trades Council. Moe Ushevitz. (Applause)

Sitting next to him, is a man who has just begun a new career for himself. It is not only new because he is there, because the area for which this Committee is beginning to move and has moved in the past year and a half, under the Kennedy Administration, and supervision of Vice President Lyndon Johnson, have been doing more, accepted and processed more cases than the whole Committee under the leadership of the Ex-President and the Vice President who was responsible for

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that Committee before, Nixon. In addition to that, he is the first of us to serve in the capacity in which he is serving, as the Director of the Fair - of the President's Committee for Equal Employment Opportunities, Hobart Taylor. (Applause)

And on his right, another Vice President, but this time of the RWDSU. To talk about Dave Livingston in a meeting of this type, where he is amongst so many of his friends, than is known, to try and introduce him, would be like a waste of words. Dave and I have known each other for many years, and we have discussed many a problem, and the main thing about Dave, you discuss them openly, and regardless of what the problems are, he is willing to discuss them with you. That is Dave Livingston, President, District #65.

To his right, a man whom all of you must have heard about, if you know anything about our movement, a man who was involved in the struggle which has just turned out in a victory. He is Vice President of our Outfit and a staff member of the UAW, United Auto Workers. Through the work of this Vice President and others which you will meet immediately after, the officers and leaders of the UAW have found ways and means to put into practice some of the things for which we have been talking about for so many years

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in the field of labor, and that is the idea of giving all people an opportunity to play a part in the establishment of the policy of their organization. Brother Willoughby Abner, from Chicago, UAW. (Applause)

To his right, another President and Vice President, who has earned for himself the distinction of being placed as one of the Freedom Riders. This man has headed the drive for the increase of livelihood of those who have been denied all protections under the law. And when I say all protections under the law, the idea of extended coverage, with the national government arranging for a minimum wage law and all of the conditions which people should have the right to earn and work under, the people for which he had joined in, were denied this privilege. They have not only been discriminated in the lines of the fields of labor, by not being accepted prior to this time, in a labor union, but they had been denied the same rights as all other workers, and that is the right to be protected under the law through Congress. Dave has done an exceptionally good job in focusing upon the nation the underprivileged - these conditions these underprivileged have been working under, in hospitals. Leon Davis, President of #1199. (Applause)

On his right, another one of those fellows

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who had the nerve in Atlantic City a few conventions ago of the RWDSU to say:

"We are not trying to tear down the structure of the UAW, but we want to build it, and the only way that we will ever get an opportunity to have an opportunity of building it, will be to have a negro Vice President as part of the United Auto Workers."

And marched out of the convention with the following words:

"Unless we can being at this point to play part in the policy-making of this organization, there is no use of us sitting here on our hips and listening to policy, which does not include us."

Robert Ballard. (Applause)

Our next President, Vice President of our organization, and the same capacity for which he serves his union, which is the Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders International, I will never be able to understand in all the days of my life, for he has worked as close to NALC as any member of our organization, while at the same time representing a large segment of a union, and in a part of the South, prior to the time when we were able to eat in most of the restaurants there, our next Vice President, Joe Beavers, represented the employees which worked in the shops, regardless of

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whatever race or creed they may have come from. Joseph Beavers. (Applause)

When I ever have the opportunity of running into the next president there, who is the President of Building Service Employees, I don't know whether to say: "Hi Dave, where is Peter, or Peter have you seen Dave." They are like the twins, you know. Dave Sullivan, President, Building Service Employees. (Applause)

On his right, a young man who has done a terrific job since he has been in the New York State Senate, and we are very proud of him. In the 21st, I think they have changed that now. You have a new number, but we are very proud of him. He has been doing a terrific job. That is Senator James Watson. (Applause)

A newcomer in Federal Government, but not in the Labor Movement, an old, old friend, and an ex-member, still a member of District #65 in RWDSU, whose sister has also reached an area of fame by becoming the lady leader of the 12th Assembly District and co-leader to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, I would like to introduce to you Miss Amy Stokes, Director of the Apprenticeship Program, State of New York. (Applause)

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The next member on her right, who has served for quite some time as a member and officer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and now serving as the right arm, in addition to that, to Harry Van Arsdale, in theCentral Labor and Trades Council, our friend and Board Member of the New York Chapter of the NALC, Bill Bowen. (Applause)

And tonight, on his right, is a man who has served local #38 well for a number of years, and has just done a terrific job for the New York Chapter of the NALC, by going into an election of that Chapter and stating that:" I believe the members in New York are interested in the type of program that has been designed by our National President, and not that may have come through outside influence, and towards these means I pledge myself," he said to us,"to the national program of the NALC in toto,"and was successfully elected, two to one, as the President of the New York Council, NALC Brother Joseph Saunders. (Applause)

To introduce the next man is a pleasure that most of us could have gone a lifetime without having the opportunity of doing, but some of us have had the privilege of working and knowing this individual. He is the President of a local union of all of the other officers on his staff, up until the late campaign, which he has

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indulged in, practically of all other races and nationalities other than his. And I believe that to have gained the respect, and to have been elected to the top office of that union, is a credit to this individual and to this man. I would like at this time to introduce to you, Brother Peter Otley, President #144, AFL-CIO. (Applause)'

Now, I have just about completed my chores for the evening. Your Toastmaster for the purpose of handling the rest of this program needs no introduction. To begin to introduce him, you have to begin to think, where do you want to start, with him as the individual who is responsible for the Executive Order 8802, or whether you want to begin introducing him as the individual who was the one responsible for the integration of the Armed Forces. Or should you think of him as the individual who has said to organized labor time and time again, that our fight for equality and recognition do not lie on the outside of the halls of labor, but through the conference tables at which we sit down and bargain, the same as we do of the employers with whom we negotiate and sign contracts? This man has been, for the past fifty years, a voice for all of the things that are good for all people. True, he has championed his program and directed all of his energies toward equality for blacks, but he has done this without forgetting at any

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time that to gain for one, also advance the other. And for this, the Negro American Labor Council is eternally grateful.

Not only are we grateful to Brother Randolph in his efforts to build first-class citizenship where it is most needed. We feel as though those in our community who do not have to go into the sweatshops, and they have advanced a slight bit beyond this point, into some fields of professionalship, doctors, scientists, or whatever theymay be, but we feel as though they also should be grateful, because the groundwork and the backbone of our communities rely on that of labor, and for this, and to this cause, he is a champion.

Without tiring you any further with any of these things that I personally feel about this man, just read and check the records. Wait and watch the progress. See any place on the face of American life where any advancements have been made for the people from which we come, and you will find there some part which was played by the Toastmaster for the program this evening. Your Toastmaster, our President, Brother A. Philip Randolph. (Applause)

MR.A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: Thank you, Brother Overton. President Meany, Dr. Gragg, fellow trade unionists, delegates of the Convention:

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Permit me to request you to stand in a moment of silent prayer upon the passing of a great lady, the first lady of the world, a lady of graciousness and of greatness. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

(A moment of silent prayer was observed.)

I know that the time fast spent, and since all of our speakers are distinguished citizens of our community, I don't need to enter upon any extensive introduction. I have the honor and pleasure to present to you Dr. Rosa Gragg, President of the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, one of the citizens of our country who has contributed, through the creative and constructive area, in developing good will among the peoples of our nation. She is a woman of grace, charm, dignity, and ability. Dr. Gragg. (Applause)

DR. ROSA GRAGG: Dr. Randolph - I have the great honor tonight to represent womanhood. I am indeed grateful that you had the moment of silent meditation in honor of the First Lady of the World, because even today, while she lies in state, in the City of Washington, the Commission on the Status of Women continues its work, because they felt she would like it that way.

I am honored to be a participant on this program tonight, the Third Anniversary Celebration of

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the Negro American Labor Council. I was with you in your founding meeting in Detroit, Michigan, which is my home. I was with you in Washington, again, when you had your first workshop on Apprenticeship Training, and though I missed the Chicago meeting, I am here tonight at your third anniversary celebration.

I would like to salute the High Chieftain of Labor, the Hon. George Meany. I salute the indefatigible champion of them all, the Hon. A. Philip Randolph. I salute workers, all, of America, who have assembled here, and I especially salute, the Negro American Labor Council, because you have have awakened the conscience of America to the plight of the negro citizens in the role of labor and training, as well as in the role of human rights.

I salute you again, because you have also demonstrated the fact that it is necessary, vitally necessary, that America use all of its manpower resources, regardless of race, sex, age, creed, nationality, and even physical handicaps. I salute you because someone has said: "He who would be free, himself must strike the blow." And under the able, dynamic leadership of Dr. A. Philip Randolph you are striking the blow.

I salute you also because of the fact that an eminent poet, James W. Johnson said: "How would you

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have us, America, as we are
Or struggling neath the load we bear,
Our eyes fixed forward on a star,
Or gazing hopeless in despair?
Rising or falling, men are things
With lagging pace, or footsteps fleet.
Strong, willing sonew in our wings,
Or dangling chains about our feet?"

In answer to that question, the Negro American Labor Council says: "We" to America, "We will have them stand tall on their feet, and we will fight for the right, not only to work, but to prove that we as Americans, the workers of America, have built this country and h elped to make it grow. We have taken weapons and defended her against her enemy, and helped to make it a strong nation whose flag sweeps the seas. We, as Americans, stand tall and straight, and say that although we were brought to this country more than three hundred years ago, we hewed the forest, tilled the fields and made roads.This is our country by right of toil. It is our country by right of birth. This country of ours we need to see that full accord of human dignity is for every human being." (Applause)

And so, it is in that spirit tonight that I come to you, and say: "Thank God for the workers of

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American, and thank God for work." The poet said: "Thank God for the might of it, the ardor, the urge, the delight of it,
Work which springs from the heart's desire,
Setting the mind and the brain on fire."

And then as we look about, and see the factories, and the streets and the buildings being erected, and the roads and the highways, aren't we thrilled? Do we not feel like saying: "Oh what is so good as the heat of it, and what is so good as the beat of it, and what is so fine as the stern command which challenges heart, and brain and hand."

This is a country that makes the workers proud, because this is our country, and we have made it the country that it is. As we are challenged tonight, we think of a great educator of history, Booker T. Washington, who said:

"In proportion as we learn to glorify and dignify labor, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life, we shall prosper."

The National Negro American Labor Council is demonstrating that act, has been demonstrated, and is being so demonstrated, under the fine leadership of all union officials which you have introduced here this evening, and the workers who support and follow the

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program which they have.

I suppose my role tonight, though, was to speak for women, but when I spoke to you in Detroit, I think I tried to give you a picture of the tremendous role you were playing in government, in educaton and every field of human endeavor. Well, now, I didn't think tonight you would want to hear so much about that, and so for that reason, I decided we would leave that off and talk to you just about work, the dignity of labor and what this organization is doing not only to teach it, but the special emphasis that they are putting on training.

It has been my pleasure, since being in Washington as head of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, to sit in many meetings with distinguished educators and leaders like Dr. Randolph, and to explore the possibilities of new areas of training, and new areas of employment, not only for women, but for youth and for all people. As a member of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, the new and expanded Services Section, I sat yesterday in Washington with the Committee, and we planned the various types of services we could make available to the women who work, and according to statistics, by 1970, athough you are a third of the labor force now, but by that time you will

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be more than thirty million. And so, there must be needed services in the field of health. There must be services for child care. There must be services in every area, even shopping, and all the different things, for women.

And so, we think-in terms of these services tonight, as we speak to you about your role as workers in this country. We must then, improve our individual competence, because we are living in a changing age, in fact the changes are so fast, they are staccato-like fashion. They are so rapid in transportation, until we are literally travelling faster than sound. They are so fast in communication that we can be heard by some shortwave transmission in the remotest corners of Africa, even before being heard in the rear of this room. They are just so fast in every way. In fact, the changes are so evident that living in Washington is like a new day to everyone. Even the complexion of Washington is changing. (Laughter)

I would like to say that I was invited there recently by the Associated Press at the White House, just for conversation concerning the convention that we were going to have, and as I entered, I saw this great array of photographers and leaders in the Press Room. I had never been in the Press Section. I have been

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going to the White House since the days of Mr. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, as a member of his Committee on Civil Defense. But that day was an unusual day, and I wondered what it was all about, this great crowd.

To my left, just as Dr. Randolph is sitting here, suddenly a door came open, and what do you suppose I saw? The President of the Ivory Coast being escorted to his limosine by the President of the United States. (Applause) When everyone jumped up to see who this was, I turned, and of course the President of the Ivory Coast, seeing me, greeted me, and likewise, the President of the United States. Now, that is not an uncommon sight, as our friend Hobart Taylor will tell you, in Washington, because all the embassies and all the places have their doors open. These things happen from time to time, but prior to that, a tall, dark, negro girl, born in the State of Missouri, who had gone abroad, and worked to train herself, was invited to the White House to open the social season, todinner, by President and Mrs. Kennedy. It so happened, that, on the occasion, she sang in Paris on Sunday night. She arrived in Washington to - in time to appear on Tuesday night, and returned to Paris on Thursday night. This girl had a voice. You know, have gun, will travel. She had a voice and she could sing. (Laughter) And she

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thrilled and captivated the audience. They tell me that the reason for having her make such a trip as she made was so that she might sold to the American public on the basis of her contribution in Europe. In fact now, she is touring the country and making a magnificent contribution.

I said that to let you know that she didn't just one there to eat, or be a guest at the White House. Across the table from this tall, dark girl sat another tall, dark person, who represented 100,000 negro women. It was my privilege not to just eat and enjoy being at the table of the President, the two of us were there, but it was my privilege to look about me and to see what I could do, and that is what I am telling women today to do always, not only improve your competence, but look about you and see what you can do to lift the status of women.

They say we are status seekers. I don't believe that altogether. I believe that we do these things because we believe in them, not because we are seeking status. Moreover, I want to say that while at that White House dinner it was a honor, but I looked about me, and knowing that changes were taking place, as I said, in every way in transportation, communication, complexions, etc, etc., I said what is happening here?

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The White House is being changed, and I could not see anything in the Civil War collection representative of the Negro, and so I took the opportunity to say to the First Lady, would you like a picture of Douglas, a picture of a greatleader in the Civil War Movement, for your collection of the Civil War, and she said she would be delighted.

And so I used this opportunity to get into the White House, a picture of a - well this picture is really of Lincoln, but it is in honor of Frederick Douglas, and the inscription on the bottom says: "From the National Association of Negro Women." (Applause) They tell me that was the first, but the day we were presenting the picture, we took the opportunity to further say to the President that on Cedar Hill there is a forty acre estate, which is the home of the first Freedom Fighter, the first Freedom Rider, the first person to be put in solitary confinement in prison, who after escaping from prison, escaped to Europe, purchased his freedom and came back, and was the first representative of the State of New York, was the first recorded deed, the first Negro United States Marshall, I mean negro. He was the first minister to Haitii, in fact he was one of the world's great abolitionists, and a slave who led the free people, and left a fourteen acre estate,

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with a big white mansion, high on a hill, across the Potomac, which overlooks the City of Washington, and so, in telling the President, in two and a half weeks, Speaker McCormack and members of the House became personal friends, and now, today, the City of Washington has the first monument to a negro in the history of the nation, to Frederick Douglas. (Applause)

Whether you use a hammer or saw, whatever you do, whether you sing, whether you pray, whether you fight, whatever you do, I would say this is a thrilling age to live in. It is a thrilling age to give in, when steel and stone and rail and rod become the avenues of God. I want you to know this evening, as I speak to you, that this is a space age, and women have a place in that also. It is said that the astronauts had a conference, and they haven't told us all the things that were revealed in their trips around the earth.

You know, they had the story about around the world in eighty days. Now you can go in eighty minutes and all that sort of thing, but they say that they did confer, and this is what they found, that they haven't told the public. They said: "Did you see what I saw when I went around the earth a number of times?" He said: "What did you see?" "I discovered there really isn't a man in the moon." And they looked at each other

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and said: "What is it?" "Why do you know it is a maid?" (Laughter) And one of the cosmonauts said to the austronauts: "Do you mean to tell me it's a woman's moon?" (Laughter) "Why you haven't heard anything yet, it's almost a woman's world."

The other day, on the Howard University campus, we had a "World of Work Conference", the first in the history of the nation ever to be given by a voluntary legal women's organization on a predominantly negro college campus, sponsored by the government. At that conference we had six success stories, and one was a mathematician of dark complexion, who computed to the nth degree, or millioneth of an nth, or something like that, this capsule that Mr. Glenn used, you know. She was one of us sent by the Hughes Aircraft Corporation to our Conference to inspire negro girls and boys about the future and the prospect of new job opportunities, but we did not confine it to negroes, because this is an integrated society, so we had representatives of the Indian government, we had white Americans, we had negro Americans, we had Africans, and of those six young women, two were scientists, two were engineers, one a mathematician and the other an administrative assistant to her government.

I could go on and on and tell you, because

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I even travel in the forty states of our National Association, and I see the changes that are taking place as the result of equal employment opportunity, as the result of NALC, and TULC. I could go on and on and tell you the many experiences that we are having in this changing age, but I know you have a dynamic masterful speaker here to come, and I am going to cut this very short. (Laughter)

But I do not want you to say that all the jobs are men's job, and this is a man's world. I want you to know that one out of seven in our national labor force represent women, and where we have had men all the time, we are now having women, side by side with them, and many in supervisory position.

The most wonderful thing I want to tell you before closing this message is the fact that in this fight for freedom, and fight for equality of job opportunity, education, and all of that, the second century must find us not only fighting for it, but actually achieving it. We have committed the golden rule to memory, not let us commit it to life. We have a Bill of Rights, the Constitution, a Declaration of Independence, and as workers and patriotic citizens, I call upon you tonight to join with the NALC, NAACP, the Urban League, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, with

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all the groups dedicated to eliminating from this earth the last vestige of segregation and discrimination, and help them to build human rights for all people, knowing that strong in the strength of the Lord, they who fight the people's cause must never stop until that cause is won. Our cause will be won, because it is right, and right is right and God is right. And right today will win. To doubt would be disloyal, and to falter would be sin. (Applause)

MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: Thank you, Dr. Gragg for that informative and charming talk. It was notlonlyinformative, but it was brilliant and scintillating.

Now, a new luminary in the constellation of negro leadership has appeared on the horizon. Brother Whitney Young, Executive Director of the National Urban League, is playing an important and significant role in interrelations and all phases of developing a consensus among white and colored people in this country. I am delighted to have the honor of presenting him to this splendid audience of delegates to our Third National Convention of the Negro American Labor Council and also to the trade unionists here.

Dr. Young, is able, he is forceful, he is competent, he has imagination, he has drive, and

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consequently, he bids fair to play a great role, not only in the leadership of the negro, but in the leadership of creative opinion in the field of economic and social service, Dr. Whitney Young, Executive Secretary or Director of the National Urban League, one of the great civil rights organizations of our country.

I knew both former leaders of this movement, Mr. Granger and Mr. Jones. They have created a great tradition, and I am sure that Dr. Young will serve as a fine exemplar of the spirit which these men typified and expressed. Dr. Young - (Applause)

DR. WHITNEY YOUNG: Mr. Overton, President Meany, distinguished guests, members and friends of the Negro American Labor Council. I bring all of you greetings from the National Urban League , and particularly to I bring greetings to your distinguished President, Dr. Philip Randolph, whom the Urban League itself will honor on November 19th at what has become the most tinguished banquest in the United States, where some fifteen hundred people, representing the President and Chairmen of Boards of the major corporations of this country, the leadership of the unions of the United States, these fifteen hundred people have decided that the most distinguished labor leader for this year is Philip Randolph, and he will be honored along with Tom Watson,

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the Chairman of the Board of IBM. (Applause)

Race relations - let me before I get into my few remarks say that I am fully conscious when I say that I am being upstaged. This is a Hollywood term, I suppose, to suggest to you that I know when the speaker who has preceded me and the speaker who will succeed me is of much greater moment for this audience than myself. I will therefore speed my remarks along, but remind you that I am starting at exactly ten minutes to eleven, and if you notice your watches in five minutes and see it it five minutes to eleven, it isn't because of Whitney Young.

Race relations in America today stands at the crossroads, for Americans both white and negro. The moment of truth has arrived. The direction we shall move from this point on depends upon b th of these groups. for their leadership must recognize that certain realities exist, which face us in this celebration, of the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. For white Americans, these realities are as follows:

First, the widely heralded progress which the negro citizen is supposed to have made is more a fantasy than real, more intangible than tangible. The evidence forthis can best be seen when we view the extent to which the gap has been closed in the area of economics

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education, health or welfare. The gap which has been closed, or which has not been closed, between the negro American and his fellow citizens. The facts reveal very little change in the last ten years. When we measure these not in absolute terms, but in relative terms. The average family income for negro citizens in 1952 was 59% that of white citizens. The average family income in 1962 is 53% that of white citizens.

The situation in housing is little different today. We have one out of every six homes occupied by negro families classified as dilapidated, as compared to one out of 32 homes for white citizens. In the past ten years, one million homes a year have been built in this country. Less than three percent of these homes have been available to negro citizens, though fifty percent of these homes were built with some kind of Federal guarantee or support.

In the field of health, negro citizens still die seven years sooner. In the field of education, there children receive three and a half years less schooling. These figures are comparable to the figures of 1950, ten years ago.

Another reality that white Americans must face is that the day has passed when the negro citizen can be relied upon to react to his abuses and his in-

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justices with despair, with resignation, or with feelings of inferiority. From this day on, the reaction to these inequities will be one of resentment, one of bitterness and one of hostility. Too much has happened, in Africa, in Montgomery, in Tuskeegee, in Albany, throughout this country, to ever make the negro citizen feel that there is really anything differentt about him, somehow gives a different reaction upon his situation on the part of most citizens.

Third, the disappearance of old barriers and the establishment of new laws, and even the adopting of the more polite language, will not in and of themselves substantially erase the three hundred years of deprivation, and certainly not for many years to come, unless something special happens. I have been criticized in some corners of the country, and among some leadership for calling for special privileges. Let me elaborate just one moment on this point.

I have contended that negro citizens who would ignore the fact that negro citizens, facing three hundred years of the denial of the barest minimum in health, education, welfare and cultural opportunities, they do bear the scars of these deprivations, to assume that they can, as of this moment, compete equally without something special happening, is chauvinism, or stupidity, if

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negroes espouse it, and dishonest if espoused by white citizens. There is no way for the back wheels of the car to catch up with the front wheels, though both are travelling at the same rate of speed. I compare this to a track meet, where one of the participants starts out with track shoes on a nice cinder track. The other participant starts out barefooted on sand, and at the end of a half a mile it suddenly occurs to our citizens that this isn't quite fair, and they suggest a change. They put the negro citizen in track shoes and on cinders. And then somebody says: "I wonder why he hasn't caught up." He was already behind to begin with.

If we were able to give to the veterans of this country ten percent preference because they spent four years out of the main stream of their civil service examination, then certainly we ought to be able to give to the negro citizen a few years, because he has been out of the main stream for three hundred years. (Applause) I am not calling for special privileges in the sense that they hire people who are not qualified. I am saying, give them equal quaifications. Now is the time for industry and for labor to say I must hire the negro, because up until this point, he was never permitted to even get to the point of consideration, and this is not time for us to suddenly set forth for ourselves fine

impartiality where the negro has never been permitted to open the door. If we are really sincere about wanting to close the gap, then we have to make a special effort to recruit him, a special effort to see that he becomes a part of the basic policy-making machinery of the country. To do other than this is utter hypocrisy

Finally, white citizens of this country must recognize that the alternatives to positive and accelerated action in this field of race relations are becoming quite clear. Either the negro citizen will be helped to become a productive constructive consumer, proud of his citizenship, or he will become a disgruntled chronic dependent, through indifference or casual treatment. Either long time experienced organizations in the field, like the National Urban League, or organizations like this,will be given support to provide effective, responsible and intelligent leadership, or another type of leadership will encouraged, if not forced, which might well be irresponsible, and certainly not experienced.

Finally, our choice is between spending millions of dollars for programs of prevention, education and rehabilitation, or billions of dollars for social disorganization, and internationalloss of prestige.

For the negro citizen, he must reflect his new maturity by also facing certain realities. First,

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that no individual member of a minority group, however, secure and privileged at a given moment, is really ever permanently secure of an advantage until the least among these our brothers know and feel that same security. (Applause)

Secondly, negro citizens must realize the monolithinc approaches to the solution of our problems or the single Messianic leader who will guide us into the Promised Land, this concept is as naive and outdated, in this jet age, as the horse and buggy. It is not a question of whether we need an NAACP, or a CORE, or the Negro American Labor Council, or the Urban League. The issue is whether we are sufficiently informed on the nature of our problems to recognize the value and the unique contribution which each of these groups can make, if sufficiently supported, both morally and financially. The question, therefore, becomes, not either/or, but the Urban League and the NAACP and the Negro Labor Council, and CORE. (Applause)

Finally, history has taught us, and the negro must now realize that the struggle for dignity and first-class citizenship must always begin with protests and with activities that dramatize the injustices and mobilize public opinion. These are also helpful in the removal of barriers and the opening of new opportunities. But history has also taught us that this guarantees us

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only the opportunity. It does not assure us of the desired status.

This is why the organization I represent, the National Urban League, is so crucial and so important at this moment in history, and this is why, though much younger, the Negro American Labor Council was also established, and can also be so important, for while both of us were born in a climate where protests and righteous indignation were appropriate, and had been the proven formula of other minority groups throughout history, and while to a degree we can never lose our Divine discontent, we nevertheless must face in a responsible way the total challenge which is ours.

The Urban League sees this challenge beyond that of protest, though it recognizes the value, but we must also assist a citizenery that has been scarred, discouraged, and in many cases, demoralized. To take a second look at the new destiny and the role that they will play in helping to shape that new destiny. Toward this end, the Urban League therefore makes no apologies, for concentrating our efforts largely in the area of counselling and guidance of youth, activities designed to strengthen family life, programs of education designed to stimulate negro youth and adults to improve themselves through retraining, through adult education, and bettter

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use of their economic resources. The Urban League shall no longer be embarrassed or intimidated by the charge that we are negotiators. The mature person must certainly know by now that unless the negro is represented at the level of policy-making, unless we have those who participate in the shaping of the rules and regulations, which implement the new laws, and unless we screen very closely those who have the responsibility to carry out new policy, then all of the legal changes, all of the legislative changes, and even the new vocabulary, which is now so much in vogue, becomes meaningless platitudes, and tireless hopes.

Finally, the Urban League will no longer be sensitive about the fact that our three hundred and fifty staff people, located in 62 strategic American cities, where seventy percent of the negro population lives, are professional people, that they are people highly trained and skilled in the area of research, social science, education and industrial relations, for today we know, as the labor union has so well learned, that in order to bring about effective social change, one must be able to compete educationally with those whom the powers he would seek to change are also involved.

The challenge to the Negro American Labor Council is also to go beyond the protest stage, and to

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see to it that every negro understands the benefit of union membership, and secondly that he participates actively in all meetings and programs of his union. I cannot help but feel that when more than twenty or thirty percent of the membership of a union happens to be negro, and there are problems of discrimination and lack of representation on the policy-making body, that a great deal of the blame rests squarely on the shoulders of the negro members themselves (Applause), who have become masters in the art of stay at home and protest, (Laughter) but remain naive babies in the art of planning and organization.

May I conclude by saying as forcibly and with as much conviction as possible, that it is imperative that we always keep in proper perspective. Whatever discontent we in the Urban League, or any other organization in the field, or the Negro American Labor Council itself, whatever discontent we may have with organized labor, as an institution in our society, that our activities must be clearly focused on a specific and a well documented act of discrimination. We are not attacking the labor movement, for in the final analysis, on those basic rights which affect the health, welfare, and the social and economic status of the masses of negro citizens, organized labor has been the institution which

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uniquely, and almost without exception, has been standing by our side.

I could give you many examples of this in the past year. I have been to Washington in connection with all types of legislation, and whether it was public housing, public welfare, social security, help the babies in Louisiana, minimum wage, medical care for the aged, whatever the issue was that affected the masses of people, the people standing by our side were the people in labor, and it is very important that we not forget, in our discontent with the discrimination that still remains, in some segments of the labor union, that it is still labor with whom we must be identified. (Applause)

I am therefore pleased as a representative of the National Urban League to join with you on the occasion of your Third Annual Convention, and symbolically to associate the Urban League with the objectives of the House of Labor. I would only plead that you would also associate yourself with the objections of the National Urban League, and that you would understand the importance of the Urban League, and that in this next week, the horrible embarrassment we might face, unless labor comes through in a dramatic show of interest and concern at our Equal Opportunity Day Dinner, which we give in

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recognition of Phil Randolph, before the Vice President of the United States, who will be a speaker at that occasion, that unless something is done quickly, then labor will have shown that it is irresponsible, and that for the first time in this country when we honor a negro as the most distinguished man in the field of labor in this country, you will be embarrassed and we will be embarrassed. This is a plea for maturity. It is plea for growing up.

At this crucial moment in history, therefore, we mutually seek the Urban League, and the house of labor, both, for every citizen in this country, his God-given right to dignity and to equality of opportunity. Thank you. (Applause)

DR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: Thank you, Dr. Young. I am sure that all of us will agree that Dr. Young is a worthy successor of Lester Granger, and Cato Jones, as the leader of the National Urban League and one of the leaders of social service in the United States of America.

Now, I want that our Convention banquet of the leaders and officers and members of the Negro American Labor Council to agree that we are moving at the present time in the most crucial hour, perhaps, of the history of America, in general, and of labor in

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particular, and especially of black labor.

This is the reason why we wanted the distinguished President of the American Federation of Labor, and Congress of Industrial Organizations, George Meany, to come here and address this convention. This problem of automation at this hour, when we recognize the lack of equipment and training and skills of the great masses of black labor, and when we understand that about 1,350,000 new hands are coming into the labor market annually, and that some two million jobs in the semi-skilled and unskilled work are being liquidated annually, I submit to you that I am alarmed about the future. I am alarmed about the future of the negro as a worker, we don't have much time within which to acquire the training and the skill. That will be necessary for the negro to play his part in handling the new tools of production, and exchange, as services and commodities, in our great nation.

And hence, there is no future of the black workers of America outside the labor movement. And if there is no future of the black workers of America outside the labor movement, there is no future for the negro in America unless black labor is strong, unless black labor has security (Applause). This is the reason for the birth of the Negro American Labor Council.

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Now, George Meany and myself have been friends over a generation. We disagree sometimes on methods, and techniques, strategy, for the accomplishment of given objectives, but we have never disagreed on the question that racial bias must be abolished in the house of labor. (Applause) We have never diagreed on the question that every human being has worth, has value, that his personality is sacred, and that he has the God-given right to play his role on earth in decency and dignity. We have never disagreed on these basic principles.

I am glad to introduce to you tonight the most powerful man of labor in the world, a great champion of human rights, a great labor statesman, a great American, and a great man. I have always been greatly concerned and interested in the philosophy of George Meany, because I have found him definitively, unequivocally and positively committed to the doctrine of individual liberty, to the doctrine of a free, open, democratic society, and the philosophy of free, democratic trade unionism.

Because, even were George Meany committed to racial equality, and if he were not committed to the principles of free,democratic trade unionism, and a doctrine of a pluralistic democratic order, he could not advance the cause of human rights. He could not

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advance the cause of human decency and dignity, and so, we have the great privilege and honor of listening to this great champion of labor. We want him to speak out of his heart as he will, and we hope that you will give him your serious attention, and as I said before, these are times of great tension. These are times of change. And we don't have the time for frivolity. We don't have the time to play. Our problem is survival. Can we survive in this age of technology? Automation and Industrialism? And science?

If we can't, we will go down. If we show capability, if we show application, to the principles and policies and program and practices, other people have embraced, I am confident that the black workers of America will move forward, and confident that the black peoples of the world will move forward. America depends upon the black people. One-tenth of this nation! American cannot go forward unless her black citizens go forward. America's image in the world will not have the dignity that she needs, as the leaders of the moral, democratic forces of the world, unless the negro people are given their complete freedom, complete equality, complete justice. Ladies and gentlemen, I present to you the distinguished President of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, George

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Meany. (Applause)

MR. GEORGE MEANY: Mr. Toastmaster, Dr. Gragg, Dr. Young, Joe Overton, officers of the Negro American Labor Council, ladies and gentlemen:

When my old friend and colleague, Phil Randolph invited me to address your convention dinner in connection with your Convention, I accepted for two reasons.

Let me say parenthetically that when I referred to Phil Randolph as an old friend, it is not a figure of speech, nor a gesture of politeness. I accepted your invitation, as I said, for two reasons. First, because of my long friendship for Phil Randolph, which was based primarily on my sincere admiration and respect for his consistent fight to secure economic, social and political justice for all people.

But the second reason I accepted is perhaps even more important. It is this. You are gathered here as trade unionists. This is in a sense a union meeting, and the place to talk frankly and honestly about the problems of the labor movement is within the ranks of the labor movement itself. One of these problems, without question, is the problem of racial discrimination. I have never taken refuge in the argument, true though it is, that there is less discrimination on

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the part of unions than there is in the schools, in housing, in public accommodation, and in the practices of employers when left to their own devices. This is true, but it is not relevant. Even a little discrimination in the labor movement is too much. It makes a mockery of our principles, and it must be wiped out. (Applause)

You established this organization in an attempt to speed up that process. Very frankly, I can say to you at the time the organization was formed, that I didn't think it was necessary. But I respect your motives, and I share your objectives, and can say to you here tonight that I am very happy to be able to work with you as a trade unionist to achieve these objectives. (Applause)

Now, let me for just a few minutes, review how far we have come. A generation ago, in some quarters, and in some unions, discrimination was not only accepted, it was in a sense, respecta ble. Today, where discrimination still exists in the labor movement, it is a bootleg product, sneaked in by subterfuge. Even those who practice discrimination know in their hearts that its days are numbered.

Now let's talk about membership and jobs.

As you are well aware, there are three factors involved. First, there is the policy of the

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employer. Second, there is the policy of government, both state and federal. Third, there is the policy of the trade union.

The policy of the employers comes first because in the overwhelming majority of cases, the employer decides who gets hired. I am talking about new hiring, the taking on of new employees by business and industry. It is this kind of hiring that largely determined the pattern of the labor force as it exists today. The pattern was established before there was any government policy towards private employment. It was established when the labor union movement was small and weak.

What does that pattern show today? The latest figures complied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics are for May of this year -- 21 years after President Franklin Roosevelt's historic executive order on fair employment practices. Seventeen years after this State of New York enacted the pioneer FEPC law, which has been since follwed by some twenty others; and after long, vigorous and often successful battles, bythe labor movement to negotiate and enforce anti-discrimination clauses in collective agreements.

These figures show five percent of the negroes in our work force in professional and technical

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jobs, as against more than twelve percent of the whites. They show less than 9% of the negroes in clerical and sales jobs, against 22½% of the whites. In the so-called blue-collar occupations, just 6% of the negroes are classified as skilled, more than 14% are rated unskilled. For whites, the figures are about 14% skilled, less than 5% unskilled, just aboutthe reverse of the negro figures.

By far, the larger group of negro workers, 32%, are in the service trades. This is the pattern, after twenty years of what has been called progress. And I say to you, it is a disgraceful pattern. (Applause)

One major basis for this pattern is inadequate education. On the one hand, there is inadequate education of the employer, and as I will discuss a little later, the white workers, on the principles of equal opportunity. On the other hand, there is the inadequate education of negroes, through no fault of their own.

We in the labor movement can be proud of our fight for equal, unsegregated, equal educational opportunities, in the schools, in the colleges, in vocational training, and in apprenticeship programs, but that fight, of course, is a long way from being won. Nevertheless, the record is clear, that little help can be expected from the employers acting ontheir own. As in so many other matters, they need persuasion, and I

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mean the kind of legal persuasion that can, if necessary, be backed up by legal sanctions. So we turn to the policies of government.

Why must we turn to government? Because the trade union movement is not strong enough in itself to bring about these necessary things. The changes must be made in the unorganized areas as well as those under union contracts. The changes must be made where the union is not strong enough to negotiate them at the bargaining table, and the changes must be made even when they are opposed by misguided elements within the union itself. To these ends, the help of government is essential.

Let me draw a very practical analysis. The AFL-CIO is the leading advocate of a stronger, broader and better minimum wage. Yet, only a relative handful of members, union members, are directly affected. But for the protection of union members, for the benefit of workers outside the union ranks, and for the good of the country, we need the help of, and we have fought for, a federal minimum wage standard, established by law, and enforceable by legal procedures. We cannot do the job by ourselves, and it is exactly the same with respect to the problem we are discussing here tonight.

I noted earlier that some states - the latest count is 23 - have FEPC laws. So do many cities. Most of these laws should be stronger, but let me remind you that every one of these laws came about as the result of the initiative and the political action of the trade union movement.

To go a step further the great gap in government policy is the lack of a national fair employment practices law. The AFL-CIO is unalterably committed to the passage of such a law, and when it finally comes about, it will be as the result of the political power and legislative influence of the trade union movement, and mark you, it will come about. (Applause) A meaningful federal FEPC is definitely in the foreseeable future.

Now, I don't want to digress from the subject of employment opportunities and union membership- but I think it is worth noting that the strongest single force behind every civil rights proposal is the AFL-CIO. In education, in housing, in public accommodations, on voting rights -- all the way down the line, on every front -- we spearhead the fight for equal justive for all. (Applause) We don't expect, and we have no right to expect, any medals for this. We are only doing what we ought to do, but it is part of the record, and I

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think it deserves to be mentioned.

Mostof the time, what we get is not praise, but blame. Often, we are told that we are losing votes in Congress on other issues, on medical care, for example, or unemployment compensation, or minimum wages, vital issues to all workers, regardless of color, because Southern Congressmen resent our civil rights position. Tone it down, we are told. Take it a little easy. Well, I have said before, and I say again, I am not going to tone it down. We are not going to take it easy. (Applause)

If our pressure for civil rights costs us votes on other issues, so be it. This is a price we are ready to pay. (Applause) And it is the same story when we come to organizing.

You know the AFL-CIO is in a unique position. It has become the favorite target of some people who feel that we are not moving fast enough in the field of civil rights, but it is also the favorite target of the White Citizens Council. If you think the AFL-CIO is weak on integration, you have missed seeing the kind of anti-unionmaterial used against us in the South. Here again, we are told, even by some union organizers, tone it down, take it easy. I say again, in this particular area, we are not going to tone it down or take it easy.

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Yes, even if this means the loss of some labor board elections that we might otherwise win. (Applause)

I have made this point because it seems to me that the charges of discrimination within the labor movement must be taken in the context of the whole record. Mind you, I am not attempting to minimize the problem or brush it aside. In a few moments, I will tell you specifically what we are doing, and what we intend to do,but when anyone tries to say that the trade unions are the chief barriers to the economic opportunities of negroes in this country, I resent it,and I reject it, for it is simply not true.

Yet, the Labor Secretary of the NAACP was chief prosecution witness, an expert, last August, in a political attack on the International Ladies Garment Workers, a union whose record shines like a beacon in the history of union progress.

Let's consider one sample of his charges. "There are virtually no Negro and Puerto Rican members," he said, in "Local 10, Local 60 and Local 89 of the ILGWU".

Let's look at the facts. In Local 10, there are even negro cutters on retirement pension, which means that they must have been members for at least twenty years. As of today, this local union has 250

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negro and Spanish-speaking members.

In Local 60, approximately 300 pressers, one-quarter of the total membership, are negroes or Puerto Rican.

In Local 89, it's true - there are no negro members. There are also no Irish members, no Polish members, no Jewish members. Even Dave Dubinsky couldn't get in that local, because Local #89 is an Italian language local, organized as an Italian language local many years ago, when the Italian immigrants came to this city from the Old World, and could speak only Italian. It is one of two remaining foreign language locals in the ILG, and obviously, since we no longer have large scale immigration, its days as an Italian-language local are definitely numbered.

What contribution is made to the cause of equal opportunity by spreading outright falsehood, by attempting to smear a union whose civil rights record is unsurpassed?

Let's take another case. The NAACP is seeking to decertify a local of the United Steelworkers of America, in Atlanta, Georgia, on the charge that it created separate job classifications, wages and so on, for negro and white workers. We are supposed to believe that in Georgia, in the heart of the deep South, that it

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was a union that set up and maintained the distinction between white and negro workers. The very idea to me is fantastic. The facts in this case, of course, are quite different.

Over the years, it has been the union that has worked to break down the racial barriers that were there long before the plant was organized. It was the union that opened up previously all-white units to negro workers. It was the union that demanded and got equal pay for equal work. Let me tell you something else. At the time the Steelworkers Union organized this plant several years ago, there was a conference between the President of the Steelworkers, David MacDonald, and the Executive Secretary of the NAACP, Mr. Roy Wilkens. They discussed the practices in the plant as they then existed, and agreed on the program the union would follow in an effort to correct these practices.

More than that, a special committee was set up, to meet every three months, to evaluate what had been done and discuss any problems that may have arisen. The members of that special committee Frank Shane, the Civil Rights Director of the Steelworkers' Union, and Mr.Herbert Hill, and I am told by the Steelworkers' that Mr. Hill has never seen, or attended a meeting with Frank Shane, from the time the committee was

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set up, until the day the certification action was brought against the union.

Now the NAACP is trying to destroy the union because, in the opinion of the NAACP, the union has not done enough in its efforts to wipe out discriminatory practices. Well, suppose this effort succeeds? Suppose the union contract is wiped out? Will the plant immediately become a paradise of non-discrimination? You know what would happen. The employer would go back to doing what he always did before the place was organized. And I will tell you one thing the union would not do in this plant, the union refused to agree that negro workers would be allowed to replace white workers with greater seniority. This of course, I think is a sound trade union position. A worker's rights under a union contract should not be affected in any way because of his race, whether he is white or negro.

Now, I recognize the problem involved here, the problem that arises from the pattern of employment I described earlier, and it affects quite a few unions.

Some of you are no doubt members of the Auto Workers, and you know the circumstances in that industry. Fromthe very beginning, the UAW has struggled to break down racial barriers in the plants, always

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against heavy employer resistance, and the UAW has had a remarkable degree of success. Negroes have been for many years able to rise according to their ability and their seniority, in most of the companies. It is not only so in the North, it has now begun to be true in the South as well.

But see what has happened. Employment in the auto industry, in common with most manufacturing industries, is shrinking. Automation is taking a steady toll. Even workers with fifteen years seniority are not secure. So the negro worker, after a decade of effort - who after a decade of effort, may have risen to a skilled responsible, well-paid job, finds himself laid off, with little chance of getting back.

Since the upgrading of the negro workers, since their acceptance into more desirable jobs began only after the union was firmly established, their seniority as a group is lower. When the work force shrinks, they are laid off in disproportionate numbers. Are the therefore to set up a quota system that will provide super-seniority on racial grounds? I say, no, this is not a trade union solution, and that trade unionists must reject it.

The solution to the kind of problem we find in Detroit, and in other manufacturing centers

is not to weaken the safeguards that are at the heart of the labor movement. The solution is to create a full-employment economy, here in the United States of America. (Applause)

And that also involves government policy, and if we are going to get the kind of government policies we think are necessary, the thirty-five hour week, to mention only one of them, we must have a strong, united, labor movement, working together toward a common goal.

Now, let me turn to discrimination as a deliberate practice. To avoid any misunderstanding, let me remind you of what the AFL-CIO as a federation can do, and what we cannot do. We can control the actions of our state and local Central Bodies, and of the several hundred local unions that are directly affiliated with the AFL-CIO, rather than with their national unions. For example, last February, I instructed the local central bodies that all their conventions, meetings, educational institutions and other functions must henceforth be held in fully integrated facilities. I further directed that are central bodies are not to take part in any sort of function from which delegates are excluded for reasons of race, creed or color. This is the kind of area in which the AFL-CIO can and will take direct action.

Also, we can, and we have, by convention

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action, outlawed racial discrimination as a trade union practice. This determination is binding upon every affiliated national and international union. I do not know of any national or international union whose duly elected leaders dissent from that position. I think I can say categorically that the leadership of every AFL-CIO union subscribes to that policy.

Now, I can't look into men's hearts. I don't know what they may be thinking deep inside of them, but what I am concerned about, and what you are concerned about, is not what they think, but what they do. We are not primarily concerned with prejudice as a state of mind, much as we deplore it. We are concerned with the tangible application of prejudice, that is, racial discrimination. This is precisely the purpose of the AFL-CIO civil rights machinery, established at the last convention.

I think we adopted a good resolution. I thik we established procedures under that resolution that can be effective. But theycan only be effective in those places where we have the power to act. They cannot in themselves abolish or prevent discrimination everywhere in the labor movement. Here we come to what the AFL-CIO is not able to do.

We have no direct power whatever over the

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actions of an individual local union, which is part of a national or international union.

We can make representations to the national union. We can assist the national union in correcting the situation. Under the new Civil Rights procedure adopted by the last convention, the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee can initiate complaints as well as receive them, and there is an orderly step by step procedure through which cases that are not settled earlier will come before the AFL-CIO Executive Council. But we cannot move in on a local union over the head of the national union of which it is a part. Our only disciplinary power runs to affiliates; we cannot discipline a single local of an affiliated union. It is up to the affiliate to discipline its local.

In recent years, there has been a considerable amount of talk to the effect that we ought to expel unions where discrimination persists. Just as we expelled unions that had fallen under the domination of corrupt leaders. I know Phil Randolph has taken that position, and that I have disagreed with him publicly and privately. I do agree, however, that discrimination is just as bad as corruption. It is just as repugnant to me, and it is just as irreconcilable to the principles of trade unionism, but it is a different kind of disease, and it

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requires a different kind of cure. Corruption in the trade union movement begins at the top. It begins with corrupt leadership, and works its way down through the body of the union by abolishing or distorting the union's democratic procedures. The rank and file members are seldom aware of it. They are not visible affected in their daily life. When charges are published in the daily press, the members are inclined to wave them away as just another attack by anti-union publishers.

Expulsion from the AFL-CIO is the only way we could convince the members of these unions that the corruption was real; the judgment had been made, not by newspapers, but by the American labor movement. In most cases, the members of the expelled unions have rallied to new clean unions, or have overthrown their old leadership and replaced it with honest men.

But with discrimination, it is just the reverse. Discrimination in most cases is opposed at the top, but is carried out below. Discrimination is perpetrated at the local level by prejudiced rank and file members. It is oftenmaintained with the support of an unmistakable majority.

Here again, we have an educational problem, but don't misunderstand me. I am not talking in the ivory-tower, long-range sense. I am talking about

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high-velocity education, supported and reinforced by incontrovertible evidence that those who may favor discrimination are simply not going to be able to get away with it.

Meanwhile, however, we do cure this disease - do we cure this disease by expelling the parent union, whose leaders and the majority of whose members are on the side of equal opportunity? I think not. I think we will get further and that we are getting further by keeping the unions within the federation, and helping their officers to fight this evil.

As a parenthetical note, let me point out, that there have been a number of instances involving segregated locals, in which the national union, and the white local have both pressed for integration, but the negro local has rejected it. You and I can understand this. There are problems of office, personal status, local funds, all convention delegates. I raise the matter only to emphasize that the local feelings of the local members are the key to the issue. I would not agree to expelling an international union because a negro local refused to merge with a white local, for fear of being gobbled up. That, I do not consider discrimination in any form.

In that connection, and in all friendliness, I ask you to ask yourselves: Are you making every possible

effort to fight discrimination in your own local unions, in your own communities where it has its roots? Are you using the civil rights machinery within the AFL-CIO? I say to you, as union members, and I say to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with which we worked in harmony for so long, that where discrimination exists in a union, the first place to seek the remedy is within the labor movement itself. And the remedy is reform of a union, and not its destruction.

It is perfectly true, that even our new, stronger, civil rights mechanism cannot guarantee results in every case. I have testified to that time after time. In August, 1961 and January of this year, I appeared before the House Labor Committee to urge legislation on fair employment practices. One bill would have applied only to apprenticeship programs. The other was a general FEPC measure. I warmly supported both of them. I will appear again and again, whenever the opportunity presents itself, for I know that the backing of a strong Federal law, a law that covers upgrading as well as hiring, a law with meaningful penalties, is essential to support labor in its own internal efforts.

As I told Congress again last January, and I quote, "to finish the job, we need the help of the United States government." And then I added:

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"A union that discriminates against workers on grounds of race, creed or color, is not only violating the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, it is committing an offense against the veryprinciples of the labor movement, among which the brotherhood of man is at the very top.

"In short, I am not here to ask for special exemptions for unions," I told the Congressional Committee. "Quite the contrary." I hope the law you draft will cover the whole range we ourselves have written into our constitution, and I hope you will make sure the law will also apply to apprenticeship programs of every kind as I urged before the Committee in August of 1969." (Applause)

Now these are the facts, and I want it understood, I am not apologizing for our own efforts. We are getting results. We are getting far more results, perhaps, than you know about, or that I am free to tell you about. Let me explain.

We take the position,shared by most state fair employment practice commissions, that results are what we want,and what counts, not publicity. When we move on a case of discrimination, and when through mediation, persuasion and pressure we resolve it, as we have resolved many, we have achieved our objective. If we issued a press release, we would be saying in effect: "We forced a group of misguided, prejudiced people to

mend their ways." This might be gratifying to you and to me; but it certainly would not contribute to the permanent reformation of those who had just seen the light.

I am not suggesting that you ought to be satisfied with the progress of the AFL-CIO in this field. I am not satisfied with it, and surely I know you are not, and I have no quarrel with you on that score.

I know something about minority problems. I am a Roman Catholic, and while I am very well aware that the discrimination against Catholics was never as severe or widespread as discrimination against negroes, there were places where it came to be pretty bad. I recall as a boy, when I was told no Catholic could be President of the United States, and I asked my father why? And he tried to explain to me, but he couldn't and I want to say to you I grew up with that resentment and feel now that something has happened in regard to that old prejudice - the election of a Catholic President. It's gone beyond the realm of possibility. This, when I was a young man was impossible. Just forget about it. But it proves that to some extent, that this anti-Catholic prejudice has subsided. But that same election campaign also proved that it was far from dead. Though I can appreciate emotionally and intellectually the depth of

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the feeling of those who have formed the Negro American Labor Council, and I say that in solving the problems of racial discrimination, America is moving too slowly. I am deeply conscious that "patience" is a shabby word, a full century after the Emancipation Proclamation. (Applause)

I hope we will not have to wait another 175 years before negro, or for that matter, a Jew can reasonably aspire to the office now held, now filled, by a Catholic. (Applause) That is why we are pressing for Federal legislation we must have, to speed up the fight against discrimination in labor's ranks and everywhere in America, but even as we press forward, let's not be too quick to deprecate the progress that we have been making all along the line, toward equal opportunity and equal justice for all.

We moved faster in the 40's than we did in the Thirties. We moved faster in the 50's than we did in the 40's, and we will move faster in the Sixties than ever before.

We in the AFL-CIO are open to suggestions. We welcome your ideas, and when I say your ideas, I mean the ideas of the Negro American Labor Council. Although we worked out our new civil rights setup with the active help and participation of Phil Randolph, and other

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prominent negro trade unionists, no one claims, and I am sure Phil doesn't claim, that it is beyond improvement, but it cannot work at all unless we use it.

Speaking for myself, and I am sure for every responsible AFL-CIO leader, we want this problem solved. There is no place for discrimination in a movement dedicated to human brotherhood. We are going to wipe it out, and it's not going to take another century to do it.

I look to the day, when we can truthfully say that we have an AFL-CIO in which racial discrimination is only an unhappy memory, where there is in fact full and equal opportunity for all. To that end, I am sure that the AFL-CIO will have the full cooperation and support of the Negro American Labor Council. Thank you.

(Applause)

MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: Thank you, Brother Meany. I want to publicly express appreciation for the fine work done to make the convention a success, and especially the entertainment features by the Committee under the leadership of Mrs. Corrine Smith, and her co-workers. They have done a remarkable job, and we are deeply appreciative of their cooperation.

Now there is a rally, public labor rally tomorrow night, at the Williams Institutional Church,

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on Seventh Avenue, between 131st and 132nd Streets. Theodore Keel will be one of the speakers. Dr. Abernathy, associate of Dr. Martin Luther King, will be one of the speakers, and Jim Farmer, of the Committee of Racial Equality.

We also will have, as the presiding officer, Cleveland Robinson, who is one of our Vice Presidents, and SecretaryyTreasurer of District #65. I am very, very happy to have your presence here tonight. This has been a remarkably successful affair. We hope you will come to our Convention tomorrow morning. Walter Reuther will speak at eleven o'clock. David Millingston, of District #65, will also address the convention. And we will have reports from the various workshop committees - on Apprenticeship Training, Unemployment and the Negroes, and the sessions will begin at 9:30 A.M.

I want to thank you for your presence, and say "Good Night".

(Applause)

(The session adjourned at 11:45 p.m.)